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# THE JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

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## THE MYTHOLOGY OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN ALGONKINS<sup>1</sup>

BY ROLAND B. DIXON

IN attempting to make a comparative study of the myths of the various tribes belonging to the Central and Eastern Algonkins, a serious difficulty presents itself at the outset. This difficulty consists in the fact that the record is very incomplete, for our knowledge of the mythology of most of the tribes considered is far from being thorough, and the character of the information from different tribes is very varied. From some, as the Micmac, Abnaki, Ojibwa, and Fox, a considerable mass and variety of tales are known; but from others, as the Pottawatami, only a small amount of material is at hand, and that wholly relating to the culture-hero. In spite, however, of the inadequacy of the data available at present, results of some interest may be obtained by a careful comparison.

Such a comparison may be made in various ways. We may, for example, consider the matter only from the numerical point of view, and determine the proportional number of incidents which the various tribes hold in common, each with each. We may add to this a consideration of the class or type of incident thus shared. Or we may make a special study of a group of incidents, such as those clustering about the culture-hero and his brother. Or, again, we may note the distribution within the area involved, of certain particular incidents which have wide affiliations elsewhere. All of these methods lead to results which are of value.

For purposes of convenience, the Algonkin tribes here discussed may be divided into four geographical groups, — a Western, comprising the western Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, Menomini, Pottawatami, and Fox; a Central, made up of the Mississagua and Ottawa; an Eastern, including the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maliseet; and a Northeastern, including the Nenenot or Nascopi of Labrador and the Montagnais.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Address of the retiring President, delivered at the Annual Meeting of the American Folk-Lore Society in Baltimore, December 30, 1908.

<sup>2</sup> In this grouping, the term "Ojibwa" includes the portion of the tribe now and for many years resident in the United States, the myth material being mainly that

Beginning with the mere numerical comparison, and taking the Western group first, it appears that their mythologies are closely related to one another, each tribe sharing with the other members of the group by far the majority of its myth incidents. The two most closely allied are the *Saulteaux* and *Menomini*, each having with the other a larger number of agreements than with any other single tribe. The *Cree* find their closest affiliation with the *Ojibwa*, and also have much in common with the *Saulteaux-Menomini* pair just spoken of. Although the *Cree*, *Saulteaux*, and *Menomini* do not show any very close analogy to the eastern *Algonkins*, the *Ojibwa*, on the contrary, does, having a larger number of correspondences with the *Micmac* than with any single tribe in its own or Western group. Next to this eastern affiliation, however, it shows its closest relations to the *Cree* and *Menomini*. The *Fox* has most in common with the *Ojibwa* and *Menomini*, but shows, like the *Ojibwa*, a notable number of incidents similar to those of the *Micmac* and *Abnaki*, in each case a larger number than with either the *Cree* or *Saulteaux*.

With the tribes of the Central group, the affiliations of these Western tribes are strong, more noticeable with the *Mississagua* than with the *Ottawa*. With the Northeastern group, the only one to show any considerable similarity is the *Cree*.

The relations of the members of the Western group to the *Huron-Iroquois* may next be considered. The *Ojibwa*, it will be remembered, were conspicuous in showing the closest approach to the Eastern *Algonkins*, and they are equally so in the number of agreements which they show with the *Iroquoian* tribes, showing a somewhat greater degree of similarity with the *Iroquois* proper than with the *Wyandot-Huron*. The *Fox* come next in the number of *Iroquoian* affiliations, while the *Pottawatami* present the curious situation of having more in common with the *Iroquoian* peoples than with the *Algonkins* taken all together. This seeming anomaly is due, probably, to the fact that the *Pottawatami* material known to me relates only to the culture-hero.

The Central group comprises the *Mississagua* and *Ottawa*, and shows, as a whole, strong affiliations with the Western group. Curiously, the *Mississagua* and *Ottawa* show less agreement with each other than each does with the Western tribes. Little similarity seems to exist with the Eastern group; the *Ottawa*, however, having a greater agreement in this case than the *Mississagua*, although the latter is most closely related to the *Ojibwa*, whose closest affiliation was with the *Micmac*. The Central group obtained by Schoolcraft. This is separated — perhaps with but little justification — from the *Saulteaux*, who, while a portion of the same tribe, are the Canadian branch living on reservations to the northeast of Lake Winnipeg. The *Mississagua*, although again a sub-tribe of the *Ojibwa*, are treated separately, as they occupied the region east of the Sault, and seem to present enough differences from the other portions of the tribe to warrant individual attention.

tral group shows nothing in common with the Northeastern. With Iroquoian tribes, the Ottawa presents most incidents in common, and, as might be expected, with the Huron rather than with the Iroquois.

The members of the Eastern group — comprising the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maleseet — show a strong agreement among themselves, as might be expected, the Maleseet agreeing rather more closely with the Abnaki than with the Micmac. With the Central group there is little in common, and Micmac and Abnaki do not differ much in the degree of their similarity to the two Central tribes. With the Western group the affiliation is much stronger, and lies almost wholly with the Ojibwa, Menomini, and Fox. There is, moreover, a great difference in respect to this agreement as between the Micmac and Abnaki, the former showing twice as many incidents in common with the Western tribes as the latter. With the Northeastern group no considerable similarities have been noted.

The Iroquoian agreements which the tribes of the Eastern group show are, on the whole, somewhat stronger with the Iroquois than with the Wyandot-Huron, and the Micmac has slightly more such common incidents than the Abnaki, as many indeed as it has with the Fox or Menomini of the Western group.

The material from the Northeastern tribes is almost wholly from the Nenenot or Nascopi, and this shows a predominant similarity with the Cree and Western group.

In considering the affiliations of the various tribes and groups thus far, account has been taken merely of the relationship as shown by the total number of incidents held in common. These incidents are, however, of two classes, — those relating to the culture-hero and having a place in the cycle of tales which cluster about him; and, on the other hand, all other incidents. From the previous merely numerical comparisons, it appeared that the Cree, Saukteaux, Ojibwa, Menomini, and Fox formed a well-marked group, having each with the others a majority of elements in common. Examining now the classes of incidents represented, it appears that primary importance must be given to those incidents relating to the culture-hero, the number of these found in common being larger than those of the other class. In some cases, indeed, they are the only features which show similarity, as for instance between the Cree and Saukteaux, or the Saukteaux and Fox.

The results of a study of these incidents may be best discussed by considering each of the various tribes briefly in its relations to the others within and without the group. The Cree thus exhibits a closer agreement in the culture-hero elements with the Saukteaux and Menomini than with the Ojibwa, agreeing least of all in this respect with the Fox. Outside the culture-hero incidents, however, the position is nearly reversed, for with the Ojibwa it shows fourteen common incidents,

whereas with the Menomini it has but three, and with the Saulteaux none. With the Fox it shows the same degree of similarity as with the Menomini. Thus Cree resembles the Saulteaux-Menomini most in its culture-hero myths, the Ojibwa most in all others. The Saulteaux shows a close agreement with the Menomini in both culture-hero and other elements, and has the same non-culture-hero incidents in common with it as with the Cree and Ojibwa. With the Fox the only points of contact are those relating to the culture-hero. The Ojibwa has, as just stated, beside the culture-hero incidents, a large number of others in common with the Cree. Its relation to Menomini is similar; but whereas the culture-hero incidents common to Ojibwa and Cree, and Ojibwa and Menomini are for the most part the same, the non-culture-hero elements are almost entirely different in the two cases. With the Fox, there are more non-culture-hero agreements than in those relating to the culture-hero, and a considerable number are again different from those in common either with the Cree or the Menomini. In regard to the Menomini, it is only necessary to point out that in so far as the non-culture-hero incidents are concerned, it shows one set with the Cree-Saulteaux-Ojibwa, but has a wholly different set in common with the Fox. The Fox, lastly, has only culture-hero incidents in common with the Saulteaux, while the non-culture-hero elements it has in common with the Cree-Ojibwa are almost wholly different from those with the Menomini.

In their affiliations with the other Algonkin tribes, a number of points may be noted. Cree shows no resemblance to the Ottawa outside the culture-hero class, although with Mississagua it has several such similarities. With the Eastern group it has few not relating to the culture-hero, and a similar condition is found relative to the Northeastern tribes. Saulteaux shows no agreements with the Central group outside the culture-hero class, and with the Eastern group but a single incident. The Ojibwa shows agreement with the Central group in both classes; but it may be noted, that, with one exception, the non-culture-hero elements held in common are different in the case of the Ottawa from that of the Mississagua. It will be remembered that the Ojibwa showed, on merely numerical grounds, very strong resemblances to the Micmac. It appears that these agreements lie almost wholly in the incidents having nothing to do with the culture-hero cycle, and that but few of the latter are found alike in the two tribes. About half of the incidents common to Ojibwa and Micmac appear to be typical Eastern incidents, and do not occur among any other Western tribe. The remainder are found also among either the Central group or the Iroquois, or, in two cases, in one other Western tribe. The Ojibwa similarity to the Eastern group lies thus almost wholly outside the culture-hero class, and to a large extent the common incidents are found among the Western tribes only in the Ojibwa. The Fox is in a somewhat similar position, in that



its agreement with the Central and particularly the Eastern group are nearly all outside the culture-hero cycle, but the incidents which it thus shares are mainly different from those which the Ojibwa shares with the Eastern group. Thus the Ojibwa and Micmac have in common the "bungling host," "cold driven away by heat," "disobedience punished," "the obliging ferryman," "freezing-test," "magic growth of attendant animals," "Orpheus and Eurydice," and "thrown-away;" whereas Fox and the Eastern group have in common the "bungling host," "the heat test," "rolling skull," "trail shortened," "water from belly," "Atalanta flight," and the Symplegades. The Menomini finally shows relationship with the Central group mainly in its culture-hero incidents, but in relation to the Eastern group agrees with the Ojibwa and Fox, in that the similarities are mainly outside this class of incident. In brief, then, it appears that the Western tribes which show similarity to the Eastern Algonkins do so mainly in those elements outside the culture-hero class, and that the Ojibwa and Fox, which show the strongest Eastern agreements, have different elements in common in each case.

The Central group may be dismissed in a few words. The Ottawa shows the greatest agreement with the Eastern tribes outside the culture-hero class. The Mississagua has little or nothing in common with either type. The relationships of the Eastern and Western groups have already been discussed. The Northeastern shows more similarities with both Western and Eastern outside the culture-hero type than within it, the culture-hero agreements being fewer with the Eastern than with the Western tribes.

Something may be said in regard to the Iroquoian similarities. Cree shows in its few correspondences both classes of incidents, those relating to the culture-hero being in the minority. Saukteaux reverses this, having little in common except culture-hero elements. The Ojibwa is like the Cree, and the Fox is largely the same, but several of the incidents are quite typically Iroquoian. Menomini is largely like Ojibwa, but lacks the characteristic Iroquoian elements found in the Fox. Of the Central group, the Ottawa shows a wider range of agreement than does the Mississagua. The Eastern Algonkins exhibit a wide range of agreement, but are notable for the prominence of several culture-hero elements which are typically Iroquoian.

In the mythology of the Algonkin tribes, the cycle of myths which centres about the twin brothers may be said to be of greatest importance. In discussing the relation of these various tribes in so far as their myths are concerned, this cycle is of especial value, and deserves separate consideration. Professor Chamberlain in 1891, in a paper read before this Society, made comparisons between some of the members of the Western and Central groups, but did not include the Eastern or Northeastern tribes, or the Iroquois. It is of course true, that it is at times difficult to

say what shall be considered a part of this class of tales, as what in one tribe is told of the culture-hero may in another be attached to a different personage. For convenience, however, I have treated all incidents which are habitually attributed to the culture-hero by any tribe, as culture-hero incidents. There is, moreover, the further difficulty that various versions of a tale within the same tribe may vary considerably in the number and character of incidents included, and in such cases I have taken all incidents in all the various versions.

At the outset we may divide the whole mass of these tales into two parts, — those which form a more or less connected series recounting the birth and adventures of the two brothers, ending with the deluge and the re-creation of the world; and, on the other hand, those other tales which recount the exploits of the culture-hero alone, some of which are of the trickster type.

Taking first this more or less connected cycle, we may separate it, for purposes of comparisons, into four portions, — the origin and birth of the hero and his brother or brothers; the brother's death; the deluge; and the re-creation of the world. As a whole, the cycle as told shows two contrasting forms, an Eastern and a Western. Considering the latter of these, it is evident, that so far as the first part of the cycle is concerned, there is considerable variation. The Ojibwa, Menomini, Pottawatami, and Ottawa have in common the two incidents of the virgin or abnormal birth and the death of the mother. These features are lacking in the Fox, while there are no tales relative to the origin of the culture-hero given from the Cree or Saulteaux. While the Ojibwa, Menomini, and Ottawa agree in there being but two brothers, Fox and Pottawatami both speak of four. Menomini and Ottawa agree in associating the younger brother with the wolf, whereas the former stands alone in having one of the brothers die at birth, to be later resuscitated as a companion for the other. The most noteworthy difference, however, in this first portion of the cycle, lies in the appearance among the Pottawatami and Ottawa of the Flintman as one of the brothers; of his opposition and enmity to the culture-hero; and final destruction by the latter, as a result of what may be called the "deceitful confidence." These various elements are typically Iroquoian, and are found most fully developed, apparently, among the Wyandot-Huron.

The second part of the cycle also shows variety. Among the Menomini and Pottawatami, the Ojibwa and Ottawa, the culture-hero's brother is killed by evil water-frequenting manitous, when the brother, neglecting his elder brother's warning, crosses a lake on the ice. The Menomini and Pottawatami agree in the return of the brother in the form of a ghost, and in his departure westward to be the guardian of the land of the dead. These elements do not appear in the Ojibwa or Ottawa, however. A somewhat different combination appears in the Fox, where the

incident of the lake does not occur, the manitous killing the culture-hero's brother, after decoying him away to a distance. The incident of the ghost's return is, however, present. The affiliation of the Cree-Saulteaux in this portion of the cycle is again unknown, for lack of any data.

For the third part there is fuller material, as, although the incidents are not available from the Pottawatami, both Cree and Saulteaux may here be taken count of. As far as regards the incident of the "bird informant," Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, and Fox stand together. In the "stump disguise" and the wounding of the manitous, all are in accord except the Fox, which has here the unique incident of the floating spider-web. The Menomini has also a special incident in the introduction of the ball-game. In the impersonation of the Frog shaman by the culture-hero, and his subsequent completion of the revenge by killing the manitous, all are in accord except the Ottawa, which lacks this incident. All in all, the Cree, Saulteaux, Ojibwa, and Menomini are in closest agreement in this part of the cycle.

In the essential elements of the deluge, the escape from it, the "earth-diver," and the reconstruction of the world, all the tribes are in substantial accord. The Menomini-Ojibwa alone have the incident of the stretching tree, and the Cree-Ojibwa alone tell of the measuring of the new earth by the wolf. Taken as a whole, all the members of the Western and Central groups form a fairly accordant body. The Fox, having several unique features, stands somewhat apart, as does the Pottawatami, by reason of its strong Iroquoian element.

Turning now to the Eastern tribes, it appears at a glance that there is little in common with the tribes just discussed. There is here the incident of the abnormal birth, but this is also found among the Iroquois and widely elsewhere. Among the Abnaki there is the association of the culture-hero's brother with the wolf, but all the remainder of the cycle is missing. The only other points of contact with the cycle as described lie in the opposition of the two brothers, and the slaying of one by the other as a result of the "deceitful confidence." These incidents are, however, typically Iroquoian, and are found only in the Ottawa and Pottawatami farther West. Practically, therefore, we may say that the cycle found in fairly accordant form through the West is here wholly lacking.

In a consideration of the other incidents relating to the culture-hero, we unfortunately have little information relating to the Pottawatami or the tribes of the Central group, and must thus confine the comparisons largely to the other Western tribes and those of the East. Of incidents not falling into the connected cycle just discussed, there are about eighteen, an investigation of whose distribution reveals the following points. About half of these, including such as the "hoodwinked dancers," "stolen feast," "rolling rock," "body punished," "reflection deceives," "tree holds prisoner," and "sun-trap," are common to a group composed

of the Cree, Saulteaux, Fox, and Menomini, the Ojibwa having but three out of eight. The other half, including the "wolf companions," Jonah, Hippogrif, "caught by the head," "visit to the culture-hero," and "bungling host," are common to the group made up of the Saulteaux, Ojibwa, Fox, and Menomini. In other words, the Saulteaux-Menomini-Fox have a series of about eighteen incidents in common, one half of which are also found among the Cree, and the other half among the Ojibwa.

With the Eastern group there is almost as slight an agreement in this class of incidents as in the connected cycle. Four incidents only are found to agree,—the "hoodwinked dancers," "rolling rock," "visit to the culture-hero," and "bungling host." The latter, at least, is of such very wide distribution that its importance in this case may be regarded as slight.

An extensive comparison of the incidents found among the Algonkins here described, with those of other tribes, such as those in the Plains, the Southwest, or the Pacific Coast, has not been made, but a few general statements may be made. The connected cycle of incidents seems to be quite clearly typical of the tribes living near the Great Lakes. We find the greater part of it among the Blackfeet, although lacking among the Arapaho and Cheyenne, showing either the longer residence of these latter tribes in the Plains, or their greater impressibility to the mythology of the Plains type. A portion appears among the Siouan tribes, where it occurs in the Iowa and Omaha. The other disconnected tales of the culture-hero cannot, however, be regarded as very distinctive. Many of the incidents, such as the "bungling host," are of very wide distribution over the whole continent; and others, although not so widely spread, still are found among a large number of tribes outside this area.

From the foregoing study of the incidents in the mythology of the Eastern Algonkin tribes, a few general conclusions may be drawn. The Cree, Saulteaux, and Menomini form a closely related group, with which the Mississagua shows much in common. The Ojibwa stands somewhat apart, being connected with the group, and particularly with the Cree, largely by its culture-hero elements, and showing a strong similarity to the Eastern group of the Micmac, Abnaki, and Maleseet in so far as regards the non-culture-hero elements. It also has more affiliations with the Iroquoian tribes than any other in the whole Western group. Fox and Pottawatami, although closely agreeing with the group of the Cree-Saulteaux-Menomini in so far as the connected cycle of culture-hero incidents goes, yet present sufficient differences to make it necessary to regard them as forming a separate subdivision. The Eastern tribes make up a pretty coherent group, for the most part unrelated to the Western, in which, however, the Micmac stands out markedly, by reason of its strong similarities to Western, particularly Ojibwa, elements. The

Pottawatami and Ottawa have both incorporated in their cycle of culture-hero tales the typical Iroquoian incidents relating to Flintman, many of which have also found place among the Eastern tribes.

These various results are, it would seem, corroborated and partially explained by the history of the various tribes. Although the Menomini were in historical times close to the Pottawatamis in northern Wisconsin, they appear to have lived earlier on the southern side of the Sault in the northern peninsula of Michigan, being thus in close proximity to the Saulteaux and Ojibwa, with whom their closest affiliations have been found to exist. The Pottawatami and Fox, on the other hand, were immigrants in the region west of Lake Michigan. By tradition they had come from the eastern side of the lake, the former presumably around its southern end, as the Pottawatami formerly occupied much of southern Michigan. This brings them in contact with the Neutrals and other tribes of Iroquoian stock about the western end of Lake Erie, which would seem to explain the appearance of the Iroquoian Flintman incidents in their mythology. The Ottawa were in the seventeenth century closely allied with the Hurons, and the Iroquoian similarities noted may thus reasonably be accounted for.

The eastern affiliations of the Ojibwa may perhaps be explained as follows. Traditionally the Ojibwa had moved west, from a position much farther to the east, and north of the St. Lawrence; this would bring them closer to the Micmac geographically, with whom, and not with the Abnaki, their agreements are found. A further point worth noting is the slight degree of similarity existing between the Labrador Algonkins and the Micmac, who were their neighbors in historic times at least, on the south side of the St. Lawrence. It has been thought by some that the Micmac came to their historic positions from the north or northwest, but so far as mythology is any guide, this conclusion seems unfounded, and everything points to a different series of affiliations and line of migration.

As stated at the outset, conclusions based on material at hand relating to Algonkin mythology are somewhat premature, data being wholly lacking for many tribes, and for some being too meagre and too much restricted in character to be satisfactory. Nevertheless I believe such an attempt is helpful, if it does no more than call attention to the gaps in our knowledge, and induce students to try to procure sufficient material to make such comparisons of lasting worth.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

## ESKIMO AND ALEUT STORIES FROM ALASKA

BY F. A. GOLDER

## I. THE WOMAN WHO BECAME A BEAR

*(Kadiak Story)*

ON the bank of a river lived a man with his wife and several small children. One day the husband told his wife that he was ill and going to die, and requested her that when dead she should leave him on the ground uncovered, with his bidarka and bow and arrows near him. The next morning she found him dead, and she did with him as he had asked. For three days the body rested where she had left it, and around it she with her children sat weeping. But on the morning of the fourth not a sign of the body or boat was to be seen. She puzzled over the matter for a time, but the calls of her children for food kept her from brooding over it too long.

Not many days after this mysterious disappearance, a little bird settled on the barabara and sang. Although the woman listened attentively, she could not make out what it said. About the same time on the succeeding day the little bird sang again; but this time the woman thought she heard the bird say, "Your husband is not dead. He is living with another woman at the mouth of the river." This same song was repeated on the third morning. Hearing this sad news, the woman felt very bitter towards her husband, and she wept a great deal. She spent the rest of the day in preparing food for her children to last them three days, and early next morning set out for the mouth of the river. From the top of every hill she searched diligently for signs of habitation. Towards noon she sighted a hut, to which she walked and went in.

There she was greeted by a very beautiful woman, whose skin was white, and who sat on the floor (with the knees under the chin) making mats. The new-comer inquired of the white-skinned woman whether she was married. "Yes, my husband is hunting and will be back this evening." As the hostess knew nothing at all of the history of her visitor, she treated her hospitably, setting food before her, and for a time they chatted very pleasantly. In the course of the conversation the white-skinned woman asked the other one what she did to make her cheeks look red. "That's very simple," replied the visitor; "I boil a pot of water, and hold my face over it until it turns red."

"I think I will do that, too; it will make my husband love me more," said White-Skin. She boiled a pot of water and held her face over it. Red-Skin encouraged her in this, telling her how beautiful she was becoming, but at the same time advised her to bend over a little more. Not suspecting treachery, she leaned over; and Red-Skin, who stood directly

behind her, pushed the face of the woman into the boiling water and kept it there until life was gone. The dead woman was then fixed up in a sitting posture.

In the hut the deserted wife came across a piece of skin of a bear's face with the nose on it. She chewed and stretched it to make it cover her whole body, when she looked and felt like a bear. On each of her sides she put a flat rock, and went outside to wait for her husband, who appeared towards evening with a load of game.

"Come out, my lovely one," he called, "and see how much game I brought." No one answered; so he called again, "Why don't you come out as you always do?" He became angry and walked into the hut, where a painful sight stared him in the face. "I know who did it — my other wife. She shall pay for it." He took his bow and arrows and started for his former home; but when not far from the hut a bear crossed his path. He said, "It was not my wife after all, but this bear who tore the skin from her face." Taking aim, he shot an arrow at the heart of the bear, but it rebounded on coming in contact with the rock. All the other arrows were wasted the same way without doing the bear any injury. The bear took off the skin, and the hunter recognized his wife.

"That's the way you treated me," she cried. "You made believe you were dead, and left me to provide for the children while you were living with another woman." She abused him until he begged for pardon and mercy and promised to be faithful in the future. His pleadings were, however, to no purpose. She put on her bear-skin, and thus becoming as savage as a bear, she rushed for him and tore him in pieces. With his blood on her, she ran home and destroyed her children in the same savage manner, and then ran away to the woods to live with other bears.

## 2. THE OLD MAN OF THE VOLCANO

*(Told as a Nushigak story by a native of Karluk)*

On the eastern side of a river was situated a populous village; on the western bank there was but one barabara in which lived an old couple with their son. The old people were feeble, and did not think they had long to live; they therefore asked their son to go over to the village and get married. He did as he was bidden, crossed over, married, and came back with a wife. Not long after this event the father and mother died, leaving the young couple alone. At the end of the first year of the marriage a daughter was born, who, after being bathed two or three times, began to talk. Another year passed, and a little boy came to the family. As the children grew up the father became very fond of them, particularly of the boy, who very often went down to the beach to meet him as he returned from his work. For in order to provide for his little family, the father went out daily in his boat to hunt for sea animals and birds, and always came back well loaded.

But one day the man came home with little game and looking very sad. His wife asked the cause of his unhappiness, and he answered roughly that seals were scarce. From that day on, the poor woman could not depend with any regularity on his home-coming. Sometimes he would not put in an appearance until late in the night, and frequently he stayed away two or three days together. He brought so little game that the family had barely enough to live on. When at home, he was dejected and could hardly be made to talk. His wife's questions were generally cut short by brutal answers.

Things kept going from bad to worse, and the climax was reached when the man disappeared altogether. Days and weeks passed without bringing any tidings of his whereabouts. In looking over a basket filled with various objects, the woman came across the head and claws of an eagle which had been given her when she was a girl. These she shook and worked on until she made a large eagle's skin, which she put on herself and flew away to find her husband, who, she feared, was starving or lying ill somewhere. She flew a long time, and came to the outskirts of a large village, alighting near a barabara alongside of which bubbled a spring to which the women came for water. From where she was, the eagle could see a bidarka with her husband in it coming towards the shore. At the same time her attention was drawn to a young woman running to the spring to fetch some water, and, after leaving it in the hut, hurrying down to the beach to greet her faithless husband. Following her rival, the eagle swooped down on the man, and, snatching him in her claws, flew with him into the clouds, from whence she dropped him into the sea.

From this tragedy the eagle flew home to her children, whom she found safe. To the boy she gave a feather and a pebble to eat, which he did. Up to this time all those who had gone up the river failed to return, no one knowing just what had become of them. The boy, when he grew up, told his mother that he had made up his mind to go upstream. She tried in vain to dissuade him from his enterprise by pointing out the dangers and citing cases of strong and brave hunters who had lost their lives in the undertaking. Seeing that he was determined, she yielded, and gave him to take with him a needle and this advice: "If you are in trouble, think of the feather; should no help come from that, remember the pebble; and if very hard pressed, make use of the needle." The next morning he got into his boat and paddled upstream until he came to a cave into which the tide was setting with such force that he was unable to keep out of it. In the cave he felt a current of warm air and saw a smooth beach, on which he pulled up his bidarka. Pretty soon afterwards he became aware of some one approaching, and great was the boy's fright when he saw near him a large old man breathing fire. There was, however, no harm done him, except that the old man asked him to follow. They marched into the interior, passing through dark and hot



places, gradually ascending to lighter and cooler atmosphere, until they stood on the summit of a mountain whose sides sheered straight down into the sea. "If you wish to live with me," said the old man, "you must jump off this bluff;" and with this he gave him a push, and the boy felt himself going down, down. He thought of his mother's advice about the feather, and by doing so became a feather and was carried by the wind back to the top of the mountain. There he resumed his human shape, and went back to his boat and proceeded in his ascent of the river, coming to a bay partly inclosed by steep black walls. In the distance, at the head of the bay, a barabara was visible, and thither the boy pulled and landed. He went in and found a very stout old woman and a young girl, who began to weep when she saw him.

"Why do you weep?" said the old woman. "Who is dead or drowning at sea?" — "I am not drowned. I died neither on land nor on sea," answered the boy. "If you are alive, come in; but if dead, stay out." — "I am alive," he replied, and went in.

When a few questions had been asked and answered, the old woman proposed that the young couple should marry, which was done. The young wife did not love her husband, and begged the old woman to have him killed for fresh meat, but the latter put her off by saying that he was not fat enough. At last the old woman consented to have him killed, and for this purpose told him to go to the top of the hill, to the home of her brother, and there take a bath. He suspected treachery, and was on the lookout.

At the top of the hill a stout old man waited for him to take him to the bath-house, and urged him to hurry with his bathing, for he had a hot roasted codfish waiting for him. When the boy went in, the old man closed up all openings and poured hot oil on the heated rocks in order to smother him; but the boy changed himself into a pebble, and remained so until the door was opened and fresh air blew in. On seeing him come out unharmed, the old man exclaimed, "Ah, you are different from the others!" After having eaten his roasted fish, the old man proposed to the young one to take a run along the edge of the cliffs. This proposition was accepted on condition that the old man take the lead. They started off; and when they reached a steep and dangerous place, the boy shoved his companion off, and he disappeared out of sight. From here he returned home, where he found his wife sitting near the fire and the old woman soundly asleep. His wife he called outside and shot her with the needle his mother gave him, and then he shot the old woman with the same weapon.

Having had enough adventure, he started down the stream to where his mother was; and to her and others he related all that had happened to him. The chief of the village was so delighted that he gave him his daughter in marriage. After that time no harm came to those who went

upstream; but they must not approach the cave at flood-tide, for they will be drawn in.

Each volcano has a master. He breathes fire, and he it was who met the boy in the cave. This old man of the volcano does not like rivals, and kills all who come in his way.

### 3. THE WOMAN WITH ONE EYE

*(Unga Story)*

An Aleut with his two wives lived in a bay far from other people. Each day the man would go out in his one-hatch bidarka to hunt, leaving the women at their work, and in the evening they would all meet again. One day he departed as usual, but did not return in the evening, and many weeks passed before anything was heard about him. Food and wood were giving out, and the poor women did not know what to do. Worry and anxiety about the fate of their husband made them old and ill; and the only thing that kept them alive was hope, for they could not believe that he was dead. From an eminence near the hut they daily took turns watching for his coming. While one of the women was thus occupied, a bird alighted on an alder-bush, and said, "Chick, chickee, chick! Your husband is not drowned. He lives. By yonder point there is a beach, near there a hillock, close to that a barabara in which there is a woman with whom your husband is at present living. Chick, chickee, chick!" The frightened woman ran quickly to the hut to tell her partner in desertion the news, but the latter would not believe it. The following day the two went together, and while they sat there the little bird came; and this is what it sang, "Chick, chickee, chick! Your (plural) husband is not dead. He lives. Around the point is a beach, close to it a little hill, alongside of it a barabara in which there is a woman with whom your husband lives. Chick, chickee, chick!" Having said this, it flew away.

Both women felt that the bird had told them the truth, and they decided to find their husband. For several days they walked before they rounded the point where they saw the beach, the hillock, the barabara, and in the distance, out in the bay, a man fishing. They neared the hut very quietly, and, on peeping through a hole, were startled to see an old woman who had in the middle of her forehead one eye very much diseased, giving her a very ugly appearance. One-Eye somehow became aware of the presence of people outside, and called out, "Come in, come in!" The visitors entered and sat down near the fire, over which was boiling a pot of soup, of which they were asked to help themselves. But as no clam-shells with which to dip were offered them, they could not eat. One of the visitors then asked One-Eye who the person was in the bidarka fishing. She replied that it was not a bidarka at all, but a rock which at low tide seemed like a man fishing from a bidarka. She again invited her guests to eat, but they told her that they could not without

spoons (clam-shells). The hostess tried to show her visitors how to eat without spoons by bending her head over the pot; but before she finished her illustration, the two women jumped on her and shoved her face into the soup until she was dead. Dressing her in her parka (fur cloak), and taking her to a conspicuous place on the beach, they propped her up into a natural position and left her there.

Towards evening the fisherman pulled for the shore, and, as he came close to the beach, the two women in hiding recognized their long-lost husband. He got out of the boat and went towards One-Eye, and, holding before him a fish, said, "Whenever you love me, you come to the beach to greet me." But as he received no answer, he came to her and put his arms around her, which caused them both to fall over. While he was in this attitude, his two wives jumped out and appeared before him. On seeing them, he made a dash for his boat. They followed, and came up with him just as he was about to paddle away. One seized the bidarka, and the other grabbed the paddle, and said to him, "We thought that you were dead, and we mourned and suffered, while you were here all the time. Now we are going to kill you." — "Don't kill me! I will go home with you, and we will live as formerly." — "No, no! We will kill you."

Saying this, they pushed the bidarka out until the water reached their necks, and there turned it over and drowned their faithless and cowardly husband.

#### 4. THE WOMAN WITHOUT A NOSE

*(Belkowsky Story)*

At the head of a long bay lived a man and his wife apart from other human beings, of whose existence they were hardly aware. Every pleasant morning the man went hunting, returning in the evening with a bidarka full of seal-meat. One day, however, he failed to come back at the usual time. This made the woman uneasy, and she kept a look-out for him; and when he finally appeared, he had only one small seal. To the numerous questions of the wife he merely replied, "The seals are scarce, and I have to go far to get them." She believed him. The next day he was again late, and had the same hard-luck story to tell. He looked worried, ate little, and refused to talk. Occasionally he would be gone two and three days at a stretch, returning with but little game. Finally he told his wife that he was ill and about to die, and made her promise that when that sad day should come, she would dress him up as if he were going hunting, and leave him with his boat and weapons in the open air. A few days after this conversation she found him dead, and she faithfully carried out her promise. In the evening, being exhausted from much weeping and hard work, she went into the hut and fell asleep. When she woke up, neither husband, nor bidarka, nor weapons were to be seen, but on the beach she discovered tracks made by her husband in carrying the boat to the water. "Ai, Ai, Y-a-h. This is why he died, and

asked to be buried in this manner!" For a whole day and night she sat as if stupefied, trying in vain to solve the mystery. After the first shock was over, she did the best she could to adjust her life to the new conditions and accept the inevitable. But one day while she was cutting grass, a little bird perched itself on a bush near her and repeated three times, "Mack-la-cluili woani." The woman listened attentively, and concluded that the bird meant for her to go in search of her husband. She hurried home to put on her torbasas (soft skin shoes) and belt, and set out. Over hills and valleys she walked before she came in sight of a bay, where she noticed a man in a bidarka fishing, and she suspected him of being her husband. Not far from her was a hut, to which she directed her footsteps; and on going in, she saw a woman around the fire cooking seal-meat. A better look at the woman disclosed the fact that her face was quite flat; there was not even a sign of a nose. Yet she sniffed the air and said, "Fati. I smell a human being. Where did it die, on sea or on land?"—"I died neither on sea nor on land," said the new-comer, "but came to find my husband." On the floor was a large knife, which the visitor picked up unperceived, and, watching her chance, attacked the noseless woman and cut her head off. Her body was carried outside, the head replaced, and she was made to look as natural as possible. This done, the deserted wife hid near by to await the coming of her faithless husband. As he approached, he called, "I am coming!" but receiving no reply, he shouted again, "I am coming!" Still no reply. A third time, "I am coming! Are you angry again to-day? I did not go anywhere." When he pulled up his bidarka, he spoke again, "Why are you angry? Here I am." He went up to his mistress, and, on touching her, the head fell off. Just then his wife appeared, and said, "This is how you died." He looked at her and then at the mistress, and began to weep. Turning his back on both of them, he got into his bidarka, pulled away a short distance from the shore, turned it over, and drowned himself.

#### 5. THE WOMAN WITH ONE EYE

*(Told in English by an Aleut boy of Unga, and here reproduced verbatim)*

Once upon a time there was a man and he was married to two womens. He was a fisherman. He was fishing for a long time and he saw a sand-spit and there was fire burning there and he saw smoke. Then he went ashore. Soon as he came to the house he saw an old woman with one eye. That old woman asked him if he was married and he said, "Yes." Then he gave the old woman some of his fish and went back to his place. He came to his home and told his womens if he dies to put him in a barabara and his bidarka and bow and arrows, spears and knives. His wives said, "Yes, we will do what you say." Then he died after that; then the two ladies put him inside the bidarka and put his things inside the bidarka and some other things into the barabara. Those two ladies

were crying like anything. That other lady — the one carrying the stern of the bidarka — dropped her end of the bidarka, being too heavy for her. That man he laughed a little, he smiled a little. That head-lady said, "This dead fellow laughed a little." And that lady who dropped her end she was growling, "You think a dead people will laugh." — "I saw him laughing myself," that lady said. Then they walked on again to the barabara. It was a long ways to that barabara. That lady, she was tired all the time and she dropped her end again. When she dropped her end the man laughed again, and he did not want the ladies to know that he is not dead, he was making out that he was dead all the time. They brought him to the barabara. Then these two ladies were crying all the time. They went home to go to sleep. Then at night that man he woke up, he took his bidarka to the beach and he loaded his bidarka with his things that he had in the barabara, then he started off for that woman with the one eye.

When those two ladies woke up in the morning they went to the barabara to see if that man is there. When they came to that barabara they did not find that fellow in there. Then they were crying more again.

Then that man was fishing for the woman with the one eye. (The sequel to this story is very much like that in the story of *The Woman with One Eye*, No. 3, given above.)

## 6. THE FIGHT FOR A WIFE

*(Unga Story)*

Once upon a time there was a young man who lived all alone, far from other people. He had a habit of lifting stones, — at first small ones, but he gradually grew so strong that even large ones yielded to him. When he became old enough to marry, he decided to go out in the world to get a wife, — peaceably if he could, but he was also prepared to fight for her.

After several days' paddling, he came one night to a village. In one hut he saw a light, and thither he directed his footsteps, and found a young girl, who greeted him, gave him something to eat and a place to sleep. As soon as the inhabitants of the village heard of the presence of a stranger they sent him a challenge. An old man presented himself, and through the intestine window shouted, "Our champion would like with the new arrival try his strength." The meaning of the words were explained to the young man by the girl, and she advised him to accept. The first test of skill consisted in securing white whales. Each contestant went in his own boat in the presence of the villagers. In the evening they returned; and the new-comer, having secured the largest number of these animals, was declared the victor.

On the following day another challenge was delivered in the manner indicated above. This time it was to be a boat-race. When the rivals met on the beach, their bidarkas were side by side; and between them was

placed a bow and arrow, to be used by the victor on the vanquished. The race was to be around a large island facing the village. They got away together, and for a time the contest was in doubt — first one and then the other leading. But as the race progressed, the local champion took the lead, and gradually drew away from his rival until he lost sight of him altogether. So certain were the old men on the shore of the outcome of the race, that they would not even remain to see the finish. But the new-comer, when he saw himself outdistanced, turned to his boat, which was made of beluga (white whale) skin, and commanded it to be changed to a beluga, swim under the water, and overtake the local champion. When close to the shore, he came up, assuming his natural shape, and landed. The local champion, on looking back and not seeing his rival, slowed up, feeling certain of victory. Great was therefore his astonishment and fright on beholding him on the beach with the bow in his hand. He had little time to think, for the twice victorious hero shot him. While eating supper at the home of the young girl, an old man came to request him to go to the beach to withdraw the arrow from the local hero, since no one else could do it. He went and did as he was asked, and the ex-champion became well again.

When the evening of the third day came around, the young man was challenged once more, in the usual manner, to a wrestling-match to take place in the "Large House." In the centre was a large pit, fenced in, containing many human bones and shaman worms. It was understood that the victor was to throw his victim into the pit, from which he could not get out, and where the worms would eat him. Life, love, and glory hung on the outcome of the struggle, and both men fought hard and long. At last the stone-lifting exercise of the new-comer came to his aid. By a skilful movement he lifted the local champion off his feet and threw him into the pit.

The crowd declared the young man from now on their champion. He went to the home of his defeated rival to claim the spoils of war, which in this case included two wives, furs, etc.

#### 7. KOIKOIUSA

*(Unga Story)*

A certain young man had three sisters, two brothers, a mother, and a father whose name was Koikoiusa. The last-named told this son that he wished him to marry, and that in the spring or summer he would take him to a village to get him a wife. In the mean time he made him a one-hatch bidarka, and from the top of the barabara watched and trained the boy in the handling of it. Each day's practice made the boy more proficient, until the father felt that the boy could take care of himself, and gave him permission to go anywhere in the bay that he pleased, so long as he did not go outside of it and around the point.

Several days later, while the father was in the barabara, the boy decided to go around the point and take a peep and come right back before his father came out. When he had passed the forbidden line, he saw coming towards him a frightfully large bidarka, in which sat a monstrously huge man using the jaw-bones of a whale for paddles. The boy learned, but too late, why his father told him to keep in sight. This giant's name was Meechem Aleu. He was chief of a village, and killed every one that passed by there. Meechem Aleu seized the boy's bidarka, and asked, "Where are you going?"—"Where are you going?" the boy replied boldly.—"I live here."—"If you have a daughter, take me to her and I will marry her," said the young man. "Come with me! and if I have a daughter, you shall marry her." Telling him to take the lead, the giant came behind and drove his spear into the boy's back, killing him.

Koikoiusa, when he came out of the hut and could nowhere find his son, suspected what had happened. In the evening he put on his kamalayka (shirt made of intestines), got into his bidarka, and went to the village of the giant. Quietly landing and stealthily crawling to the barabara of Meechem Aleu, he listened; and this is what he heard the giant say to his men, "He came towards me; I pulled his bidarka to me and asked him where he was going. He replied by asking me the same question. I told him I lived here. The young fool then asked me if I had a daughter, to take him to her and he would marry her. This made me angry, and I told him to paddle ahead of me to the village, and if I had a daughter he should marry her. When we had gone a short distance, I threw the spear at him, the bidarka turned over, and down he went. The last I saw of him were the white soles of his torbasas (soft seal-skin shoes)."

This account amused the audience a great deal, but Koikoiusa wept bitterly. With his kamalayka he wiped the hot tears away, but they flowed on "until the folds of the kamalayka were full." A little later he heard the warriors leave Meechem Aleu's house, and the voice of the giant telling his two boys to go to sleep, but to be on the alert during the night; and if the wind changed, they were to go down to the beach and make fast the bidarkas.

When those inside had retired, Koikoiusa slipped quietly back to his boat, from which he took his sharp stone knife and the spear with the sharp stone point, and sneaked to the giant's home. They were all asleep, and did not hear him lift the grass mat, or notice him as he crawled through the door. Without waking any one, he went to where the boys slept and cut their heads off, and, tying them together by the hair, hung them right over Meechem Aleu, and went outside to see what would follow. Pretty soon he heard the giant call, "Hi, hi, hi! Wake up, boys! It is raining outside. I feel the drops on my face. Go and tie the bidarkas." When he had called two or three times and no one answered, he got up

and lighted the straw wick in his stone lamp. What he saw made him weep; and between sobs he repeated several times, "Ai-Ai-Yah. Koikoiusa has done this because I killed his boy."

Koikoiusa, who was listening, heard the words, and answered by coughing three times, which meant a challenge. He went to his bidarka and paddled for home. On the way he fished and caught a very large halibut, and, having selected a favorable spot, he landed and covered the fish with sand. He also sharpened some prongs and antlers which he found, and concealed them near the halibut. Meechem Aleu, whom he expected, soon afterwards made his appearance. When Koikoiusa saw him coming, he pulled off his parka (fur cloak) and stationed himself near the halibut in an attitude of defence. Koikoiusa, though powerful, was so small that he could barely reach to the breast of the giant; but this proved an advantage, for the giant was unable to get a good hold. The little man was quick, and by twisting and pushing he forced the big man to slip on the halibut. He fell with such force that the prongs and antlers penetrated his body, and before he could clear himself Koikoiusa cut his head off. From here Koikoiusa went back to his own village, and during the rest of his life he bewailed the sad fate of his son.

#### 8. THE BOY WITH THE SEAL-FLIPPERS

*(Unga Story)*

Kawhachnanign, chief of a village, had a wife and two sons. The older was the darling of the mother, while the father preferred the younger. This boy had one marked peculiarity, — his hands and feet were like those of a fur-seal. When he was walking, his flippers would interfere with each other, causing the child to fall. The villagers were greatly amused, but fear of the father kept them from manifesting their fun publicly.

One time when the chief and his men were out hunting, a party of warriors from another village came to attack Kawhachnanign and his people. Learning that the men were all gone, the visitors decided to have a grand feast that night, and in the morning kill all the old people and ugly women and children, and take with them the younger women and some of the children. They pulled up their bidaraks (large open skin boats) on the beach without fear or hindrance. All the small boys, who were just then playing near the water, ran away out of danger except the boy with the seal-flippers, who could not keep up. He was captured, gazed at, and made much fun of by the visitors. The mother, when she learned of the whereabouts of the child, advanced towards the warriors, weeping and singing, "I do not love him, but his father loves him. Send him to me." They let him go; and as he walked towards his mother, he fell every few steps. This scene the warriors enjoyed hugely. When he fell, some one picked him up and sat him on his feet again, and this



would be succeeded by another fall and more laughter. The mother suffered a great deal, but could not interfere; and when the boy at last reached her, she took him in her arms and ran home weeping.

While the warriors were feasting and making merry, Kawhachnanign and his men were on their way to the village; and when they noticed the camp-fire and the bidaraks on the beach, they knew that the enemy had but recently arrived. They therefore landed in a small cove on another part of the island, and under cover of darkness got into the village unperceived. The chief found his wife in tears, and asked her the cause of her grief, and whether any one had been injured. In reply she took the crippled child and gave him to the father, saying, "Take your child, I do not love him," and related all that had taken place. He did not say much, but lay down to think. Early in the morning, when it was light enough for one "to see the lines in the palm of the hand," Kawhachnanign with his men fell on the sleeping and unsuspecting warriors and cut their heads off. Not feeling himself sufficiently revenged, he went to the village of the enemy, killed the old and ugly, and brought the others back as captives.

#### 9. THE LAKE-MONSTER

*(Unga Story)*

There was a large village close to a lake in which lived a frightful monster. This beast was fed by the people on game which they killed; but when this failed, human beings were substituted. After a time, of all the inhabitants there was left but one woman, who had her hut on the outskirts of the village. She gave birth (at one time) to five boys and one girl. The girl was born with a feather parka on her. The mother took good care of her children; and when they were big enough to run about, she permitted them "to go everywhere except on the south side." They inquired the reason for this command and the cause of so many empty barabaras formerly occupied by people. The mother refused to answer their questions, but promised to do so some time in the future, when they were older. They were far from satisfied with this reply, and insisted on being told at once, and even threatened to disobey her instructions. Much against her inclination, and with fear and trembling, she told them, "On the south side there is a large lake, in which lives a monster so huge that his body reaches from one bank to the other. He has devoured all the people of the village; and I understand that he is coming closer now, for he has had nothing to eat for a long time. You must not go near the lake. One of these days he will come and eat us up."

The children received the news coolly, and threatened to go the next day to kill the monster. "Ai-Ai-Yah!" cried the mother. "Don't do it. There were many people strong and brave who could not kill him, and how will you do it?" But the children would not be dissuaded. Under the

direction of the girl, the boys worked all night making bows and arrows. In the morning, in spite of the entreaties of their mother, they set out to hunt, and succeeded in killing a fur-seal, which the girl cooked and covered with feathers from her parka. Putting the meat on the platter, she started with it towards the lake, followed by her brothers. From a hill near by they had a good view of the lake and the monster, whose tail was above water. Here the girl ordered her brothers to wait out of danger, while she proceeded. When the monster saw her coming, he opened his mouth, drawing her to him; but before he had quite succeeded, he was obliged to go under. She took advantage of the opportunity, and, after putting down the meat, ran back as fast as she could. When she heard him emerge, she fell down on the ground, clutching with all her might some alder-bushes, and in this way escaped the fate of the meat, which the beast got into his mouth. After the monster had eaten, he went under the water; and in the mean time the girl gained the hill, where her brothers were waiting. They watched to see what would follow, and after a time they were made glad to see the monster appearing on the surface dead. The feathers of the parka in which the girl was born poisoned him, as they would any other animal. With this joyful news, the children hastened home to tell their mother. Around this place the family continued to live, and from them all the inhabitants of Bering Island are descended.

#### 10. THE SINEW ROPE

*(Kadiak Story)*

There were a great many successful hunters in a certain village; but one there was who had never killed anything, and he and his parents lived off the game secured by others. This humiliated the young man very much. He often asked his mother why he in particular was so unfortunate, and what he ought to do to have better luck.

His mother advised him to go to the point of the cape and look about, but under no circumstances to go farther. He set out, and, when reaching the designated spot without seeing anything of note, he decided to go on until something happened. Towards evening he came to a beach, and in the sand he detected fresh human footsteps. After pulling up his boat on the kelp, he threw himself alongside of it, giving the impression of having been thrown up by the waves. He lay there a short time when he heard footsteps followed by a voice saying, "Ha, ha, here is another one!" The young man was carefully examined by the new-comer to make sure that he was dead; then tying a sinew rope about the body, the person swung him on his shoulders and walked off. On the way they passed through alder-bushes; and when a good opportunity offered itself, the young man reached out and gave a strong pull at a bush, almost upsetting the bearer, who called out, "Who is pulling me?"

When they reached a barabara, the young man was conscious of a woman and several children gathered about him in the expectation of a feast. The baby coaxed so much for a piece of meat that the father told the mother to cut off a toe for the child. Painful as the operation was, the young man did not in the least betray his feelings. The man had started a big fire and was sharpening the knives, when his attention was drawn to the choking baby, who had attempted to swallow the toe but could not. While the whole family was assisting the baby, the young man decided it was about time to escape. So he made a dash for the outside, and ran as fast as he could to the beach for the boat. He had barely time to get in it and push out, when the other man came up and said, "Give me back my sinew rope, and I will give you something also."

The young man, however, refused to have any dealings with him, and pulled away, taking the rope with him. On the way home he killed much game; and as long as he retained the rope he was successful, and in time became a renowned hunter.

## II. UGHEK

(*Karluk Story*)

In a very large and populous village lived a half-witted man named Ughek. On account of his meanness he was much disliked by all the people. To the evening parties where the men gathered in the large hall to play, sing, and dance in a circle, he was never invited. The women were not permitted to take part in these joyous festivities; but when bringing in the cooked seal-meat, ducks, and berries and oil, for the men, they were allowed to dance in and, after depositing the food, to dance out again. Ughek, who resented the treatment he was receiving, got even with his neighbors by hiding near the dance-hall; and as the women passed, he plucked the dress of one, pinched a second, and tripped a third, and in this way made himself thoroughly disagreeable to the community.

The chief determined to put up with him no longer. He therefore called a meeting, which decided to leave the village for a time; but Ughek should not be taken. The next day the village, except for Ughek, was deserted. For two days he did not mind his new situation; but at the end of that time he began to fear lest the *schwichileghk* (sea-monster, half-human and half beast, which is covered on the body with sea-shells and on the head with kelp) would come out at low tide and eat him, as he had done to others.

On the evening of the third day he gathered all the oil lamps from the other barabaras into his own, filled them with oil, and lighted them. This done, he played on the drum, sang, and danced. Every now and then he turned his head toward the beach, and once his attention was drawn to a stone. He went out to it, and said, "You are here alone, as I am. It is

lonely for you. Come with me. In the barabara where I am it is pleasant, many people are dancing. Come with me." Since the stone made no answer, he attempted to force it to come with him by carrying it, but he could not lift it. He went once more into his hut, continuing his singing. Again he approached the stone, asking it to share his joys, and again the stone refused. The attempt to move it was a little more successful, for he advanced it two steps at least. He went back to his music, and from there to the stone. The third time he transported it as far as the doorstep. He danced and sang a little more, and finally got the stone inside, and said, "I am all alone. The people have gone and left me to starve. I am afraid of the schwichileghk. I will put you over the door, and, if he comes, you fall on him and kill him."

Having placed the stone over the door, Ughek was free to go on with his entertainment. About midnight his joy was cut short by the odor of kelp, which became stronger with each minute. Ughek had his eyes on the skin door, which fluttered, and through which a moment later a head of kelp was seen, and from it these words came in a roaring voice: "It has been a long time since I have eaten anything, but now I shall have a good feast." The schwichileghk, for it was he, advanced slowly, but when about halfway in, the stone fell down and killed him.

Ughek raised the stone, cut the monster into small pieces, which he cooked, and filled all the dishes he could find in the village. Not many days later the villagers returned, and Ughek, on hearing them, ran off and hid. Not seeing any trace of Ughek, the chief and his people concluded that he was dead, and celebrated the event with a dance. As the women were advancing with their cooked meats, Ughek sneaked in and played his old tricks on them. One of them ran into the dance-hall, shouting excitedly, "You thought Ughek dead, but he is not. He just now tripped me." It was decided to call him in, and invite him to tell all that happened to him during their absence. Ughek came in, and began playing on the drum, singing and dancing. That done, he asked permission of the chief to set refreshments before the people. When this was granted, he went out and brought in the cooked schwichileghk. Each person took a piece of meat, chewed and swallowed it, and dropped dead. Ughek himself returned to his hut to live with his stone, and there he is now.

COLUMBIA, MO.

TRADITIONS OF THE COOS INDIANS OF OREGON <sup>1</sup>COLLECTED BY HARRY HULL ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY  
LEO J. FRACHTENBERG

## ETHNOGRAPHICAL NOTES

THE Coos Indians lived in small villages, each of which had two chiefs. The head-chief of the tribe lived in a village called Da'nîs. He visited frequently the other villages, travelling with a great crowd around him and gambling and playing shinny wherever he came. Chiefs were elected according to their intellectual and social qualities. They were usually wise men, good speakers in the council, and wealthier than the rest of the people. No Indian could do anything without having consulted previously the head-chief. His orders were usually obeyed. But when his judgment seemed faulty, the people of wealth might be appealed to. When they opposed the chief, he was overruled. Of the two village-chiefs, one usually ranked higher. They acted as judges. They were given presents by all the other Indians. If a man gained anything, he gave the whole, or part of it, to the chiefs of his village, and received in return their help in cases of need. They usually paid the fines for their clansmen. Thus, in case of homicide, the murderer had to pay a heavy fine, which was paid by the village-chiefs. The murderer was not expected to return the fine to his chiefs, but he could do so if he desired. The fine always went to the parents or family of the murdered man. When a crime had been committed, the inhabitants of the village in which the murderer lived danced for a number of nights (usually five) a dance called *saat*, — the murder-dance. The murderer himself had to arrange the dance and select men to help him. This dance was due to the belief that an omission of this ceremony would turn the murderer's blood black and kill him in course of time. The dance and the paying of the fine eased the conscience of the murderer, whose mind until then was in darkness.

The Coos Indians believed in shamans, who were able to discover who had taken or stolen an article and who could induce the thief to return it to the owner. If the thief did not want to give up the stolen goods, the shamans held a council and threatened to turn him into a wild animal by means of their powers. This threat invariably had the desired effect. The shamans obtained their power in dreams, after swimming and walking about at night.

<sup>1</sup> The following notes and tales were collected by Mr. St. Clair in 1903. The traditions were recorded in the form of texts. Since these, however, require further study on the spot, it seemed desirable to make the tales themselves accessible to students. The translations follow as nearly as possible the interlinear and free translations given by the collector. — LEO J. FRACHTENBERG.

The Coos Indians had no ceremonial dances of great importance. Dancing was usually resorted to as a pastime. After a man was initiated as a shaman, he gave a great dance called *laxqa'was*, in which men and women participated. The dance lasted a whole night.

Marriages were arranged by the parents of the bride, who was purchased from them. If a rich man had a boy three, four, or ten years old, and knew a friend who had a girl of the same age, he would purchase this child for his son. The children were married, but did not live together until they attained marriageable age. A man bought his wife from her father, no matter whether she was willing or not. Only in cases where the purchase amount was not sufficient and the girl objected too strongly to the marriage, could she escape marrying the would-be buyer. Ten fathoms of beads (*elkachic*), a couple of blankets, an otter-hide, or a canoe, was the usual price paid for a girl. A chief's daughter was priced higher. She was usually bought with woodpecker-scalps valued so much because of the fact that dancing-caps were made of them. If a man's wife was unfaithful, her husband went to her parents, who returned the purchase-price. Sometimes the woman's paramour, too, had to pay a fine, invariably equal to the amount paid by the husband to the parents of the girl. The girl went to live with her husband as soon as she was mature. When the first signs of maturity appeared, she was secluded for ten days in a dark place, and had to go out at night-time to bathe and walk. Sometimes some other young woman kept her company till the end of the ten days.

When a child was born, the friends of the family were usually invited to a feast, and all leading men received presents from the parents of the child. After the child was five days old or more, another feast was given, at which the child received a name. The naming was done in the following way: First the guests agreed upon a name, which was submitted to the mother of the child for approval. The name being satisfactory to the mother, two men sitting on opposite ends of the group of guests, and appointed by the nearest relatives of the parents, called out in a loud voice the name given to the child. Then the whole audience repeated it, and the ceremony was over. Children of poor parents were usually named by the parents themselves. A boy of about five or ten years could not be called by his childhood name to his face without being mortally offended. This could be done in talking to some one else. It was the same in the case of girls.

The Coos Indians had three kinds of houses: underground houses, called *qall yîxa'wex*; lumber houses, called *q'u'wais yîxa'wex*; and grass houses, known as *wa'al yîxa'wex*.

They used elk-antler for wedges, and sharpened them on very hard stones, making chisels out of them. They also made spoons of elk-antler. Knives were made of bones of whale, of dry, hard arrow-wood, or of

flint. Fire was made by drilling dried willow-roots in a hearth of cedar-wood and igniting fine, dried cedar-bark. Fire was preserved by packing *ha'otit* (?) around it. Dishes were made mostly of wood. They had no stone dishes. They made wooden pots, and knew how to weave little basket plates. Baskets were used for keeping water. Meat and other food was cooked with hot rocks. The rocks were covered with grass, the meat was laid on top, then a layer of brush and some dirt, making thus some kind of an oven. Water was boiled by throwing red-hot rocks into it.

The Coos Indians ate the meat of elks, salmon, deer, beaver, and clams. For vegetables they used fern-roots, skunk-cabbage roots, mussels, and a sort of grass called *yê'êt*.

Tattooing was not practised among them. Their blankets were made of elk-hides, and their clothes of deer-hides. Their dress consisted of leggings and a shirt. Only the chiefs decorated their leggings with beads (*elkachic*). Hats were made of buckskin, covered with feathers of cormorants and divers. Moccasins were worn, some of them marked with juice from the red bark of the alder. The dresses of women were made of buckskin decorated with ruffles or beads. They wore leggings up to the knees, and basket-hats.

The Coos Indians were in the habit of burying small objects with the person that died. These objects were contributed by the relatives and nearest friends of the deceased.

## TALES

### I. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE MERMAN

In an Indian village named Takimiya there lived five brothers and a sister. Many men from different places wished to marry the girl, but she did not want to get married. It was her custom to go swimming every day in a little creek. One day, while returning from her daily swim, she noticed that she was pregnant. Her brothers demanded to know how this had happened, but she could not give them any answer, because she did not know. After some time she gave birth to a boy, who was in the habit of crying all the time. Everything was attempted to stop the crying of the baby, but was of no avail. Her brothers therefore advised her to put it outdoors. As soon as this was done, the baby stopped crying. After a little while the mother went out to look after her boy, and noticed, to her surprise, that he was eating some seal-meat, which was strung on a small stick. She looked around to see who could have given him the meat, but could not find anybody. So she took the child into the house. But the boy started crying again, and would not let anybody sleep. Her brothers told her to take the child outside, and advised her to conceal herself and watch it. A whole day she remained outside without seeing any one. Suddenly, towards evening, a man appeared and told her to follow him, because he was her husband. At first she refused to go with him, fearing

that her relatives would not know where she had gone; but after he had assured her that she would be permitted to see her people, she took the baby in her arms and followed him. They were going into the water. Her husband told her to hang on to his belt and to keep her eyes closed. She did so, and they arrived at a village at the bottom of the sea, which was inhabited by many Indians. Her husband was one of the five sons of the chief of this village. They lived here happy and satisfied.

The boy grew up in the mean time, and acquired the habit of playing with arrows. His mother would make them for him, and tell the child, at the same time, that his five uncles, who lived above them, had lots of arrows. One day the little fellow asked his mother whether she would not take him to his uncles to get some arrows. To this the father of the boy objected, although he allowed his wife to go alone. She put on five sea-otter hides, and started on her way early in the morning. As soon as her brothers saw her, they thought she was a real otter, and began to shoot at her with arrows. The otter seemed to have been hit repeatedly, but it would come up again, so that they did not know what became of their arrows. The otter was swimming up and down the river, followed by many people in canoes, who were shooting at it, but nobody could hurt it. Seeing the fruitlessness of their efforts, everybody gave up the hunt, — with the exception of the oldest brother, who followed the otter until it reached the beach. There he saw some one moving around close to the shore. Approaching nearer, he noticed that it was a woman, and recognized her at once as his lost sister. She told him that she was the sea-otter, and showed him the arrows with which they had been shooting at her. She said, "I came here to get some arrows for my boy. My husband is the son of a chief. We are living not very far from here. Whenever the tide is low, you can see our house right in the middle of the ocean. I brought you these sea-otter skins that you might exchange them for some other things." Her brother gave her as many arrows as she could carry, and she went back to her husband. But before going down into the water, she said to her brother, "You will find to-morrow morning a whale on the beach, right in front of your landing." And so it came to pass. The whale was divided among the people.

A few months afterwards the woman visited her relatives with her husband and child, and her brothers noticed that part of her shoulders were turning into those of a dark-colored sea-serpent. She stayed a little while, and then returned home. Long afterwards many of these sea-serpents came into the harbor; but the woman never came ashore again, and was seen no more. These sea-serpents had come after arrows; and people kept on shooting at them, thereby giving them what they desired. They never returned again; but every summer and winter they would put ashore two whales as a gift to their kinsmen above the sea.



## 2. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE WOLF

There lived in Takimiya a girl who had five brothers. Many men wanted her as a wife, but she did not wish to get married. She was in the habit of chopping wood every afternoon, and bringing it home by means of five tump-lines. One day she went out and brought in four loads of wood, leaving the fifth on the top of a log. While trying to lift the load, she found that she could not raise it. At first she thought that something held it down to the ground. But as this was not the case, she tried once more, with the same result. This vexed her so much that she began to cry. Suddenly there appeared a man by her side, who told her that it was he who was holding the pack. He asked her to become his wife and to follow him. After a few moments' hesitation, she consented, took up the four packs, and went with him, leaving the fifth load on the top of the log. This her brothers found afterwards, and thought that somebody had killed her. They went out searching for her slayer.

In the mean time the girl followed the man, who led her to a large lumber-house. Before entering the house, he said to her, "Wait here a while until your mother-in-law comes to take you in." The girl sat down, and soon a wolf came out, who scared her so much that she began to cry for help. The wolf went back into the house and said to the man, "The girl does not want to come in, she seems to be afraid of me." — "Of course," said the angry man, "she does not want to go in with you. Take the shape of a person, and the girl will not be afraid of you." The wolf then assumed the appearance of an old woman, and asked the girl to come in.

She entered the house, and saw there many old men, who told her that the young people had gone hunting and had not come back yet. In the evening the boys came home, each carrying a deer and throwing it off outside the house. In the house there were many things, — beads, Indian money (*hādā'yims*), and all kinds of meats. The girl stayed in the house and was very happy.

She had two boys. When the boys had grown up, she warned them not to go down to the river nor to the bay. But the boys did not mind her words, and came home one day, telling their mother that, while going to the river, they had seen some Indians with short-cut hair, running and crying. She knew at once that those were her five brothers, who were looking for her, and she told this to her husband. One day he told her that they would go and see her relatives. He gave her a heavy load of meat, some beads, and other valuable things, to take to the house of her brothers. He also told her to come back soon. She went into the house and told her people where she had been until now, and asked them not to worry about her. Before leaving, she promised to provide for them in the future, and she kept her promise. Her boys would drive live deer

or elk down the river, where the brothers could kill them easily. The man whom she had married was a wolf.

### 3. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE DOG

There lived in the village of Takimiya a girl who had five brothers. She used to make baskets. She had a little house of her own outside the main building, where she used to do her work. She had a nice little dog whom she always kept in her house. One day a nice-looking young man came to her hut and wanted to know why she liked the dog so much. She told him that the dog was her only companion, that she fed him herself, and that he always slept under her bed. When the young man heard this, he killed the dog, and put his skin on. In this form he became her husband. Every night he took the little dog-hide off and went to bed with his wife. After a while she became pregnant, and her brothers wanted to know who her husband was. But she refused to tell, and her brothers gave up asking. Only her youngest brother was curious to know why she took such good care of her little dog. Not being able to find out the reason, he decided to kill the dog. One day, while his sister was going up the house-ladder, and the dog was walking behind her, he took his bow and arrow and shot him. The dog ran out of the house barking, and she followed him into the woods, where she found him lying dead. After having buried him, she kept on going through the woods until she came to a place where there was a creek. She stopped here, built a little house, and lived on fish. After some time she gave birth to twins. When the boys grew up they became hunters. One day they met some Indians who had short-cut hair, and who were crying. They related this to their mother, and she told them how this happened. She said, "When your father came to me for the first time, I had a little dog. He killed the little dog and assumed his shape. My youngest brother killed him later, thinking that it was a real dog." She also told them that she would like to go and see her brothers. One day she went to visit them, and told them that she had two sons, and that they were living in the wilderness. When her oldest brother heard this, he said to her, "Let your children come here, and I will make them my heirs, and also give each of them a wife." She went back and brought her boys to Takimiya. Here they grew to be very stout men, great shinny players, good gamblers, and strong wrestlers.

### 4. THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE BIRD

On the river Siusean there lived a young man who was a gambler. He lost his property as fast as he could acquire it. Finally it happened that he had nothing more left. His relatives could not support him. Therefore he took his fish-pole, the only thing left to him, and started up the North Fork (*Qá'dític*). He came to a little waterfall, and saw in it

a nice little bird (butter-ball) that he wanted to catch with his spear. But every time he was ready to throw, the bird would dive and thereby avoid the spear. Having made a few more unsuccessful attempts, he went down to the edge of the creek, and decided to dive in the water, to see whether he could not catch the bird with his hands. When he had dived, he saw a large house, and in it the bird he was trying to catch. The bird said to him, "You are my husband. Come in." He entered and heard at the other end of the house a great noise. He looked around and saw many people dancing and trying to cure a sick person. Some were gambling. He joined in the game, began to win, and continued winning right along. Then his wife asked him whether he had a sister at home, and he told her that he had a sister and a brother, and also a father who was very old and poor. He stayed in this house five days, after which the people told him that they would take him home. While they were preparing a canoe, his wife said to him, "Here are some clothes that you may take home for your sister. Whenever she puts them on she will look just like me." He took the clothes and went into the canoe with three companions, who gave him a piece of whale to take along. They told him to lie down in the canoe and to keep his eyes shut. But soon he got tired of it and opened his eyes a little. Just as he did so, a breaker nearly swamped the canoe; and his companions shouted to him, "Keep your eyes shut!" This scared him so much that he closed his eyes, and did not open them again. They were paddling under the water until they came to the beach. Here he left his companions and went afoot towards his home. While walking along he heard a noise. He approached nearer, and saw that it was his father who was wandering about the place where they had been living before, crying for his son. He approached him and asked him what he was doing. At the sight of his son, the old man uttered a cry of joy, and clasped him in his arms. Then they went towards the house, and when they came to a little creek, the old man said, "Let me carry you across the creek." But the son objected, and answered, "No, I will jump across. You can wade across. I am not going to run away; I am going home with you." When they came to the mouth of the river, they found the cut of whale that was given to the young man by his wife's relatives. They had told him that, if he would give to each of his relatives a piece of this whale, he would find a whole whale the next day. Thus he was enabled to gain wealth from this, because he could sell it. He therefore sliced the whale, and distributed it among his relatives. The next morning he found a whale on the shore. He cut it up, and sold pieces of it to the people of the village. Thus this young Indian became a rich man. His friends, too, grew rich through him.

5. THE WOMAN WHO BECAME A BEAR <sup>1</sup>

There lived in Kuwaitc a girl who was very lazy. She was so lazy that nobody could ever make her work. One day she became *lêtsä'wes* (?), and her people had to shut her up. They closed her up for five days, and did not give her anything to eat or to drink. But she had a little brother of about ten or twelve years of age, who would put some water on the back of his neck, cover it up with his hair, and bring it to her to drink. In the same way he supplied her with food. In the mean time hair began to grow on her shoulders and arms, her finger-nails and teeth started to grow, and she turned into a bear. On the fifth day she said to her brother, "You must not be afraid of me. Stay right where you are, while I go to kill all my relatives." She went out and tore up first her mother and father, and then the other inhabitants of the little village. Afterwards she gathered up all their clothes and beads, and took them to the place where her little brother was, saying, "Stay here, while I go down to the creek to take a drink." When she arrived there, she got down on her hands and knees and began to drink. She kept on drinking until she turned into rock. She is there yet, and there is a tree standing on her head, an arrow-wood tree, which is her hair. Her little brother became a rich man; for he inherited all the clothes and beads that his sister had left in the house. He went away later to another Indian village, where he soon married.

6. THE REVENGE ON THE SKY-PEOPLE <sup>2</sup>

There were two brothers living in Kiw'é't; the older one was a canoe-builder. One day, while he was at work, a man came up to him and asked, "What do you do with your canoe after it is finished?"—"I always sell it," he replied, going on with his work and holding his head down. Near the canoe that he was building lay his little dog. All at once the stranger hit the canoe-builder a terrible blow, killing him instantly. He cut off his head and walked away with it.

When the younger brother and the other relatives of the murdered man saw that he was not coming home, they went to look for him. They found him dead in the canoe, with his head cut off. The little dog was barking over the dead body. Every time he barked he would look straight up. This made them think that some one from above had committed the murder. The next day the younger brother went out to search for the murderer. He took an arrow and shot it straight into the air, and

<sup>1</sup> See Teit, "The Shuswap," *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. ii, p. 715; Farrand, "Traditions of the Chilcotin Indians," *Ibid.* p. 19; Boas, "Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians," *Ibid.* vol. i, p. 111; Teit, *Traditions of the Thompson River Indians*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> See another version of the same tale in Boas, "Traditions of the Tillamook Indians," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xi, p. 136

then another one, and every arrow he shot hit the nock of the preceding one and stuck in it. He kept on shooting until the arrows reached the ground.

He climbed up on this chain and got to the top, where he met some Indians dancing around a man's head that they had brought home. It was his brother's head. He asked for the man who gave them this head, but he was not among them. One of their number told him that this man's wife was digging fern-roots at a certain place, and that he could find her there every morning. He went there and found the woman digging fern-roots on the banks of a river. He asked her some questions. "Do you own your canoe?" — "No." — "Then who ferries you across this river?" — "My husband always brings me over here." — "And what does he do after he has taken you across?" — "He goes back, and comes after me towards evening. He stops his boat at a little distance from the shore, and I jump in with my pack." — "What do you do with the fern-roots when you get home?" — "I dry them." — "And what do you do with them after they get dry?" — "I give them to everyone in the village, except to an old couple that live not far from us." — "And what do you do afterwards?" — "Then I start cooking. I cook in a large pot and stir it with my hands." — "Don't you ever burn your hands?" — "No; it never hurts me." — "What does your husband do when you folks go to bed?" — "He goes to bed too. I always lie away from my husband, who falls asleep at once."

After he had asked all these questions, he killed the woman, put her skin on, and made himself look just like her. He then picked up her fern-roots and tied them together. Soon the husband came and stopped the canoe quite a distance away from the shore. The young man took the fern-roots on his shoulders and jumped aboard. But one of his feet touched the water, and he excused himself by saying, "I am tired and my pack is very heavy." The husband did not say anything, and the young man did exactly what the woman had told him. He made only one mistake by offering some fern-roots to the old couple. But they would not take them, and one of them exclaimed, "This woman belongs to the earth, and not here." Fortunately nobody from the other houses heard this remark.

When he came to the house where the murderer of his brother lived, he began to prepare supper. While stirring the pot with his hands, he burned them, and cried out, "Ouch! I have burnt my hands." The husband heard this, and asked, "What is the matter with you?" — "Oh, my finger is sore, and that is the reason why I cried out." Suddenly, while looking up, he saw his brother's head hanging down from the roof. He could not help crying every time he looked at it. When the husband asked for the reason of this, he answered, "There is so much smoke in the house that it hurts my eyes." When night came the supposed wife

went upstairs, and one of his brothers-in-law, on seeing him, said to his grandmother, "It seems to me that my sister-in-law looks like a man." But the old woman told the boy that the women belonging to their tribe always looked like men, and nobody spoke of it any more.

Later on, visitors from different places came and began to dance around the head, from which the blood was dripping all the time. After the dance was over, everybody went to bed. The young man took a large knife and punched a hole in every canoe in the village, except in the one that he was going to use. Then he went to bed with the husband; and as soon as the latter had gone to sleep, he cut his head off, took his brother's head, and made his escape in the canoe that he had saved. In the mean time the mother of the killed man, whose place was under the bed of her son, felt the blood dropping on her face. She made a light and saw what had happened. She woke the other people, and they soon found out that the supposed woman was gone, and with her the head that was hanging from the roof. They said, "That woman must have killed her husband," and they went after her. But since the canoes foundered as soon as they pushed them into the sea, they had to give up the chase.

In the mean time the young man climbed down the chain of arrows and got back to his village, bringing home the head of his brother. He gathered all his friends and told them to put his brother's head on to his body again. They went to work at once. There was a small spruce-tree against which they leaned the body of the dead man while they were trying to put the head back. But every time they tried, the head fell off. Finally, at the fifth trial, the head stayed on the body, which reached almost to the top of the little spruce-tree. Then the boy said to his brother, "Now you are well again." So the man went away from the tree.

The people from above could not come down to take revenge. The people of the village then said to the revived man, "You will be nothing but a woodpecker. The next generation will see you." And his children were woodpeckers, and had red heads because of the blood that was dripping from their father's head.

#### 7. THE EAGLE-WOMAN

There was a woman at Takimiya in the shape of an eagle. Every man who came to Takimiya became her husband. After the wedding ceremony she would say to her husband, "Let us go to a nice place where there is lots of fun." She would then make him sit on her back, and would fly off with him to a place where there was a lake of soft pitch. After her arrival there, she would turn right over and throw the man into the lake, where he met a miserable death.

She did this for a long time. One day a young man dreamed about this woman, and how she was killing her husbands. He went to her and told her that he wanted to become her husband. She consented, and the next

day they started for the lake. When they arrived there, the woman began her efforts to throw her young husband into the lake. But he clung to her so closely that she did not succeed. Having tried a few times, she flew back to the place where they had come from. There the young man said to her, "Now you are my wife. Come with me." She could not refuse, and went aboard her husband's canoe with him and one of his younger brothers. Her brother-in-law steered the canoe, her husband stood at the bow, and she sat in the middle. As soon as they reached the sea, her husband began to rock the boat so violently that it soon filled with water. He kept on doing this until the terrified woman began to shiver from cold, and fainted. Only then he started back. When they came ashore, the woman sat down on the sand in order to get warm, and her husband said to her, "You will always remain an eagle, and the next generation will see you. You will live on whatever comes ashore on the beach." He then left her, and never came back again.

#### 8. THE WOMEN WHO MARRIED THE BEAVER <sup>1</sup>

Two girls, who lived in Takimiya, were sent by their parents to Tsketc. In this village lived the son of a rich man who had much shell-money and many otter-hides. He was a sea-otter hunter, and had a Beaver and Muskrat working for him. When the two girls came to his house and saw the Beaver, they thought that this was the place they were sent to, and they married the old Beaver. In the evening the Beaver went out fishing, and stayed away the whole night. On the next morning, when he came home, he said to one of his wives, "I have some trout in the canoe. The big trout is for you, and the small one for your sister." The girls went down to the shore, but found only an old snag and some willow-leaves and salmon-berry sticks around it. They went back and told their husband that all they found were some beaver-cuttings lying on the top of a snag. So the old Beaver became enraged and screamed, because he could not get anything to eat.

The next night he went out again, and was gone all night. This time, however, he brought home some trout, which the girls cooked and placed before him. But he could not eat it, because he had no teeth. Every time he took a morsel in his mouth, it would drop out again.

One morning the girls saw a man bathing in the creek just above their camp, dressed in clothes elaborately decorated with beads. The young man wanted to see the girls better, because they were nice-looking. So he turned into a sea-otter and swam about in the pond. The old Beaver and the Muskrat went aboard their canoe with the wives, and pursued the sea-otter. At one time the sea-otter came up very close to the canoe, and the Beaver grasped his bow and shot an arrow at it. It dropped into the water about halfway. Then the little Muskrat shot his arrow and

<sup>1</sup> See F. Boas, *Kathlamet Texts*, p. 20.

almost hit the otter. When the girls saw this, they said to the Beaver, "It is queer that you could not shoot farther than halfway, whereas your little brother almost hit the otter." This enraged the old Beaver, and he retorted, "Why don't you go with those who can throw an arrow farther than I can?"

When they came back to the house, the girls said, "We made a mistake. It must have been this young Sea-Otter our parents wanted us to marry." And both made up their minds to go to his house. They went there, and found a nice-looking young man in the house; and they said to him, "You are our husband." The young man consented, and they all went to bed. The next morning he woke up very ill. His body was full of pimples, sores, and maggots. So the younger girl did not want him any more. But her elder sister washed his body and took good care of him. One day she said to him, "We will take you home to our parents." The young man decided to go with them, and they started on their way. He was getting weaker and weaker. He could hardly walk, and his wife had to carry him part of the way. The younger girl paid no attention to him. Whenever they sat down to take a rest, she would sit apart from them. They had nearly reached the home of the girls, when the young man began to think that it was not nice to appear in such a condition before his parents-in-law. So he said to his wife, "Go on and wait for me at the house. I shall follow you very soon." He withdrew a short distance, washed, changed his clothes, and made himself look as attractive as he had been when the girls first saw him. When he came back to the girls, he looked so handsome that the younger sister liked him again. But he did not want to have anything to do with her, and went with her elder sister into the house of her parents.

By this time the old Beaver found out that the young chief had gone off with his wives. He gathered a great crowd, and went to kill the chief for having taken away his wives. When they came within two or three miles of the house, the Beaver said to his companions, "Stay here and wait for me. Should I be killed, you will smell swamp-root leaves." They remained there, and the Beaver went to the house and knocked at the door with a big knife. The door was opened, and he stepped in. But as soon as he entered, the inhabitants killed him, took away his knife, and made his tail out of it. Then they threw him into the swamp, and said, "Now you will always remain a beaver. The next generation will see you." The companions whom he had left behind him soon smelled swamp-roots, and, knowing that the beaver was dead, turned back and went home.

#### 9. THE WOMAN WHO MARRIED THE BEAR

Once upon a time a young girl went out to pick berries. As she went along, she met a man, who invited her to his house. He was a fine-looking



man, and the girl said to herself, "I think I will go with him. He is a nice-looking man, and wants me for his wife." So she went with him to his house. But before they got home she gave birth to a child. In the house of her husband's father she saw many bears, and soon her husband himself turned into a bear. She began to feel bad, and did not know what to do. She wanted to go home, but could not remember the way.

One day she went out to pick berries, leaving her little boy at home. Soon she had filled her basket. But on her way home she fell and spilled all the berries. While standing there and looking at the spilled berries, she saw many small frogs, and made up her mind to take some of them home for her boy to play with. So she took some grass and caught many of the frogs, wrapped them up, and took them home. When she came home, her husband asked her whether she had brought any berries. She answered, "No, I spilled them all on my way home. But I brought many pets for my boy to play with." He wanted to see what these pets were, and she unwrapped the bundle and threw the frogs right on her husband. This scared him so much that he ran away. His father and the whole household became frightened, and all ran away. The woman then took her child and went home to her people, who said to these bears, "You will always remain bears, and in the next generation, whenever you see anybody, you will run away."

#### 10. THE COUNTRY OF THE SOULS

An Indian who lived in a certain village suddenly became ill. He had three sons, and said to them, "If I should die, let me lie five days before you bury me." Soon he died, and his sons kept the body in the house over night. On the next morning they put him outside, at a distance from the house. They laid him on a board, put a couple of boards on each side edgewise and one on top, and, although they watched him, they did not see that he had gone, because his body remained there.

His soul, however, went away. As soon as he started, he lost his way and did not know where to go. Finally he came to a wide trail. He saw fresh tracks on the trail and alongside of it. So he followed these tracks. Sticks were lying across the trail, marked with red paint by people who had touched them. Soon he came to the top of the trail; and when he began to go on a downhill grade, he heard sea-gulls and eagles making a noise. He wondered where those birds could be, because he could not see them. Then he came to a village. When the people from the village saw him, they began to shout from the other side, "A man is coming down, a man is coming down!" And they all ran to their canoes and went to fetch him. But he went to the landing-place and stood there smiling, because some of them had just pieces of canoes, others only half-canoes, and the rest of the canoes had holes punched in one end.

When the people came nearer, he saw among them his father, his eldest brother, and many other people whom he knew. But they did not land. They only looked at him from the river, and said, "You are a *stöndi*." And his father said to him, "Your grandmother is living down the river. Go there." So he went to the place where his grandmother was; and when he came there, he saw his grandfather sitting by the door and whittling a small stick, while his grandmother was sitting just inside the door, making a small basket. He greeted them, and they all went into the house. The house was very clean and nice. In one corner of the room there was a small basket hanging from the wall. The old man soon built a fire, took this basket down, put his hands three times into it, and took out a small dish. Then he put back the little basket, and placed the dish in front of his grandson, who at first could not see anything in it. But when he looked again, it was full of lice. He became scared and threw the dish into the fire. The lice began to crack and snap in the fire; and the old man said to him, "Oh, my grandson, people always eat lice when they come here first." His grandparents knew all the time that he was a *stöndi*, but they did not tell him. They told him, however, that a woman had arrived the day before, and that they were going to dance for her, and play shinny, cards, and many other games, after the dance. After a while the man looked through the window, and saw a fish-trap built clean across the river; and he thought to himself, "I am going to cross the river on the dam this evening." But his grandparents told him not to go down to the river, because something might get hold of him and devour him. He obeyed them and stayed in the house. But the next morning he said to himself, "I will go down and take a swim. I wonder why they did not want me to go down to the river." So he left the house and began to wade out into the river. Soon eels began to stick to his legs, and hung fast. But they did not bother him, and he kept on swimming. After he was through swimming, he took two of the largest eels into the house. His grandparents were sitting by the fire; when he came in, he placed the eels near them. But the old couple became scared. The old woman crawled away on her hands and knees to the end of the house, and the old man hid himself in a corner. In the mean time the young man whittled a small stick and roasted the eels on it. When they were about to be done, they began to smell very nice, and the old people came out from their corners and partook of the meal.

In the evening, after the old people had gone to bed, the young man crossed the river on the fish-weir, and came to the dance-house. He looked in, and saw a woman whom he knew. She was standing in the middle of the room, and people were dancing around her in a circle. Every one who went by touched her on the top of the head. Soon the dancers noticed him, and they began to shout, "Do you see that *stöndi* outdoors looking into the house?" The young man ran away, and went

back to his grandparents, who said to him, "Whenever anybody comes here and eats lice, he becomes a resident of this village, and cannot go back any more. You are still a live person and able to go back." But he did not want to go back yet, because he wanted to take another good look at the dance. So, when night came, he crossed the river again and went to the dance-house. There the same woman was distributing presents which had been put in her grave when she was buried, saying, "Your brother sends you this; your father sent you this; your mother sends you this." When the people in the house saw him, they said, "That *stöndi* is looking in again. Do you see him?" So he went back to his grandparents, and said, "My children are waiting for me, and I have to go back." And about eight o'clock he started on his way home.

In the mean time his body, that was lying near the house covered up with boards, was getting rotten. His mouth came out of shape, and his flesh was beginning to look like a sponge. Near noontime on the fifth day, his corpse began to crack and squeak. It squeaked four times, and his sons took away the boards carefully. When it squeaked the fifth time, the body seemed to move. Then his children took off all covers from him, except a single blanket. As soon as this was done, his body stopped squeaking. Suddenly he began to move his arms and legs under the blanket, and soon he stretched his feet. His oldest son was watching him all the time. He had made a blazing fire by his side. The dead man threw off his blanket and sat up. His long hair was hanging down in front of him, and reached way down to his waist. His son said to him, "My father, I am watching you. I have been watching you all the time." To this he replied something that the boy could not understand. And the boy said to him, "My father, I do not know what you said." So he said to his son, "I have some lunch here in a little basket. You may eat it. Your grandmother sends it to you." But the boy could not see the basket at all, and shouted to his brothers, "Come here, our father has come back!" They all hurried up and came to see their father. They wanted to warm some water and bathe him in it; but he said, "I am not going to take a bath, my children. I got back all right." His eyes appeared to be swelled, as if he had been asleep for a long time. When he arose from the ground, he said to his sons, "You need not eat the lunch I brought now. You can look for it in the water to-morrow. I have in it one cooked and one fresh flounder." On the next morning the boys found many flounders in the river, some half cooked, and others half fresh, swimming about in the water. And this man never grew old, but always remained a young man. Only his children were getting old, very, very old.

## II. THE LONG NIGHT

Once upon a time night came, and the daylight never appeared. And people woke up just the same as they did in the daytime, although it was dark. And then they would get sleepy and go to bed again. In the night they would take torches and chop wood by this light. But people began to starve, because they could not hunt or fish in the dark. It was thus perfectly dark for about ten days, and people began to think that the sun had gone way down south. On the eleventh day they saw the sun rise from the south, and stop over their heads as at noon. And the sun stayed there for a whole day, and it never grew dark. Then the sun started again slowly, and went down its usual way. The next day it rose from the east as usual. And after that people were satisfied, because all kinds of fish came ashore, which they picked up and divided among themselves.

## 12. THE BATTLE IN THE AIR

Once upon a time two Indians met each other. One of them had a fisher-dog, and the other a dog made of fur-seal skin filled with a sort of gravel. When they met, the man with the fur-seal dog asked the other one whether he was a man of importance. Scarcely had he asked this question when the fisher-dog jumped at him. But he dodged, and said to his dog, "If I should give out, come and help me." He began to fight with the dog. But he soon gave out and asked his dog for help. The two dogs clashed. They stood up on their hind-legs and fought vigorously. Neither of them fell. Soon they started to go up in the air slowly, until they were out of sight. They kept on going up until they came to the moon. There the stone dog chewed up the arms and legs of the fisher-dog, and remained the sole inhabitant of the moon. And this is the dog who looks like a man, and whom people see in the moon.

## 13. THE UNDERGROUND PEOPLE

In a village on Coos Bay lived a people called Baltiasa. They were big, tall Indians, and lived underground. Their food was fish, which they caught on long fish-poles and then swung ashore, no matter how large the fish was. Their greatest sport was to dive in the water. They could dive and swim under water across the river and back again. They made pots of stones. They could float large stones. Whenever they floated stones, they would talk to heaven, that the rock should not sink. They could put a rock on the water, stand on top of it, and it would never sink. They could also float on feathers. They caught oysters by putting a rock on the top of their heads and walking around under the water. Their hats were made of carbuncles (?), and their knives of big, hard bones. They would club each other with these knives over the head without being hurt. They were very mean, and all the other Indians

were afraid of them. They abused the Indians so much that it was decided to drive them out by force. This was done, and those people made two rafts, and went down the river until they came to the ocean. But the water was very rough. So they poured seal-oil on the water, and the ocean became perfectly smooth. They then sailed away, and separated later. One raft went north, and the other south. And nobody knows where they went, because they were never seen again.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK.

## THE BALLAD OF HIND HORN

BY WALTER R. NELLES

INVESTIGATORS of the Horn story have usually dealt primarily with the two earlier romance versions, — the Norman French *Horn et Rimel*<sup>1</sup> (HR) and the English "Geste of King Horn" (KH),<sup>2</sup> — treating slightly, if at all, the Scottish popular ballad of "Hind Horn."<sup>3</sup> The question with regard to the ballad has been whether or not it is derived from the fourteenth-century English romance of "Horn Childe and Maiden Rinnild" (HC),<sup>4</sup> which is generally believed to be derived from HR. This paper will be primarily concerned with the history and origin of the ballad, touching upon the romance versions of the story so far as they throw light upon these matters. I shall consider, first, the relation of the ballad and HC; and, second, the origin of the ballad.

## I

The resemblances which indicate a connection between the ballad and HC are three in number.<sup>5</sup>

1. Horn's mistress gives him a ring which will change color if she is unfaithful to him during his absence. In the ballad she says,

"Whan that ring keeps new in hue,  
Ye may ken that your love loves you.

"Whan that ring turns pale and wan  
Ye may ken that your love loves anither man.'" (G, 5-6.)

Rinnild says in HC,

"When the ston wexeth wan  
Than chaungeth the thougt of thi leman,  
Take than anewe;  
When the ston wexeth rede,  
Than haue y lorn mi maidenhed,  
Ogaines the vntrewe.'" (ll. 571-576.)

<sup>1</sup> References are to the edition by Michel for the Bannatyne Club, Paris, 1846; the line numbers agree with those of the edition by Brede and Stengel, Marburg, 1883. The oldest MS. is of the twelfth century; see Hartenstein, *Studien zur Hornsage*, Heidelberg, 1902, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> References are to the C text of Hall's edition, Oxford, 1901. The oldest MS. is of the early thirteenth century; see Hall's Introduction.

<sup>3</sup> No. 17 of Professor Child's collection, vol. i, pp. 187-208; see, also, Additions and Corrections in each of the five volumes. Professor Child prints nine versions, designated by the letters A, B, C, etc.

<sup>4</sup> References are to the text published by Caro, *Eng. Stud.* xii, pp. 351-356.

<sup>5</sup> The bride's offer to elope, A 20-21, has been cited as a particular resemblance to HC, ll. 1030 sq.; but HR, ll. 4301 sq. affords nearly as close a resemblance; see *infra*, pp. 51 and 52.

There is a ring in HR and in KH, but its stone does not change color. Its only virtue is to preserve the wearer from harm by fire or water, in battle and in tournament.

2. In the ballad and HC, Horn, returning at the time of his mistress's wedding, meets a beggar and changes clothes with him. In HR and KH it is a palmer that he meets.

3. The ballad concludes,

"The bridegroom he had wedded the bride  
But young Hind Horn he took her to bed." (A 24; cf. B 24, C 23.)

HC reads,

"Now is Rimnild tviis wedde,  
Horn brougt hir to his bedde." (ll. 1111-1112.)

This resemblance is almost verbal; there is no similar passage in HR or KH.

Two theories to account for these resemblances have been advanced. Professor Stimming, in his review of Wissmann's edition of Horn, said, "Die übereinstimmung jener züge lässt sich ja zur genüge aus dem umstande erklären, dass sowohl die balladen als auch" Horn Childe "im norden entstanden sind, so dass also beide der gestaltung folgten, welche die sage in diesen gegenden angenommen hatte." <sup>1</sup> Professor Child was inclined towards the same view: "The likeness evinces a closer affinity of the oral tradition with the later English or the French, but no filiation. And were filiation to be accepted, there would remain the question of priority. It is often assumed, without a misgiving, that oral tradition must needs be younger than anything that was committed to writing some centuries ago; but this requires in each case to be made out; there is certainly no antecedent probability of that kind." <sup>2</sup>

The closeness of their resemblances makes this theory that HC and the ballad are independent of each other difficult of acceptance. Professor Schofield holds that there is filiation, and that the features in which HC and the ballad agree originated in the former. <sup>3</sup> He bases this conclusion on the character of HC: "The poem is a product of a late period, when old themes were being boldly remodelled to satisfy depraved tastes, when in the composition of romances little respect was paid to the authenticity of tradition, when art was yielding to artifice and originality to convention." <sup>4</sup> Accordingly, he holds that HC was the source of the ballad, and that the features common to the two were introduced into the Horn story by the author of HC, a professional seeker-out of innovations.

My own examination of the subject leads me to agree with Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. Stud.* i, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, vol. i, p. 193.

<sup>3</sup> Schofield, "The Story of Horn and Rimenhild," *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. of Am.* xviii, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup> Page 75.

Schofield that HC and the ballad are related. I also agree that the author of HC made innovations. But that the specific features common to HC and the ballad were among his innovations, remains, I think, to be proved. We find these features in a literary version and in a popular version of the story. As Professor Child pointed out, there is no antecedent probability that their first occurrence was in the literary version. The author of HC, according to Mr. Schofield's own character of him, would not have restricted himself to a single source. If, in addition to the French romance, HR, he was acquainted with a ballad version of the Horn story, he would have used both in the composition of his work. His work gives numerous indications that he was familiar with folk-lore. There is no antecedent probability that, when he wrote, a Horn ballad was not already extant. And the character of two, at least, of the features common to HC and "Hind Horn" is such that they cannot be satisfactorily explained except on the theory that they originated in such a ballad.

Among the features indicating the author's familiarity with folk-lore may conceivably be included the historical setting of HC.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Schofield, while admitting the possibility that the author may have got his stories of Danish raids from oral tradition, considers a written source more likely. The departures from authentic history, he thinks, are due to the hodge-podging tendency of the degenerate minstrelsy of which HC is an example. He further points out the likeness in spirit between passages of HC and passages of such *literary* productions as "The Battle of Maldon" and "The Battle of Brunanburh." This second argument, which is interesting though inconclusive, is not directly answerable.<sup>2</sup> As to the first, however, it seems, though here also there is ample room for difference of opinion, somewhat more likely that the corruptions of authentic history should have come about in oral tradition than that they should be wilful perversions by a writer. The corruptions are in the nature of confusions of persons and events; Hatheolf in HC seems to stand for King Ethelred II, for Eadulf, Earl of Northumberland in 966, and for a certain Uch-tred, who in 1006 routed Malcolm II of Scotland at Bamborough; Malcolm II is confused with Malcolm I, and, according to Deutschbein,

<sup>1</sup> Schofield, pp. 66 *sq.*, points out the originals of the events in the first 500 ll. of HC in the history of northern England under the heptarchy. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagen-geschichte Englands*, i, pp. 89 *sq.*, supplies additional historical parallels.

<sup>2</sup> I question, however, if a certain analogy might not also be pointed out between HC and the Border ballads. The Border ballads are, of course, more practical and matter-of-fact. The struggles they commemorate are between men who knew each other by name and by sight, who spoke the same language, and who fought to a considerable extent for the sheer joy of fighting — in some ways not unlike the conflicts of hostile "gangs" of schoolboys. But in commemorating struggles such as those in HC, battles with savage invaders from over sea, perhaps the popular muse might have been capable of an exaltation comparable with that of passages in HC.



with still another Malcolm. "An interchange of names," says Professor Child, "is of the commonest occurrence in traditional ballads."<sup>1</sup> When we consider that Danish and Scottish raids were of more than annual occurrence in Northumbria during the reign of Ethelred II, it seems inevitable that they and the warriors concerned in them should have confused themselves in the popular memory. That the departures from authentic history in HC are due *directly* to such confusion in the popular memory is of course only one of a number of possibilities; but it seems a not unlikely one.

Several other features of HC are less doubtfully of a folk-lore character. While in any single case it may be questioned if the author had not a written source, the aggregate is large enough to warrant a conviction that he had a considerable first-hand acquaintance with folk-lore. King Hatheolf was so formidable in fight that his enemies durst not approach him, but stoned him to death from a distance.<sup>2</sup> Similar stonings occur in Norse mythology.<sup>3</sup> Horn's sword was wrought by Weland.<sup>4</sup> It seems certain that the Weland myth was naturalized in England from early Anglo-Saxon times.<sup>5</sup> It was perpetuated among the folk, not in books; Halliwell<sup>6</sup> asserts that it is mentioned in no known Middle English poem except HC and "Sir Torrent of Portugal," which dates from the next century. Still another feature seemingly derived from Germanic mythology is the well under a tree, which would indicate to Rimmild the constancy of Horn's affection.<sup>7</sup> This suggests the well of Frau Holde, known

<sup>1</sup> *Eng. and Scot. Pop. Ballads*, iii, p. 451. Mr. W. M. Patterson has supplied me with a number of instances from the Border ballads. It is sufficient to mention the ballad of *Otterburn*, Version B, where Earl Percy is substituted for Harry Percy; and *The Rising in the North*, Child, No. 175, where Richard Norton is called by the name of his eldest son, Francis, and Francis is confused with the fourth son.

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 214-216.

<sup>3</sup> Schofield, p. 74, cites Norse *Hamþismál*, st. 25, and *Völsungasaga*, ch. 42.

<sup>4</sup> Ll. 400 sq.

<sup>5</sup> See Binz, *Paul u. Braune Beiträge*, xx, pp. 186 sq. Though certain of the allusions to Weland in early English literature may be re-importations from the continent, independent of English tradition, the place-names cited by Binz and the local traditions, such as that used by Scott in *Kenilworth*, leave scarcely a doubt that the myth was firmly established on English soil.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. of *Sir Torrent of Portugal*, London, 1842, p. 7.

<sup>7</sup> "In thine erber is atre,  
Thevnder is a wel fre,  
Ygrowen al with yue:  
Rimmild, for the loue of me,  
Eueriday that thou ther be,  
To se the water lithe:  
& when thou sest mi schadu thare,  
Than trowe thou me namare,  
Than am y bon to wiue;  
& while thou sest mi schadu nouȝt,  
Than chaungeth neuer mi thouȝt,  
For no woman oliue." (ll. 577 sq.)



comes to her rescue she will be forced into an obnoxious marriage. In order for the talisman to fit the story, the indication of the lady's danger should have been specified as one of its properties.

Talismans with properties which would fit the story are exceedingly common in folk-lore. Mr. Clouston<sup>1</sup> has assembled, under the heading "Life Tokens," a large number of examples. "The welfare or danger," he says, "of the heroes of many folk-tales, is indicated by a magical flower, or some other object, which they leave behind with their friends, on setting out upon perilous adventures." Among such life-tokens are the following: a glove which will drop blood,<sup>2</sup> a ring which will press hard upon the finger,<sup>3</sup> a knife which will let fall three drops of blood at table,<sup>4</sup> a flower which will fade,<sup>5</sup> plants which will fade.<sup>6</sup> Professor Child summarizes the following:<sup>7</sup> "A prince, on parting with his sister, gives her a ring, saying, 'So long as the stone is clear, I am well; if it is dimmed, that is a sign that I am dead.'"

In addition to the general similarity between the two classes of talismans, it will be noted that the same object which indicates chastity or fidelity often under other circumstances serves to indicate welfare or danger. It would therefore seem natural that talismans of the two classes should in popular tradition tend to confuse or combine. I have found two popular ballads where the functions of indicator of fidelity and indicator of danger appear so to have combined. In both cases, moreover, the talisman is a ring.

The first is accessible only in a sophisticated version. It is a Gaelic legend of the Hebrides, "beautifully versified," says Clouston, by John Leyden as "The Mermaid."<sup>8</sup> Leyden's introduction says, "The following poem is founded upon a Gaelic traditional ballad, called 'Macphail of Colonsay and the Mermaid of Corrivrekin.'" In this ballad Macphail, on going to the wars, receives a ring from his lady.

"When on this ring of ruby red  
Shall die,' said she, 'the crimson hue,  
Know that thy favorite fair is dead,  
Or proves to thee and love untrue.'" <sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I, pp. 169 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Russian tale of Ivan Popyalof, Ralston's collection.

<sup>3</sup> Jonathan Scott, *Arabian Nights*, vi, p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> The Icelandic story of the *Farmer's Three Daughters*.

<sup>5</sup> The story of Chitrasekhara and Somasekhara, H. H. Wilson, *Descr. Catal. of the Oriental MSS., etc., collected by Colonel C. Mackenzie*, Calcutta, 1828, i, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> Rev. James Sibra, Jr., "Malagasy Folk-Tales," *Folk-Lore Journal* for 1884, ii, 52, 130.

<sup>7</sup> From Gonzenbach, *Sicilianische Märchen*, i, 39, No. 7. See Child, i, p. 201.

<sup>8</sup> Leyden, *Poems and Ballads*, Kelso, 1858, pp. 245 sq.

<sup>9</sup> Macphail is carried off by a mermaid while passing the Gulf of Corrivrekin, and lives with her for several years in a grotto under the sea, the color of his ring remaining steadily unchanged. The mermaid sees the ring on his finger and covets it. Macphail promises it to her on condition that she bear him up in the neighborhood of Colonsay. She does so; he leaves her and rejoins his early love.

The other instance of a combination of talismanic functions is in the ballad of "Bonny Bee Hom."<sup>1</sup> Here the story is a simple one of a lover who leaves his mistress. At parting she makes him gifts:

"7. She has gien him a chain of the beaten gowd,  
And a ring with a ruby stone:  
'As lang as this chain your body binds,  
Your blude can never be drawn.

"8. 'But gin this ring should fade or fail,  
Or the stone shoud change its hue,  
Be sure your love is dead and gone,  
Or she has proved untrue.'"

(Version A, Alexander Fraser Tytler's Brown MS., No. 6.)

Within a twelvemonth the stone grows dark and gray, telling the lover that his mistress is dead. He himself dies of grief.

The likeness of the talismans in this ballad to that in the Horn story is extraordinarily interesting. For with the ring which combines the functions of indicating fidelity and welfare is associated another talisman, — a chain of gold that confers invulnerability. Invulnerability is the property, and the only property, of Horn's ring in HR and KH.

Furthermore, in Version B — Buchan's — of "Bonny Bee Hom" (which, though a pretty poor ballad, is sophisticated only in regard to phraseology), there is no chain. It is the ring which, like the ring in HR and KH, confers invulnerability. The functions of indicating fidelity and welfare are dropped — with the result that, if we had not Version A, we should not know the meaning of the ring's change of color. This is precisely analogous to the ring's irrelevance of function in HC and the ballad of "Hind Horn." There a talisman to indicate fidelity is substituted for a life-token; here a talisman which confers invulnerability is substituted for a life-token. The analogy suggests an explanation of the inconsistency of the talisman in HC and "Hind Horn."

Suppose that before the composition of HC there was in existence a ballad dealing with the story of Horn. At a stage of this ballad roughly contemporary with HR and KH, Horn's ring, like the ring in those romances, had probably only the property of rendering him invulnerable, and he was warned of Riminhild's danger by a messenger or by a dream.

Suppose also that there was in existence at the same time a ballad, not necessarily connected with the story of Horn, in which, as in Leyden's "Mermaid" and "Bonny Bee Hom," a lover's ring would warn him of his mistress's death or danger by changing color. Suppose also that in still another contemporary ballad a ring's change of color indicated infidelity.

Would it not be thoroughly in accord with the principles of ballad formation for these three talismans to combine and confuse? Professor Gummere, in explanation of the stock phrases of the ballads, says: "The

<sup>1</sup> Child, No. 92, vol. ii, pp. 317-319.

main point is that ballad folk do the same things under the same circumstances, and in a fairly limited sphere of events.”<sup>1</sup> This remark applies to the case in hand as well as to stock phrases. The ballad tendency is to reduce all sorts of details to fairly restricted types. If a reciter knew three ballads such as we have supposed, each containing a magical ring with a different property, he would not bother to keep these rings distinct. The ring section of each ballad would be stored in the same chamber of his memory, where the three would quickly become one. This one he would produce whenever any ballad he happened to be reciting required a magical ring. His stock ring stanza might be a combination of the three he had heard, as in Version A of “Bonny Bee Hom;” or it might be a single one of them, as in “Hind Horn.” That the significance of the ring was not the significance required by his story, that it indicated infidelity when it ought to have indicated danger, would not trouble him in the least. The popular mind is inaccurate; it contents itself with approximating its meaning, and does not quibble upon nice distinctions.

This seems the most natural way of accounting for the inappropriate significance of the ring in “Hind Horn;” HC must have followed in this particular a popular version of the Horn story which tradition has imperfectly preserved as the modern ballad of “Hind Horn.” It is scarcely probable that the color-changing ring was a deliberate innovation of the fourteenth-century romance-writer, for in that case nothing was to prevent him from making its significance appropriate. A fourteenth-century romance-writer, as well as a greater poet, might nod; but he would scarcely admit such an inconsistency as we find in HC unless he were following authority.<sup>2</sup> And his authority could scarcely have been anything but a popular ballad.

The two other features common to HC and “Hind Horn” may easily be conceived as parts of an hypothetical thirteenth-century Horn ballad. The first is that the person with whom Horn changes clothes on his return is a beggar, instead of a palmer as in HR and KH. The beggar and the palmer were not far removed in the popular mind. In Version A of the ballad called “Little John a Begging,”<sup>3</sup> Little John’s disguise is as

<sup>1</sup> Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, Boston, 1907, p. 305.

<sup>2</sup> HC becomes involved in this inconsistency when the ring is first described (in the lines quoted on p. 42). It is possible that the author perceived his inconsistency when it came time for Horn to be summoned home by the ring’s change of color. For he does not state that the stone “waxed wan,” which would have meant that Rinnild’s heart had changed towards Horn; or that it “waxed red,” which would have indicated her unchastity. He says merely,

“The hue was chaunged of the stan,  
For gon is seuen ȝere.” (ll. 839-840.)

Even if he perceived the inconsistency, however, the likelihood that it was due in the first instance to the authority of a popular ballad remains undiminished.

<sup>3</sup> Child, No. 142.

a beggar; in Version B of the same ballad he disguises himself as a palmer.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the treatment of the beggar in HC involves an inconsistency, which, like the inconsistency of the ring, can best be explained as due to a popular source. Seeing the beggar walking along,

“Horn fast after him gan ride  
 & bad the begger shuld abide,  
 For to here his speche.  
 The begger answerd in that tide:  
 ‘Vilaine, canestow nocht ride?  
 Fairer thou might me grete;  
 Haddestow cleped me gude man,  
 Y wold haue told the wennes y cam  
 & whom y go to seche.’” (ll. 853-861.)

This certainly calls to mind the sturdy Beggar, or Potter, or Tanner, or Pedlar of the Robin Hood ballads.<sup>2</sup> One expects a challenge to play at quarter staff. But there is no such challenge; the beggar's surliness is quite irrelevant. His tone changes immediately; and without solicitation from Horn (whom he has not recognized), he proceeds to announce that he is Wiard, one of Horn's faithful companions in former days, and that he has been seeking Horn to warn him of the impending marriage of Rimnild. His irrelevant surliness is, I think, a borrowing from a Horn ballad. The stock figure of the surly beggar might easily, in a long course of oral transmission, have transferred itself to the hypothetical Horn ballad from some ballad in which it properly belonged. This would be another illustration of the same process by which, probably, the ring whose change of color indicates infidelity attached itself to the Horn story.<sup>3</sup> The resulting inconsistencies in both cases are such as the author of HC is unlikely to have been originally responsible for. Finding these inconsistent features in an authority, however, he may well have considered that their strikingness outweighed their inconsequence, and therefore have included them in his version. That the surly beggar has disappeared from the extant Horn ballad is, of course, no evidence at all that he did not figure in its hypothetical ancestor.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Palmer in HR is addressed as contemptuously as if he were a beggar (ll. 3730-3732).

<sup>2</sup> Child, Nos. 121 (stanzas 10-13), 126, 132, 134, 142 (Version B, 10).

<sup>3</sup> The extant ballad of *Hind Horn* furnishes several instances of the tendency of ballads to borrow from other ballads. Professor Child points out that B 1, F 3, H 4, are from the *Whummil Bore*, No. 27; and conjectures that G 16-22, H 18-20, are from some Robin Hood ballad. G 35-36, H 33-34, might have drifted in from such a ballad as *The Jolly Beggar*, No. 279, one of the numerous class of tales in which an apparent poor man turns out to be a rich lord. The wand which Horn leaves his lady in Versions A 3, B 3, F 4 G 3, I 2, is probably a token of regency; it may have been taken over from a lost ballad version of some story of the *heimkehrender Gatte* type, in a great number of which the hero is a potentate who leaves his wife to rule when he goes on a crusade; see Child, i, 193 sq.; Spletstösser, *Der Heimkehrende Gatte und sein Weib in der Weltliteratur*, Berlin, 1899.

<sup>4</sup> In fact, the beggar in the extant ballad, who gives Horn instructions in his art, is

For the third feature common to HC and "Hind Horn," — the identity of idea phrased in the romance

"Now is Rinnild tviis wedde,  
Horn brougt hir to his bedde," —

I can cite no specific evidence that it belonged to the hypothetical ballad. But if HC took the two other features from such a ballad, pretty certainly it took this one too. The narrator's gusto at the discomfiture of the would-be bridegroom seems quite in the ballad vein.

The purpose of what has preceded has been to establish a probability that the extant Horn ballad descends, independently of HC, from an hypothetical version earlier than that romance. This probability is strengthened by certain agreements of the extant ballad with the two older romances (HR and KH), in points where HC takes a different way.

1. In the ballad, when Horn, disguised at the wedding-feast, has dropped his ring in the bride's cup, she does not at once recognize him, but asks how he got the ring:

" 'Got ye't by sea, or got ye't by land,  
Or got ye't aff a drowned man's hand?'"

(D 28; cf. A 18, B 18, C 20, D 13, H 28, I 12.)

In HC she at once suspects his identity (ll. 1001 sq.).

In HR she asks if Horn be alive or dead, hinting, however, a suspicion that the supposed palmer is he (ll. 4241 sq.). In KH, as in the ballad, she asks him where he got the ring, not suspecting him of being other than he seems; he replies that Horn, dying on shipboard, had intrusted it to him:

"Ifond horn child stonde  
To schupeward in londe.  
He sede he wolde agesse  
To ariue in westernessee.  
The schip nam to the flode  
With me & horn the gode;  
Horn was sik & deide,  
& faire he me preide:  
'Go with the ringe  
To Rymenhild the 3onge.'  
Ofte he it custe;  
God 3eue his saule reste." (ll. 1179 sq.)

The ballad is here close to KH. The form in which the question is put implies such a reply as that in KH; it seems clear that in an earlier version of the ballad Horn tested the lady further with a fictitious account of his own death in some fashion connected with the sea.<sup>1</sup>

2. In the ballad, after Horn has revealed himself to the bride, she at first believes that he is poor and friendless as he seems; she offers to share his poverty:

probably a case of more recent borrowing; compare G 16, H 18, with *Little John a Begging*, No 142, A 5.

<sup>1</sup> Compare *Kitchie Boy*, Version A, stanza 35; Version B, stanzas 48, 49; see *infra*, Appendix, p. 60.

“‘ O I’ll cast off my gowns of brown,  
And beg wi you frae town to town.

“‘ O I’ll cast off my gowns of red,  
And I’ll beg wi you to win my bread.’” (A 20-21.)

Horn quickly explains that he is not really poor:

“‘ Ye needna cast off your gowns of brown,  
For I’ll make you lady o many a town.

“‘ Ye needna cast off your gowns of red,  
It’s only a sham, the begging o my bread.’”

(A 22-23; cf. B 20-23, G 31-36, H 31-34, I 14-19.)

In HC Rimnild offers to elope with Horn; but he does not imply, nor does she believe, that he is poor and friendless (v. ll. 1030 sq.).

In KH there is nothing about either poverty or elopement.

In HR, however, Horn explicitly declares that he is in poverty:

“‘ Mès joe ai conversé entre mut male gent,  
Ki mut poi m’unt doné: n’ai conquesté neent.  
Or me sui cà venu cum tafur poverement.  
Ne vus sai ù mener; joe n’ai or ne argent,  
Ne n’ai en tut le siecle un point de chasement:

· · · · ·  
E joe sui soffraitus, n’ai fors coe qu’al col me pent,  
Ne vus ai dont coverir neis un garnement.  
Ki suef est nurri poet soffrir malement  
Issi grant poverté cum joe, chaitif, atent.’” (ll. 4288 sq.)

Rimel then offers to share his poverty:

“‘ Par Deu! chiers amis duz, poi savez mun talent:  
Itiel cum vus soffrez sofferrai bonement,  
U jà mais ne verrai nul autre ajornement.  
Il n’ad si riche rei de ci k’en Orient,  
Pur quei vus guerpisse od tiel aturnement.” (ll. 4301 sq.)

Horn explains that his poverty was only a sham: he has three hundred ships and many hardy cavaliers. Obviously HR is here strikingly in accord with the ballad.

These two resemblances between the extant ballad and the older romances in points where HC does not follow them stand squarely in the way of the theory that HC is the source of the ballad. It has been shown that the features common to HC and the ballad are not necessarily derived from the former. The circumstances in fact point strongly towards the existence, earlier than HC, of a Horn ballad containing those features, together with features found also in HR and KH.

## II

Can either HR or KH be regarded as a source for this hypothetical ballad? Of the resemblances above pointed out between the ballad and the earlier romances, one was particularly to KH, the other particularly to HR. It therefore appears that the ballad descends from a lost version of the story combining features of HR and KH.



That this lost version was a recombination of HR and KH is unlikely. The two poems are radically different in character and appeal,—the one French and courtly, intended for the delectation of the aristocracy; the other English and homely, intended for whatsoever thane, innkeeper, or franklin would give the minstrel a meal for the hearing of it. Their paths would not be likely to converge.

The more probable case is that this lost version preceded HR and KH. The one point upon which recent students of the story are tolerably agreed is that a French version of some sort must stand back of these two romances.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that this lost French version was the source of the ballad.<sup>2</sup> But another possibility is open. It is pretty generally admitted that this lost French version was preceded by a version in Anglo-Saxon.<sup>3</sup> Among an Anglo-Saxon folk it seems much more likely that a popular ballad should have grown out of this than that it should have grown out of a French romance or lay.

There is extant one document which affords a fairly clear conception of the contents of this Anglo-Saxon version. The “*Gesta Herwardi*” is not, to be sure, a version of the Horn story. It is a monkish Latin account of the adventures, historical and apocryphal, of Hereward the Saxon,<sup>4</sup> who headed the last resistance against William the Conqueror at Ely, in 1071. The first chapters purport to be based upon an Anglo-Saxon account of Hereward’s youth, by Leofric, his Chaplain. In Chapters 3–5 Leofric appears to be adapting to the career of Hereward a set of adventures from some version of the Horn story. Leofric’s adaptation combines features of HR, KH, and the ballad; I have little doubt that the version which he used was their common ancestor.

In Chapters 3 and 4 Hereward’s escape from Cornwall, and exploits in Ireland, bear a general resemblance to Horn’s banishment from the court of Hunlaf and subsequent exploits in Ireland. But exile stories must have been common in England before the Conquest; the resemblance is not so close that it could not be satisfactorily accounted for as mere coincidence.

Ch. 3. — Hereward, exiled from England on account of his turbulent

<sup>1</sup> Though Heuser, *Anglia*, xxxi, p. 131, speaks of “*der in der luft schwebende verfasser des altfranzösischen ‘Urorns.’*” He wishes to substitute a Breton lay for a French romance as the source of the extant romances. In what language does he suppose it to have been accessible? As to the French original of KH, see Schofield, pp. 51 sq.

<sup>2</sup> The only fact which points definitely towards such a conclusion is the tournament in which “*Young Hind Horn was abune them a*” in the version of *Hind Horn*, if it is a version of *Hind Horn*, which Dr. Davidson so imperfectly remembered. But see Appendix, p. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Schofield, p. 50, and note.

<sup>4</sup> The text used is that printed by Hardy and Martin as an Appendix to their edition of *Gaimar*, Rolls Series, London, 1888, vol. i, pp. 339 sq. The *Gesta Herwardi* has also been printed by Michel, *Chroniques Anglo-Normannes*, Rouen, 1836, pp. 1 sq.; by Thomas Wright, in his edition of *Gaimar* for the Caxton Society, London, 1850, Appendix, pp. 46 seq.

youth, goes down into Cornwall, where the king, Alef by name, maintains a Pictish giant. Hereward picks a quarrel with this giant, slays him, and is imprisoned by Alef. The daughter of the king, glad of the death of the giant, with whom she was to have been forced into marriage, helps Hereward to escape, and gives him letters to her lover, the son of the King of Ireland.

Ch. 4. — The Irish king, who knows Hereward by reputation, makes him leader of his forces in a war against the neighboring King of Munster. Hereward distinguishes himself in the fight, killing the hostile king in his tent. Then he destroys other enemies of his host and gets great glory, so that many young warriors come to him for instruction in arms.

In Chapter 5 specific resemblances to versions of the Horn story are numerous. Allowance must of course be made for the exigencies of adaptation: the scene of action is different; <sup>1</sup> Hereward, being reserved for another lady, must be made a vicarious lover of the Princess of Cornwall. The resemblances will appear in the following comparative summary.<sup>2</sup>

1. Hereward in Ireland gets word that the Cornish princess is in danger of being forced into marriage with the son of a neighboring kinglet.

This has a general resemblance to HR and KH, in which the message is differently conveyed.

2. Hereward goes secretly to Cornwall. He disguises himself, "*per unguenta seipso transfigurato, mutataque flavente caesarie in nigridinem et barba juventutis in rubedinem*" (p. 349).

In KH, Horn "makede him a ful [i. e. foul] chere" (l. 1063).

In the ballad, Horn "borrows the beggar's wig of hair, to cover his because is fair." (Version A 13; cf. I 6.)

3. At the wedding-feast, Hereward seats himself on the lowest bench, *discubuit in extremis*."

In HR, Horn sits among the poor.

In KH, "Horn sat upon the grunde" (l. 1115).

4. The princess looks closely at Hereward and suspects his identity; her "*nutrix*" confirms her suspicion.

In HR, Rimel has a nurse who, on a different occasion (ll. 853 *sq.*), reveals to her that a man who is attempting to pass as Horn is not he. Both nurses are familiar with the features of the hero.

5. The princess makes the rounds of the guests with drink; "*sponsa namque post prandium regalibus ornata induviis, sicut mos provinciae est, cum puellis potum convivis et conservis patris et matris in extrema die a paterna domo discedens ministratura processit*" (p. 350).

In KH, Rimenhild rose up after meat to pour wine and ale, "*So laze was in londe*" (l. 1110).

In HR, Rimel's father commands her to pour wine to the guests, as her ancestors had done; for

<sup>1</sup> Unless it be held that Cornwall was the original *situs* of the Horn saga; the evidence of the *Gesta* can scarcely be regarded as proving that this was the case.

<sup>2</sup> I have omitted from the summary several details, such as the forty messengers and Hereward's three companions, which occur only in the *Gesta*.

"*Custume ert à idunc en icele contrée*  
 Ke kant avaneit issi, ke dame ert espussé,  
 S'ele pucele fust, k'ele ne fust a saée,  
 K'ele del beivre servist tut intant de finée  
 Cum le seneschal mangast od sa mesnée." (ll. 4137 sq.)

Therefore Rimel puts on splendid clothes (cf. "*regalibus induviis*") and makes the rounds of the guests with her thirty maidens (cf. "*cum puellis*").

6. Hereward refuses to accept wine from the hand of the princess's attendant, having made a vow not to take anything except from the hand of the princess herself.

In the two romances, Horn is fastidious only about the vessel he drinks from: in HR he insists on the vessel in which Rimel has just served the bridegroom; in KH he refuses the brown bowl and demands the white.

The ballad seems to have preserved a feature of the original which in the romances is obscured:

"But he took na frae ane o them aw  
 Till he got frae the bonnie bride hersel O." (G 24, H 24.)

7. The princess gives Hereward the cup, recognizes him by the sharpness of his eyes, and passes a ring to him in token of recognition.

The difference here is more notable than the resemblance.<sup>1</sup>

8. Hereward takes the harp, and sings so wonderfully that the bride presents him with a cloak, and the bridegroom offers him whatever he may choose, except his wife and his land.

In the romances, Horn also is an excellent musician: in HR, before the king's daughter of Ireland, he sang so beautifully the lay of Batulf concerning his own love for Rimel, that his hearers wished to overload him with gifts (ll. 2826 sq.); in KH, when disguised as a harper for his second rescue of Rimenhild, he made a lay for her, and she "made walaway" and swooned (ll. 1476 sq.).

9. The bridegroom's professional harper recognizes Hereward and tells the bridegroom; the princess warns Hereward, who slips away from the feast.

In HR, Horn, suspecting that the traitor Wikel has recognized him, and fearing that he will be betrayed to the bridegroom, slips away from the feast (ll. 4309 sq.).

10. On the next day, when the bridegroom is conveying the bride to his own country, Hereward and his men fall upon them from ambush, kill the tyrant, and convey the princess to the son of the King of Ireland, who marries her.

In HR the rescue is effected at a courtly tournament, obviously French alteration.

In KH, Horn rescues the lady by breaking forcibly into the hall. In both romances, however, Horn keeps his men hidden until he has need of them; this is conceivably a survival of the original ambush.

The above comparison shows Chapter 5 of the "*Gesta Herwardi*" in striking agreement with HR as to points 4, 5, and 9; with both HR and KH as to points 3 and 5; with KH and the ballad as to point 2; and

<sup>1</sup> In Layamon the sister of the disguised Brian indicates in this way her recognition of him; ed. Madden, iii, pp. 234 sq. There is no ring in the corresponding passages of Geoffrey (xii, 7) and Wace (ll. 14,693 sq.).

with the ballad alone as to point 6. Whether this fifth chapter is to be accepted as representing the common ancestor of HR, KH, and the ballad, depends upon the date of the "Gesta" and the credence to be attached to its author's ascription of source.

The preface, in which the material of the first part of the *Gesta* (which includes the adventures connected with the Princess of Cornwall) is referred to an Anglo-Saxon manuscript by Hereward's chaplain, gives the impression of being a veracious document.<sup>1</sup> The monkish Latinist, being solicited to provide his brothers in the monastery with an account of the exploits of the illustrious exile, Hereward, sought high and low for documentary material. He found nothing, however, "*praeter pauca et dispersa folia, partim stillicidio putrefactis et abolitis et partim abscissione divisis.*" The title of the work which these loose leaves represented was "*primitiva insignia praeclarissimi exulis Herwardi, editum Anglico stilo a Lefrico Diacono, ejusdem ad Brun presbyterum.*" He knew by report the character of this Leofric: "*Hujus enim memorati presbyteri erat studium, omnes actus gigantum et bellatorum ex fabulis antiquorum, aut ex fideli relatione, ad edificationem audientum congregare, et ob memoriam Angliae literis commendare.*" His English was insufficient to enable him to deal with the decayed manuscript in a manner satisfying to himself; "*ad illum locum tamen de illo usque collegimus ubi in patriam et ad pristinam domum reversus fratrem occisum invenit.*" He did not, however, publish a translation; it is implied, I think, that he suspected the authenticity of the adventures told by Leofric.<sup>2</sup> Finding no other written material, he abandoned his intention of writing a life of Hereward. But the friend to whom the preface is addressed urged him to publish at least what he had accomplished. Therefore he set to work again to translate Leofric's English into Latin as well as he was able. He also incorporated in his work traditions gathered from his fellow-monks and from some of Hereward's own former followers, "*ex quibus saepe nonnullos vidimus, viros videlicet statura proceri et magni et nimiae fortitudinis, et ipsi [i. e. the person to whom the preface is addressed] etiam duos spectabiles formae viros ex illis, ut a vobis audivimus, vidistis, videlicet Siwate frater, Broter, de Sancto Edmundo, et Lefrico Niger, milites ejusdem, licet a suis membris propter invidiam dolo orbitati speciem artuum per inimicos amiserint. Siquidem de hiis et de aliis, quos ipsi [i. e. the writer himself] in multis probavimus et vidimus, si non aliter, satis nobis daretur intellegi quantae virtutis dominus illorum fuerit, et majora esse quae fecit quam ea quae de illo professi sunt.*"

I see no reason to doubt the truthfulness of this preface. It is hard to

<sup>1</sup> The full text of the preface here summarized is accessible in any of the editions cited above, p. 53, footnote 4.

<sup>2</sup> See the last sentence quoted in this paragraph.

imagine a motive for deception; the Latinist's circumstantial, straightforward, personal account of the composition of his work can scarcely fail to carry conviction. Moreover, the evidence as to the date and authorship of the "Gesta" makes it seem quite possible that the author and his friend may, as he says, have had personal relations with surviving members of Hereward's band. The statement sometimes made, that the "Gesta" is a product of the vogue of outlaw stories in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, is supported by no specific facts. The extant manuscript, to be sure, dates from that period;<sup>1</sup> the work, however, is certainly considerably earlier.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Latin is believed to have been one Richard, a monk of Ely,<sup>3</sup> who died in the first half of the twelfth century.<sup>4</sup> He thus lived at a time when there must certainly have been survivors of Hereward's band in the neighborhood of Ely, from which neighborhood the band was originally recruited; and in a monastery whither Leofric's manuscript might naturally have drifted from his parish of Bourne near by. That the manuscript should have got tattered and partially effaced in the short time between Leofric's death<sup>5</sup> and Richard's writing, might well be due to the contempt of the new Norman monks for all things Saxon.

From the wording of the preface it is not quite clear whether, when the monk revised for publication his translation of Leofric's manuscript, he worked in with it material from oral sources, or whether he simply appended such material to his translation. But an examination of the "Gesta" as a whole shows plainly that the latter was the case. Up to "the place where Hereward returns to the home of his youth and finds his brother slain" (the point to which the monk says that he gathered the sense in his first study of Leofric's manuscript), the episodes are of the character to be expected from a man with Leofric's "studium" for collecting "omnes actus gigantum et bellatorum:" Hereward slays a fairy bear, rescues the Cornish princess, wins a witch mare in the Low Countries and an enchantress-wife in Flanders. The fictions in the succeeding part of the "Gesta" are of the sort likely to attach themselves to an historical soldier and outlaw; the actual occurrences underlying them are embroidered and embellished by the tongues of enthusiastic admirers.

<sup>1</sup> See Int. to Hardy and Martin's ed. of *Gaimar*, etc., vol. i, p. xlvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* A marginal note in the MS. indicates that the work had belonged to Robert of Swapham, who was dead when the MS. was transcribed.

<sup>3</sup> The conclusion of the section of the *Liber Eliensis* dealing with the defence of Ely says that other episodes "in libro autem de ipsius gestis Herewardi dudum a venerabile viro et doctissimo fratre nostro beatae memoriae Ricardo edito plenius descripta inveniuntur," ed. D. J. Stuart, London, 1848, Bk. ii, ch. 107, p. 239. See, also, Hardy and Martin, vol. ii, p. xxxiv.

<sup>4</sup> See Stuart, *Int. to Liber Eliensis*. Thomas, the author of the L. E., was alive in 1153; the L. E. alludes to Richard as dead.

<sup>5</sup> Hereward's career was at its height in 1071; Leofric was his contemporary; both were probably dead by the end of the century.

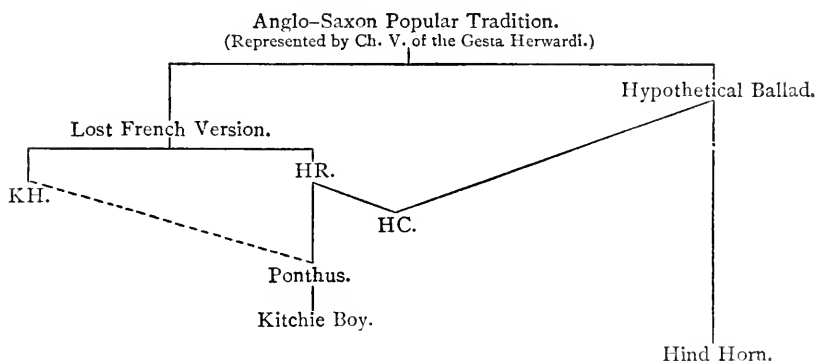
The fifth chapter of the "Gesta Herwardi," then, is adapted from a story current in the eleventh century. I see no reason to doubt that this story was already connected with the name of Horn, or that it was of English origin. Foreign sources, except possibly Scandinavian, would hardly have been accessible to Leofric. That he knew Latin is questionable; for he was not a monk, bred in an atmosphere of parchment, but a priest, a man of the people. That he knew French is possible, but not at all likely. As Hereward's chaplain he was associated with the most patriotic and stubborn of the Saxons, and probably took part in the last considerable opposition to the Norman Conquest. It was not to Frenchmen he would go for stories "ob memoriam Angliae literis commendare." And he belonged to Bourne, in Lincolnshire, a district remote from Celtic influence. "Fabulae antiquorum" for him were probably recorded in Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse; "fideles relationes" probably took place over the ale-horn.

The story told in the fifth chapter of the "Gesta" — the story of the man who, after an absence, returns in disguise to save his mistress from forced marriage with another man — is, as even Deutschbein admits,<sup>1</sup> of a type so universal that it might spring up at any time among any people. This *heimkehrender gatte* element is the essential thing in the Horn story. HR differs from KH in numerous minor details of action, character, and setting; HC differs radically from HR and KH in action and characters, and totally in setting; the ballad has in common with the other versions only the name "Horn" and the *heimkehrender gatte* features. These *heimkehrender gatte* features and the name "Horn" form the vital bond which makes all recognizable as versions of the same story. Why may not a *heimkehrender gatte* story have sprung up on the basis of actual occurrences in Saxon England, independently of any similar story springing from similar actual occurrences anywhere else in the world? If such a story had so sprung up, it would perhaps have been told in various places of various heroes. Eventually, however, in accordance with the well-known principle, it would have become indissolubly associated with the name of some popular hero, in this case, Horn. Each new teller would adapt the tale to local conditions, putting it in a scene familiar to his auditors, and introducing names of local celebrities. As time went on, other stories would have been taken into it, just as it, in its turn, was taken into the Hereward story; so it might have acquired the foundling story, the exile story, and the battles with Scandinavian heathen, preserved in HR and KH. I believe that the story developed in this way; I have met with no convincing evidence of the importation of either the *heimkehrender gatte* element or the name "Horn."

<sup>1</sup> Deutschbein holds that the "historische" element — Horn's exile in Ireland — was original, and that the "literarische" *heimkehrender gatte* element was added by the Normans, who got it from Germany.

But whatever may be held as to its ultimate origin, the fifth chapter of the "Gesta Herwardi" leaves little doubt that a version of the story was current in England in the eleventh century, and that from this version the hypothetical ballad ancestor of "Hind Horn" was derived. This version may or may not have been written down in Anglo-Saxon. It is possible and reasonable to conceive of the ballad as coming straight down through popular tradition from popular tradition of the time before the Conquest.

TABLE OF FILLATION



APPENDIX: THE KITCHIE BOY

In the part of his collection given over to fabrications and degenerates, Professor Child prints five versions of a ballad known as the "Kitchie Boy."<sup>1</sup> With other names and places, the "Kitchie Boy" gives what appears to be a debased version of the Horn story. Its resemblances to the other versions are noted in the following comparative summary.

1. A fair lady of birth and fame falls in love with her father's kitchen boy. In all the romances, the lady is the first to fall in love. The descent of Horn into a menial may be accounted for as an illiterate ballad-teller's interpretation of two features in HR and KH: first, Horn, though a king's son, is a foundling; and, second, Horn is officially the king's cup-bearer—in HR, especially, great stress is laid upon his serving wine at the high feast (ll. 755 sq.), and upon his duty of relieving the king of his sword and gloves when he comes in from hunting (ll. 1911 sq.).

2. The lady, as in all the romances, sends for Horn to her chamber, and herself makes the proposal.

3. The Kitchie Boy demurs, like Horn in HR, KH; the Kitchie Boy alleges fear of her father, Horn alleges the duty he owes him.

4. The lady equips for the Kitchie Boy a bonny ship, in which he may sail away beyond the wrath of her father and the master cook.

5. At parting she gives him a ring; it has no magic properties.

6. He sails away to Spain (London); cf. Horn's trip to Ireland in the romances.

7. A Spanish lady offers to feast him sumptuously; the king's daughter of Ireland feasts Horn sumptuously (HR, ll. 2688 sq.).

<sup>1</sup> No. 252, vol. iv, pp. 400 sq.

8. The Spanish lady offers him her love; so the king's daughter of Ireland to Horn in HR (ll. 2400 sq.). (In KH it is the lady's father who makes the offer.)

9. She offers him gifts; so the Irish princess in HR (ll. 2485 sq.).

10. The Kitchie Boy refuses both love and gifts on the ground that he is already engaged; so Horn in HR, KH.

11. Having sailed back home, the Kitchie Boy blacks his bonny face and close tucks up his yellow hair (C 31); his disguise is carried no further. In HR, Horn's only disguise is a change of clothes. But in KH, he made him a foul cheer, and smeared his neck with coal dust, and made himself uncomely, so that he did not look like himself (ll. 1063 sq.).

12. When the disguised Kitchie Boy has shown his love her ring (there is no dropping it into a wine cup), she asks,

“‘O gat ye that ring on the sea sailing?  
Or gat ye it on the sand?  
Or gat ye it on the shore laying,  
On a drowned man's hand?’” (A 34.)

This is obviously almost identical with the corresponding stanza in the ballad of “Hind Horn.” I have already pointed out the particular resemblance of this part of the ballad to KH.<sup>1</sup>

13. The Kitchie Boy replies,

“‘I gat na it on the sea sailing,  
I gat na it on the sand,  
But I gat it on the shore laying,  
On a drowned man's hand.’” (A 35.)

Buchan's version adds,

“‘He was not dead as I passed by,  
But no remeid could be;  
He gave me this token to bear  
Unto a fair ladie.’” (B 49.)

This is the reply which seems to have dropped out of “Hind Horn.”<sup>1</sup> By it the resemblance to KH is made closer.

14. The Kitchie Boy washed his face and combed his hair, and took his true love in his arms and kissed her. She, fatuously enough, asked him how he could her so beguile. Her father blessed the match and called for a priest, little knowing that the happy lover was his own Kitchie Boy.

The “Kitchie Boy” shows no particular resemblance to HC. Points 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 10 are resemblances to both HR and KH. Points 7, 8, and 9 are particular resemblances to HR; point 11 is a particular resemblance to KH; points 12 and 13 resemble both KH and “Hind Horn,” as to phraseology the latter in particular.

The likeness in phraseology of points 12 and 13 of the “Kitchie Boy” to “Hind Horn” would at first glance seem to indicate that the two ballads had once been connected. A note in Professor Child's *Additions and Corrections* would tend to support this hypothesis:

<sup>1</sup> See p. 51.



"Dr. Davidson informs me that many years ago he heard a version of 'Hind Horn' in four-line stanzas, in which, as in HR and HC, Horn took part in a joust at the king's court,

"An young Hind Horn was abune them a'."

He remembers further only these stanzas:

"O got ye this o the sea sailin,  
Or got ye 't o the lan?  
Or got ye 't o the bloody shores o Spain,  
On a droont man's han?"

"I got na 't o the sea sailin,  
I got na 't o the lan,  
Nor yet upo the bloody shores o Spain,  
On a droont man's han.'" <sup>1</sup>

Clearly these are the "Kitchie Boy" stanzas, associated with the name "Horn." The obvious inference is that the two ballads were formerly one. But I do not believe that this was the case. For except as to the stanzas above quoted, the "Kitchie Boy" differs radically from "Hind Horn:" one gives an expanded form of the story, slurring the *dénouement*; the other devotes itself altogether to the *dénouement*. Moreover, the distinctive features of "Hind Horn," discoloration of the ring, beggar disguise, discomfiture of the bridegroom, are so striking that I cannot conceive of their disappearance from any ballad with which they had become connected. And it is possible to account for the presence in both of substantially the same stanzas without resorting to the theory that they were once connected. May not this be simply another case of the employment of a stock stanza, such as the ring stanza of "Hind Horn" seems originally to have been? <sup>2</sup> As to Dr. Davidson's version of "Hind Horn" in four-line stanzas with a tournament, I feel no certainty that it ever existed. If Dr. Davidson had ever read HR, it is quite possible that the tournament in which "Young Hind Horn was abune them a'" may have invented itself in his mind without his being aware of it, and attached itself to two stanzas which he remembered from the "Kitchie Boy" and confused with the similar stanzas in "Hind Horn." <sup>3</sup>

If the "Kitchie Boy" is independent of "Hind Horn," what is its origin? It may, of course, be derived from a very early form of the hypothetical ballad ancestor of "Hind Horn," which had not yet acquired the discoloration of the ring. But nothing stands in the way of a theory that this ballad descends from a romance. Its particular resemblance to "Hind Horn" being disposed of as a borrowing of stock stanzas, its particular resemblance to KH (point 11) is the only obstacle to a theory

<sup>1</sup> *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, vol. i, p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 48, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Even if Dr. Davidson's version existed, its mention of a tournament would not necessarily indicate a connection with HR or HC; the tournament might have drifted in from some other ballad, in the same way as the features enumerated above on p. 50, note 3.

that it is derived from HR. Point 11, as well as all the points of resemblance to HR, is paralleled in the fifteenth century prose romance of "Ponthus and Sidoine,"<sup>1</sup> which is generally regarded as based upon HR. The "Kitchie Boy" is more likely to come from this romance than from the hypothetical ballad.

<sup>1</sup> See ed. by F. J. Mather, *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.* xii, p. 99.

## SOME BALLAD VARIANTS AND SONGS

BY ARTHUR BEATTY

OF the following ballads and songs, No. I is a variant of No. 84 in Child's "English and Scottish Popular Ballads," No. II is a variant of Child's No. 53, and No. III is a variant of Child's No. 4. Nos. IV and V are Kentucky popular songs. No. VIII is a fragment, while Nos. VI and VII are the work of a travelling minstrel.

Nos. I, II, IV-VIII were secured by Mr. Legare L. Oeland. I, II, IV, V, and VIII were taken down in Kentucky from oral recitation by Miss Cora Hylton of Cody, Knott County, Kentucky. Nos. VI and VII are from printed leaflets.

No. III was taken down from oral recitation, by Miss Ellen Hammond, at Westfield, Wisconsin.

## I

BARBRA ALLEN

'T was all in the merry month of May,  
And the green buds they were swellin',  
Young Jimmy Grew on his death bed lay  
For the love of Barbra Allen.

He sent his servants to the town  
To the place where she was dwellin';  
Say master's sick and sends for you  
If your name be Barbra Allen.

So slowly she got up  
And slowly she drew nigh him,  
And all she said when she got there,  
"Young man, I think you're dyin'."

"O yes, O yes, I'm very sick,  
Death is upon me dwellin',  
No better, better shall I be  
If I don't get Barbra Allen."

"Don't you remember the other day  
When you were in town a drinkin',  
You drank a health to the ladies all around,  
And slighted Barbra Allen."

"O yes, I remember the other day  
When I were in town a drinkin';  
I drank a health to the ladies all,  
But my love to Barbra Allen."

He turned his pale face to the wall,  
 She turned her back upon him,  
 "Adieu, adieu to my friends all around,  
 Adieu to Barbra Allen."

When she got about a mile o' home  
 She heard the death bells knelling,  
 And every time they seemed to say,  
 "Hard-hearted Barbra Allen."

She looked to the east, she looked to the west,  
 She saw the corpse a comin',  
 Says, "Lay (lay) down, lay down this young man  
 That I may look upon him!"

The longer she looked the worse she felt;  
 She fell to the ground a cryin',  
 Saying, "If I'd done my duty to-day  
 I'd a saved this man from dyin'."

"O mother, mother make my bed,  
 And make it long and narrow;  
 Young Jimmy died for me to-day,  
 I'll die for him to-morrow."

They buried her in the old church yard,  
 And buried him a-nigh her;  
 And out of her grave grew a red, red rose,  
 And out of his a brier.

They grew till they reached the high church tower,  
 They could not grow any higher,  
 And there they tied in a true love's knot,  
 The red rose and the brier.

## II

### THE TURKISH LADY, OR LORD BAITMAN

There was a man who lived in England  
 Who was of some high degree,  
 He became uneasy and discontented,  
 Some foreign land, some land to see.

He sailed east, and he sailed westward,  
 He sailed all o'er the Turkish shore,  
 Till he was captured and put in prison,  
 Never to be released any more.

The Turkey had but one lone daughter  
 Who was of some high degree;

She stole the keys from the father's dwelling  
And declared Lord Baitman she would free.

She led him down to the lower cellar,  
And drew him a drink of the strangest wine,  
Saying "every moment seems like an hour,  
Oh Lord Baitman, if you were mine."

"Let's make a vow, let's make a promise,  
Let's make a vow, let's make it stand,  
I vow I'll marry no other woman,  
If you'll vow you'll marry no other man."

They made a vow, they made a promise,  
They made a vow, they made it stand.  
He vowed he'd marry no other woman,  
She vowed she'd marry no other man.

Seven long years have rolled around,  
It seemed as if it were twenty-nine.  
She bundled up her finest clothing,  
And declared Lord Baitman she'd go find.

She went till she came to the gate she tingled,  
Was so loud but she would n't go in.  
Saying "is this Lord Baitman's palace,  
Is it he who has taken a new bride in?"

"Go remember him by the piexceal bread,  
Go remember him by the glass of wine,  
Go remember him by the Turkish lady,  
Who freed him from those cold iron bands."

He stamped his foot upon the floor,  
The table he burst into pieces three,  
Saying "I'll forsake both land and dwelling  
For the Turkish lady who set me free."

### III

#### LADY ISABEL AND THE ELF-KNIGHT

The lord one night was standing by,  
And unto his rich castle came  
A-courting his daughter so pretty and fair,  
But no one knew his name, name, name.

He followed her high and he followed her low,  
And he followed her into her room,  
She had no power to bid him go,  
No power to bid him come, come, come.

"Go steal for me your father's gold,  
Likewise your mother's fee,  
And the best span of horses that is in your father's barn,  
All there stand thirty and three, three, three."

She stole for him her father's gold,  
Likewise her mother's fee,  
And the best span of horses that was in her father's barn,  
All there stand thirty and three, three, three.

She mounted upon her milk-white steed,  
And he on the iron-gray;  
They rode till they came to the brink of the sea.  
O long, long before day, day, day.

"'Light off, 'light off, my pretty, fair maid,  
'Light off, I say unto thee;  
For six kings' daughters I have drowned here,  
And you the seventh shall be, be, be."

She turned herself all round and round,  
And viewed the leaves on tree.  
"O think what a sin and a very great shame  
For to drown a maid like me, me, me."

He turned himself all round and round,  
And viewed the leaves on the tree,  
She took him by his waist so small,  
And plunged him into the sea, sea, sea.

"Lie there, lie there, you false-hearted knight,  
Lie there, I say unto thee,  
For if six kings' daughters you have drowned here,  
Why you the seventh shall be, be, be."

She mounted upon her milk-white steed,  
And led the iron-gray,  
She rode till she came to her own father's door,  
O long, long before day, day, day.

The first that she saw was her own father dear,  
From his chamber-window so high,  
Saying, "What is the matter with my pretty Polly,  
That she's out so long before day, day, day?"

"The old cat came to my cage door,  
And she frightened me so, as you see,  
I was only a-calling on my pretty Polly,  
For to call the old cat away, way, way."

IV

THE EAST KENTUCKY HILLS <sup>1</sup>

Oh the East Kentucky Hills,  
How majestic and how grand,  
With their summits bathed in glory  
Like a Prince of (Manuel's?) land.  
Is it any wonder then, that my heart with rapture thrills  
As I stand once more with loved ones  
On those East Kentucky Hills?

REFRAIN

Oh those hills, beautiful hills!  
How I love those East Kentucky Hills!  
If o'er sea or land I roam  
Still I think of happy home  
And my friends among those East Kentucky Hills.

Oh the East Kentucky Hills  
Where my childhood days were passed,  
Where I often wandered, lonely, and the future tried to cast.  
Many were my visions bright,  
Which the future ne'er fulfilled;  
But how sunny were my day-dreams  
On those East Kentucky Hills!

Oh those East Kentucky Hills,  
How majestic and how grand,  
With their summits pointing skyward  
To that Great Almighty Land.  
[Rest of stanza missing.]

Oh the East Kentucky Hills,  
I must bid you now adieu  
In my home beyond the mountains  
I shall ever think of you  
In the evening time of life  
If my Heavenly Father wills  
I shall still behold a vision  
Of those East Kentucky Hills.

V

THE RETURNING SOLDIER

A neat young lady at work in the garden,  
A gay young soldier came riding by.  
He stepped up to this neat young lady  
And says, "Kind Miss, won't you marry me?"

<sup>1</sup> This I did not learn from mother or father, and I don't doubt that it has been published. — C. H.

"You're not a man of fancy honor,  
You're not the man I was taking you to be,  
Imposing on a neat young lady,  
Saying, 'Kind Miss, won't you marry me?'

"I have a true love in the army,  
He's been gone for seven long years;  
And if he's gone for seven years longer,  
No man on earth can marry me."

"Perhaps he's dead, perhaps he's drowned,  
Perhaps he's on some battlefield slain,  
Perhaps he's stolen some fair girl and married her,  
Perhaps you'll never see him again."

"If he's dead I hope he's happy,  
Or if he's on some battlefield slain,  
Or if he has stolen some fair girl and married her,  
I love that girl for loving him."

He drew his hands all out of his pockets,  
And his fingers both neat and small;  
And the rings that shone upon them,  
Beneath her feet he let them fall.

She picked them up on her little fingers;  
The kisses she gave them was one, two, three,  
Saying, "Is this my little single soldier,  
Returning home to marry me?"

## VI

### THE MURDER OF MRS. BROUGHTON

Written and composed by C. O. Oaks, Blind Musician, Richmond, Ky.

In Knox county, an awful crime  
Occurred near Barbourville  
By two negroes on Fighting Creek,  
When all was dark and still.  
On Saturday Broughton came home,  
Gave money to his wife,  
Forty dollars he had worked out in the mines;  
That cash cost her her life.

A negress named Annie Henson  
With Mrs. Broughton stayed,  
Gave the alarm soon in the night,  
A false statement she made.  
She said that men unknown to her  
The house had broken in  
Had killed and robbed Mrs. Broughton,  
She lied to hide her sin.



Neighbors found nothing but the blood,  
The body they did seek,  
They searched in vain till morning dawn,  
And found her near the creek.  
Some cruel hands had murdered her,  
And in the darkness fled,  
Her throat was cut from ear to ear,  
Almost severing her head.

Bloodhounds were quickly dispatched for,  
And soon were on the trail,  
Jess Fitzgerald was caught in the mines,  
And placed in Barboursville jail.  
The negress was arrested, too,  
A confession she made,  
How she and Fitzgerald had planned the plot,  
And parts that each had played.

She said that Fitzgerald was there and left,  
Came back in a short time,  
She held the victim on the bed,  
While he committed the crime.  
He took the cash and ran away,  
To Artemus fled,  
Next day the men came into town;  
"We'll lynch them both," they said.

They were taken to Stanford jail,  
And kept there for a while,  
But were brought back to Barboursville,  
And both were placed on trial.  
The troops were there with gattling gun,  
Guarding court house and jail,  
The jury sentenced Fitzgerald to hang;  
Now let justice prevail.

He said he forced Annie to help,  
He soon his God must meet;  
She got fifteen years in the pen,  
They could not justice cheat.  
Poor woman will sleep on in the tomb,  
Until life's toils are done,  
Then her murderers will be avenged  
By the Immortal One.

## VII

THE SOUTHERN RAILROAD WRECK, WHICH OCCURRED NEAR NEW MARKET,  
TENN., SEPT., 1904

Written and composed by Charles O. Oaks.

One Autumn morn in Tennessee  
An awful wreck was heard,  
East of Knoxville, and near New Market,  
Was where the crash occurred;  
The East and West bound passenger trains  
Were running at high speed,  
They struck each other on a curve,  
'T was a horrible sight indeed.  
The engine crew on the West bound train  
Their orders had misread;  
About one hundred and fifty were hurt,  
And near seventy are dead.  
The passengers were riding along,  
And chatting the time away,  
Reading and smoking, and laughing and talking,  
And all seemed bright and gay.

## CHORUS

The people were excited,  
They wept aloud and said:  
My God, there's a wreck on the railroad  
And many we fear are dead.  
Oh how much of sadness,  
Oh how many pains.  
Many sad hearts are aching  
For friends on the ill fated trains.

But in a moment the scene was changed  
To one of sad despair;  
For shrieks of dying men and women  
And children filled the air.  
The track was strewn with dead and dying,  
'T was an awful sight that day.  
The engine crews were buried alive,  
Without even time to pray.  
A little girl with her head mashed,  
Called "Mamma" each dying breath,  
Her parents lay not far away,  
But they are still in death.  
One lady, a sharp piece of wood  
Her body had pierced through,  
Her little babe lay in her arms,  
But death soon claimed it too. — CHORUS.

One dying woman prayed to live,  
Just for her children dear;

A headless woman's body lay there,  
Her head was lying near.  
Nurses and doctors soon arrived  
From Knoxville on a train;  
And they all labored very hard  
To save life and ease pain.  
People in Knoxville rushed to the depot,  
More news to ascertain;  
For many had relatives and friends  
Aboard each fatal train.  
Little could they learn till four o'clock,  
A train pulled in that day  
With seventy who were badly hurt,  
Six dying on the way. — CHORUS.

Excitement was not over then,  
For people were filled with dread;  
Till eight o'clock, a train pulled in,  
Bearing forty-two dead.  
And many who kissed their friends farewell  
Before they went away,  
Soon were brought back to them in death  
With lips as cold as clay.  
The next day was the Sabbath day,  
And many were laid to rest,  
We trust they were on the Lord's side,  
And now are with the blest.  
And when we board a railroad train,  
It's little do we know;  
That we may meet the same sad fate,  
And into eternity go. — CHORUS.

## VIII

I went up on the mountain  
And I gave my horn a blow;  
And I thought I heard my true love say,  
Yonder comes my beau.

A verse of a song which a young Berea student used to hear often at his home in Owsley County.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, MADISON, WIS.

## FOLK-MUSIC IN AMERICA

BY PHILLIPS BARRY

THE existence of American folk-song is no longer a matter of speculation and doubt. The great numbers of singing people, living or dead, who have made homes in our land, have brought with them to our shores the songs their fathers sang, giving the impetus at the same time to the growth of a native species of folk-song, whereby folk-poetry and folk-music has come to be an American institution. And the voice of the folk-singer may yet be heard, as well in the heart of the great city as on the lonely hillside.<sup>1</sup> That much of this treasure of traditional song may not pass away, some effort has already been made, — for it is, alas! too true that its days are numbered. It is to be hoped that this effort may lead to the founding of an American Folk-Song Society. The collections made by Professor Belden and others in the West, as well as the results of my own researches in the North Atlantic States, testify eloquently to the wealth of material nigh at hand. If for no other reason, the great mass of American folk-song is worthy of preservation, as a means of making a record of a phase of American home-life which constitutes an unwritten and neglected chapter in the history of the manners and customs of our people.

Yet there is another reason. The melodies to which folk-songs are sung in America are of infinite variety, and in many instances rarely beautiful. To this source the composer of the future, who shall found a school of American music, will turn for his inspiration.

In the present article, which will serve as an introduction to a more detailed treatment of the subject, to be made by me in the near future, I shall discuss briefly the forms and species of melody, — modes, structure, etc., — and make some mention of the persistence of certain definite national types.

## I. THE MODES

Folk-music has a wider range in modal structure than the composer of to-day, self-restricted, avails himself of. The greater number of airs, it is true, are cast in the familiar "major scale," — the Ionian mode of the mediæval writers, called also by them "*tonus lascivus*," in recognition of the fact that already at that time it was the usual mode of secular melodies, in contradistinction to certain other modes regarded as more fitting for sacred music. In my collection, more than seventy-five per

<sup>1</sup> The Irish people in our large cities are keeping alive a great quantity of folk-song. W. C., Boston, Mass., tells of hearing a city laborer of Irish extraction sing from 8 P. M. to 5 A. M., without singing a song twice, a worthy rival to the "old singing-men" of Baring-Gould and others.

cent are in this mode, an indication of a fact, which, on examination, will be found to hold true of other large collections of folk-melodies. Many traditional tunes, however, being those especially which are said to sound uncouth to unaccustomed ears, are cast in the so-called ecclesiastical modes, the characteristic feature of which is the minor seventh. Four such modes<sup>1</sup> are still in use: to wit, —

1. Mode of A, or Æolian.



2. Mode of D, or Dorian.



3. Mode of E, or Phrygian.



4. Mode of G, or Mixolydian.

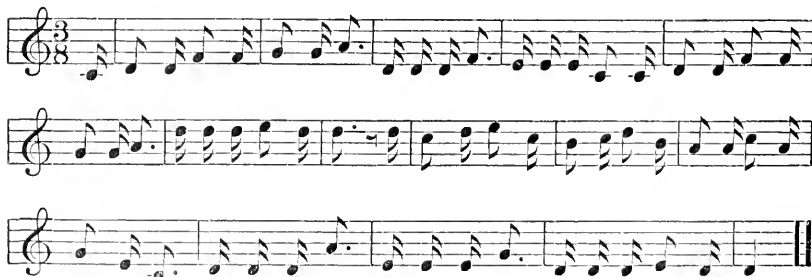


Specimen melodies, chosen from among those in my collection, will serve to illustrate the peculiar features of these four modes. I have but one tune in the Phrygian. The rarity of this mode in British folk-music, and consequently in American, is a fact often mentioned by those who have written upon the subject.<sup>2</sup>

#### I. Æolian Mode

KING JOHN AND THE BISHOP OF CANTERBURY.<sup>3</sup>



NANCY MY LOVER.<sup>1</sup>COME ALL YOU RUDE YOUNG MEN.<sup>2</sup>2. *Dorian Mode*BARBARA ALLAN.<sup>3</sup>WILLIAM TAYLOR.<sup>4</sup>THERE WAS A FROG.<sup>5</sup><sup>1</sup> From MS. of 1790.<sup>2</sup> From MS. of 1790.<sup>3</sup> *Bonny Barbara Allan*, E. From M. E. H., St. Mary's, Pa.<sup>4</sup> *William Taylor*, E. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.<sup>5</sup> *The Frog and the Mouse*, B. From S. L. G., Canton, Mass.

3. *Phrygian Mode*TERENCE, MY SON.<sup>1</sup>4. *Mixolydian Mode*PRETTY POLLY.<sup>2</sup>MARY NEILL.<sup>3</sup>GIVE ME A KISS OF THE PRETTY BRIDE.<sup>4</sup><sup>1</sup> Lord Randall, J. From M. R. M., Newtonville, Mass.<sup>2</sup> Polly Oliver, C. From S. C., Boston, Mass.<sup>3</sup> Mary Neill, A. From S. C., Boston, Mass.<sup>4</sup> Katharine Jaffray, B. From S. C., Boston, Mass.

Some so-called *modal airs* lack the distinguishing features of one or another of the modes described above. Such an air is the following, — it might be regarded as Dorian, since it has the minor seventh and the major sixth, — though the prominence given to the seventh is good reason for treating it as Mixolydian, in spite of the absence of the distinguishing major third.

GREEN GROWS THE LAUREL.<sup>1</sup>



Change of mode occurs very rarely. What is understood by *modulation*, that is, change of key only; also the introduction of the major seventh into a minor melody, are special developments of artistic music. The accompanying melody illustrates change of mode.

THE KING'S DAUGHTER.<sup>2</sup>



In this instance the change is a violent one, from Æolian (or Dorian) to Ionian in the second part of the melody.

## II. STRUCTURE

Under this head I shall refer briefly to some of the structural peculiarities of folk-music in America, which will serve to point out a difference between a traditional tune, the product of individual invention plus communal re-creation, and a "composed" tune. The difference is in many ways analogous to the difference, as regards diction, literary style, etc., between, say, "Sir Patrick Spens" and "The Wreck of the Hesperus," or any of the stirring but unconvincing imitations of the ancient ballad by Sir Walter Scott. Music, as well as words, emphasizes as a fact the inimitability of folk-song.

<sup>1</sup> *Green grows the Laurel*, B. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.

<sup>2</sup> *Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight*, G. From J. C., Vineland, N. J.



## I. Circular Melodies

To a folk-singer, words and music together make the ballad he sings.<sup>1</sup> The one is not felt to exist without the other. An interesting survival of what is evidently a very early form of ballad-singing is the so-called *circular tune*, the feature of which is the absence of the tonic close, as in the accompanying example, —

RAMBLE, MY SON.<sup>2</sup>

Individual stanzas of a ballad being felt as part of a whole, likewise the air, as sung to any single stanza, was not the melody of the ballad, but part of it. The closing note would not be final, but would have reference to the continuation of the ballad, until, when the final stanza was reached, the melody would take the form in the final cadence, that would indicate the song or ballad was finished. That these melodies have come down to us in an incomplete form is readily accountable, because of the fact that, in singing a ballad, whereas the incomplete close would occur many times, the final cadence would occur only once. The usual is more readily remembered than the unusual.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. Partial Melodies

I can but give a very brief summary of this interesting feature of folk-music, in some of its manifestations one of the most striking. Partial melodies, or musical phrases, set each to a verse, or, rather, a musical sentence of a ballad, constitute the elements out of which a folk-tune is constructed. It will readily be observed by any one who listens to a folk-singer, that in many instances partial melodies, identical in form or nearly so, are repeated in different parts of the tune, according to a fixed law. The following formulas will serve to identify the more common types of melodic structure.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are no *recited ballads*. People who do not sing seldom know folk-songs, and then only as recollections, often fragmentary, of songs they have heard sung.

<sup>2</sup> *Lord Randall*, T. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.

<sup>3</sup> Some circular melodies are dance-tunes, — a fact pointing to the intimate connection of ballad and dance.

<sup>4</sup> C. J. Sharp (*English Folk-Song*, p. 72) treats the subject more fully from the viewpoint of British folk-music.

1. Two elements, *a, b*.*First type: a, b, a, b.*THE MERMAID.<sup>1</sup>*Second type: a, b, b', a.*THE IRISH GIRL.<sup>2</sup>*Third type: a, a', a'', b.*LORD BATEMAN.<sup>3</sup>2. Three elements, *a, b, c**First type: a, a', b, c.*THE BUTCHER BOY.<sup>4</sup><sup>1</sup> *The Mermaid*, A. From J. G. M., Newbury, Vt.<sup>2</sup> *The Irish Girl*, B. From MS. of 1790.<sup>3</sup> *Young Beichan*, C. From N. A. C., Rome, Pa.<sup>4</sup> *The Butcher Boy*, A. From O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.

Second type: *a, b, b', c.*

COME ALL YOU MAIDENS FAIR.<sup>1</sup>



Third type: *a, b, a, c.*

FAIR FLORILLA.<sup>2</sup>



3. Four or more elements, *a, b, c, d*, etc.

First type: *a, b, c, d.*

THE JOLLY BEGGAR.<sup>3</sup>



Second type: *a, b, a, c, d, e.*

THE MAKING OF THE HAY.<sup>4</sup>



<sup>1</sup> *The Sprig of Thyme*, B. From MS. of 1790.

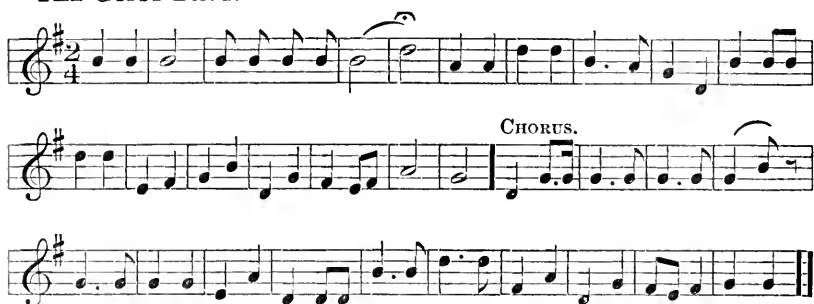
<sup>2</sup> *Fair Florella*, C. From A. W. L., Thornton, N. H.

<sup>3</sup> *The Jolly Beggar*, A. From S. C., Boston, Mass.

<sup>4</sup> *The Making of the Hay*, A. From S. C., Boston, Mass.

Third type: *a, b, c, d, e, f, g, d'*.

THE GYPSY DAVY.<sup>1</sup>



### 3. National Types

Folk-melodies of Irish origin exhibit one or two peculiarities of their own that are worthy of passing notice. For example, the arrangement of partial melodies according to the formulas, *a, b, b', a*, and *a, b, b', c*, is very common. Another feature, even more marked, appears in the closing cadence, — the repetition of the final note of the air. The accompanying melody illustrates well both of these characteristics.<sup>2</sup>

ADIEU, MY LOVELY NANCY.<sup>3</sup>



Another melody, showing also the structural peculiarity of the pentatonic scale, as well as the repetition of the final note, is worthy of inclusion here, by reason of its great beauty.

<sup>1</sup> *The Gypsy Laddie*, P. From L. N. C., Boston, Mass.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also *Mary Neill* and *Give me a Kiss of the Pretty Bride*, s. v., Mixolydian mode.

<sup>3</sup> From S. C., Boston, Mass.

THE GREEN MOSSY BANKS OF THE LEA.<sup>1</sup>

Though a modal rather than a structural peculiarity of melody, it may be remarked that Irish singers have a liking for airs cast in the Mixolydian mode.

33 BALL STREET, BOSTON, MASS.

<sup>1</sup> From S. C., Boston, Mass.

## TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN FOLK-LORE SOCIETY

THE Society met at Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, in affiliation with the American Anthropological Association and Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, from December 28, 1908, to January 1, 1909.

The Council of the Society met on December 29 at the Maryland Institute. The Society held its annual business meeting on the same day and at the same place.

President Dixon presided, and Dr. George A. Dorsey was appointed Secretary of the meeting.

The Treasurer presented his report for the period from December 24, 1907, to December 24, 1908.

### RECEIPTS

Balance from last statement . . . . .	\$1,518.73
Receipts from annual dues . . . . .	831.20
Subscriptions to Publication Fund . . . . .	231.00
Sales through Houghton, Mifflin & Co. (net of mailing and other expenses):	
Memoirs . . . . .	47.13
Journal of American Folk-Lore, June 1, 1907, to December 1, 1908, less 10 % commission, and charges for expressage, mailing, printing, etc. . . . .	638.32
Sales of reprints to authors . . . . .	34.65
Sales of back numbers of Journal through the Secretary . . .	12.50
California Branch, A. L. Kroeber, Acting Treasurer, balance left over from their fiscal year, 1906-1907. . . . .	25.75
Interest account on balance, Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass. . . . .	34.11
	\$3,373.39

### DISBURSEMENTS

Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for manufacture of Journal of American Folk-Lore, Nos. 79, 80, 81, 82 . . . . .	\$1,350.49
Houghton, Mifflin & Co., for printing circular letter to members .	26.22
"       "       "       "       "       reprints for authors . .	154.37
"       "       "       "       "       notice of annual meeting, and sending same to members . . . . .	7.03
H. M. Hight, Boston, Mass., printing bill forms, envelopes, etc. .	7.25
Treasurer's postage . . . . .	8.50
Secretary's       " . . . . .	10.80
Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer, Permanent Secretary, for typewriting, for rubber stamp, clerk-hire, and express . . . . .	7.37
Allen Bros., Boston, Mass., rubber stamp for treasurer . . .	1.50
<i>Amount carried forward . . . . .</i>	<i>\$1,573.53</i>

Amount brought forward . . . . .	\$1,573.53
American Anthropological Association, one third cost of the Joint Committee meeting at Chicago, Ill.; and one half the cost of printing programmes, postal cards, reply cards, typewriting, etc.	39.06
Helen Leah Reed, Secretary of the Boston Branch, Cambridge, Mass., stamped envelopes . . . . .	2.16
Edward W. Wheeler, Cambridge, Mass., printing cards for the Publication Fund . . . . .	7.00
E. M. Backus, for collecting material in the South for the Journal of American Folk-Lore . . . . .	10.00
Rebate to the Cambridge Branch, M. L. Fernald, Treasurer . . . . .	17.50
“ “ “ Boston “ A. R. Tisdale, “ . . . .	36.50
“ “ “ Missouri “ Mrs. L. D. Ames, “ . . . .	10.00
“ “ “ California “ A. L. Kroeber, Acting Treas. . . . .	12.00
“ “ “ Iowa “ E. K. Putnam, Treasurer . . . . .	5.00
Appropriation by the Council to California Branch . . . . .	50.00
Old Colony Trust Co., Boston, Mass., collecting checks . . . . .	2.80
	<hr/>
	\$1,772.66
Balance to new account . . . . .	1,600.73
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	\$3,373.39
ELIOT W. REMICK, <i>Treasurer</i> .	

This report was duly accepted, and the President nominated a committee, consisting of Messrs. A. M. Tozzer, H. J. Spinden, and R. G. Fuller, to audit the same.

Upon nomination by the Council, officers were elected; and the following list shows the constitution of the Council, including officers holding over from previous elections:—

PRESIDENT, Dr. John R. Swanton, Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT, Professor F. N. Robinson, Harvard University, Cambridge.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT, Professor Alcée Fortier, Tulane University, New Orleans.

EDITOR OF JOURNAL, Professor Franz Boas, Columbia University, New York.

PERMANENT SECRETARY, Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer, Harvard University, Cambridge.

TREASURER, Mr. Eliot W. Remick, Boston.

COUNCILLORS. (For three years): Professor H. M. Belden, University of Missouri; Professor E. K. Putnam, Davenport, Iowa; Dr. George A. Dorsey, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. (For two years): Dr. R. H. Lowie, American Museum of Natural History, New York; Professor P. E. Goddard,<sup>1</sup> University of California; Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, Mexico City.<sup>1</sup> (For one year): Dr. F. A. Golder,<sup>1</sup> University of Missouri; Dr. H. M. Hurd,<sup>1</sup> Baltimore.

<sup>1</sup> Councillors holding over.

The following are also members of the Council, either as past Presidents of the Society within five years or as Presidents of local Branches: Professor G. L. Kittredge, Miss Alice Fletcher, Professor A. L. Kroeber, Professor R. B. Dixon, Professor F. W. Putnam, Professor R. B. Perry, Mr. Charles Keeler, Miss Mary A. Owen, Professor Charles B. Wilson, Professor A. C. L. Brown.

On December 30 Professor R. B. Dixon gave his Presidential address on "The Mythology of the Central and Eastern Algonkins."

The following papers were presented at the meeting of the Folk-Lore Society:—

LOUISE RAND BASCOM, "Ballads and Songs of Western North Carolina."

DR. C. HART MERRIAM, "Battle of the First People with Dakko, the Sun God, — a Hamfo Myth."

DR. CLARK WISSLER, "Observations on Esoteric Narratives as the Source of Myths."

MISS MARY W. F. SPEERS, "The Importance of Recording Negro-Lore, Dialects, and Melodies."

GEORGE WILL, "Songs of the Western Cowboys."

DR. R. H. LOWIE, "Additional Catch-Words for Mythological Motives."

F. B. WASHINGTON, "Notes on the Northern Wintun Indians."

LEO FRACHTENBERG, "Traditions of the Coos Indians of Oregon, collected by H. H. St. Clair, 2d."

DR. C. HART MERRIAM, "Transmigration in California."

DR. JOHN PEETE CROSS, "Folk-Lore from the Southern States."

PHILLIPS BARRY, "Folk-Music in America."

The following abstract of a portion of the report of the Permanent Secretary to the Council in regard to the activities of the Society and its condition was read and ordered printed:—

#### GENERAL FINANCIAL CONDITION

The general financial condition of the Society is only fairly satisfactory. The balance in December, 1908, shows an increase of about one hundred dollars over that of December, 1907. This does not by any means represent the relative strength of the finances in these two years. In 1907, there was an item of \$900.83 as part of the cost of printing the Ninth Memoir. No expenses were incurred this year for Memoirs. The statement of Houghton, Mifflin & Company for receipts in 1908 for sale of Journal contains several unusual items, such as receipts from foreign agents, which do not come regularly.

The cost of publishing the Journal has increased \$217.40 from last year. I have made an exhaustive study of the cause of this increase by comparing the detailed bills, and I find that the greater part of it



is due to an increase in the price of typesetting. This, together with a slight increase in the cost of corrections, makes up the difference.

A new item appears also for the first time in 1908, the cost of reprints given to authors. A small portion of this amount is met by authors who order more than the usual fifty copies and by those who order covers. The net cost to the Society for reprints amounted to \$119.72. In former years extra copies of the Journal were printed at slight expense, and these were divided up and served as reprints.

There has been a net loss on the Journal of \$43.44 during the year. This would have amounted to much more if we had not received an unusually large amount from the publishers for the sale of the Journal. This amount does not represent the sum we may expect from this source each year.

From a study of the summary of the Treasurer's report, which is printed on p. 82, it will be seen that we cannot increase the cost of publication without a considerable increase in income. The Journal is not self-supporting.

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S STATEMENT, AND COMPARISON WITH  
THE YEAR 1907

Journal Account				
Receipts	1907		1908	
Dues from all sources				
less rebates	801.65		775.95	
Sales of Journal	338.36	1139.01	650.82	1426.77
Expenses				
Manufacture of Journal	1133.09		1350.49	
Net cost of reprints	0.00	1133.09	119.72	1470.21
	Gain	5.92	Loss	43.44
Publication Fund				
Receipts				
Subscriptions	143.00		231.00	
Sale of Memoirs	172.42	315.42	47.13	278.13
Expenses				
"Los Pastores" (partial)	690.83	690.83	0.00	0.00
	Loss	375.41	Gain	278.13
	1906	1907	1908	
Balance in treasury, Dec. 25,	1,931.01	1,518.73	1,600.73	

MEMBERSHIP

I regret to report that the membership has fallen off during the year. Last year we had 379 members, this year there are 358 members, enrolled on the books, a loss of 21. This loss is mainly due to the failure of the Arizona Branch to keep alive. There were 34 members in the Branch. Four remained as members of the general Society.

This loss of thirty members from Arizona was more than made up by a gain in other directions, so that the net loss is 21 for the year.

A number of names of members who have never paid dues to the Society have been dropped from the lists, and it will take another year before we can remove from the list all those who are more than two years in arrears. Several local secretaries are not willing to drop these names, even after repeated warnings from the Treasurer of the Society.

The question of membership should be considered by the Council. At the present time, with the exception of the local secretaries, there is no one whose duty it is to have the question of membership in mind. Large areas are not covered by the local Branches, and it is in these places that work ought to be done to increase the membership. Washington, New York, and Chicago ought to be fruitful fields for missionary work. There are many names of anthropologists, in addition to names of those interested in folk-lore from other sides, which are not on the list of members.

I therefore respectfully request the Council to consider the appointment of a membership committee, appointed or elected according to their place of residence. In this way different parts of the country will be covered, and a little work on the part of each member of the committee would result in an increase in membership, which is needed in order that the Journal may become self-supporting

#### CONDITION OF LOCAL BRANCHES

*Boston Branch.* — There are 94 members enrolled, a gain of 4 over the year 1907.

*Cambridge Branch.* — There is a limit of 40 to membership. This number is usually maintained.

*California Branch.* — The financial conditions of the Branch are in a much more promising condition than at this time last year. The proceedings of the Branch have contributed much interesting material to the contents of the Journal. The Society has, during the past year, made an appropriation of \$50.00 toward the expenses of the Branch in the hope of enabling it to organize its work.

*Missouri Branch.* — The membership has remained the same as last year.

The annual meeting of the Branch was held on February 8, at Washington University, St. Louis. There was a morning and afternoon session, and several papers were read. Many of the contributions will appear in the Journal.

*Iowa Branch.* — The membership has remained the same as last year.

The Branch held a most successful joint meeting at the University of Iowa on November 5th and 6th, in connection with the Iowa Society

of the Archæological Institute of America and the Iowa Anthropological Society. There were four joint sessions, and a large number of interesting papers were presented. Several of these will appear in the Journal.

*Illinois Branch.*—The Illinois Branch has been organized mainly through the efforts of Professor H. A. V. Jones. Professor A. C. L. Brown of Northwestern University is president of the Branch, Professor H. A. V. Jones of the University of Illinois is secretary.

*Arizona Branch.* — It has not been possible to keep this Branch alive. The Secretary, Dr. Golder, left Arizona, and no one has been found to take his place.

A Canadian Folk-Lore Society has lately been established, and there is every reason to hope that within a short time it will be affiliated with the American Folk-Lore Society.

#### JOURNAL OF AMERICAN FOLK-LORE

I am glad to report an increase in the number of libraries and colleges subscribing to the Journal. Last year this list numbered 109. For 1908 the number is 116. A circular letter was sent out to all the libraries on the mailing list of Houghton Mifflin Company's catalogues. This resulted in several additions to the list, and in one or two cases files of the Journal were bought. I propose at the beginning of 1909 to repeat this, and to send in addition a list of the libraries already subscribing for the Journal. This includes all the large libraries and the colleges of the United States. Each new name on this list means a permanent addition to the income of the Society. There is not the same fluctuation as in the case of members.

*Report of the Editor.* — During the past year the editor has endeavored to obtain for the Journal a number of papers of greater weight. This has made it necessary to print in each number of the Journal at least one long paper. Since the number of pages for each number is only about eighty, it is rather difficult to place papers of such length in a single number, and it seemed advantageous to issue a double number in midsummer in order to gain room for papers of this type. Unfortunately it is not possible to pursue this policy constantly, because the interval between issues of the single numbers would be too long, and also because the regulations of the Post-Office forbid the combination of two numbers into one. The supply of material for the Journal has increased so much that it seems impossible to print all the good papers that are offered now in the space of 320 to 360 pages, which are the limits of the Journal. It seems therefore highly desirable to increase the Journal to at least 400 pages annually. This, however, would increase the financial burdens of the Society by twenty per cent., and it does not seem feasible to make this increase in the size of the Journal unless additional means are forthcoming.

Thanks to the efforts made by Professor G. L. Kittredge and others, a considerable amount of material relating to European folk-lore has been offered for publication in the *Journal*, and it is the hope of the Editor that this department of the *Journal* may be considerably strengthened in coming years.

Unfortunately, the Department of Negro Folk-Lore is still weak, and it will require considerable effort to develop it adequately and to stimulate much-needed activity in this direction.

Another department of the *Journal* that requires further development is that of book reviews. The number of books reviewed is entirely out of proportion in comparison to the material published annually, and reviews do not appear sufficiently promptly. For the development of this department of the *Journal* the coöperation of students is urgently needed.

The thanks of the Society are due to the considerable number of subscribers who have contributed to the expense of preparing and printing the index.

#### PUBLICATION FUND AND TENTH MEMOIR

By vote of the Council in 1907, the Publication Fund is to be kept separate from that of the other accounts of the Society. The Treasurer's statement will not show this separation of accounts. This was not deemed necessary for the present year, as there has been nothing expended on this account.

By vote of the Council in 1907, the Tenth Memoir is to be an Index of the twenty volumes of the *Journal*, and the Collection of Maryland Folk-Lore which was to constitute the Tenth Memoir was placed on the list of prospective publications. The preparation of the index has been taken up. The Editor reports progress, and hopes to be able to send the manuscript to the printer about the end of February of the coming year.

As I said last year in my report, I think that Memoirs should come out at more frequent intervals than in previous years. Subscriptions to the Fund come in more readily when there is something definite to promise by way of publication. \$231.00 have been subscribed this year for the index.

I suggest to the Council the possibility of dedicating the Tenth Memoir, the Index to the twenty volumes of the *Journal*, to the memory of Mr. Newell. The twenty volumes are largely the result of his individual efforts, and an index to these writings would serve very appropriately as a Memorial to him.

I cannot close my report without thanking the President of the Society and the Editor of the *Journal* for their kind coöperation in the work of the year. The publishers of the *Journal* have also been ready to

furnish me with any details in regard to the financial side of the affairs of the Society.

I can but feel that the Society has started on a new era of prosperity, and that the memory of the founder will be perpetuated in an organization and a publication worthy of him and his associates.

ALFRED M. TOZZER,  
*Permanent Secretary.*

The following recommendations of the Secretary were adopted by the Council: —

The Tenth Memoir, "An Index to the Twenty Volumes of the Journal of American Folk-Lore," is to be printed as a Memorial Volume to the late William Wells Newell, the Founder of the Society.

It was resolved to appoint a Committee on Membership. The President appointed the following Committee: the President *ex officio*, the Editor *ex officio*, the Secretary *ex officio*, Professor Fortier, Mrs. J. G. Bourke, Miss Du Bois, Dr. Gardner, Mrs. McNeil, Mr. S. Hagar, Professor Prudden, Dr. Dorsey, Dr. Gordon, and Miss Wardle.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

ARIKARA CREATION MYTH. — In vol. vi of this Journal (1893), pp. 123 *et seq.*, Mr. George Bird Grinnell has published an account of the Arikara Creation myth, as recorded by Rev. C. L. Hall. In the original notes of the collector, written at Fort Berthold, in March, 1881, which are preserved in the Bureau of American Ethnology, a few data are contained which are worth preserving, since the present form of the myth contains a number of traits that are not found in the various records published by later collectors (see George A. Dorsey, "Traditions of the Arikara" [Washington, Carnegie Institution], pp. 11 *et seq.*). The variants, together with some critical and explanatory remarks kindly furnished by Mr. Grinnell, are given in the following lines.

When introducing his account, Rev. Hall says, "The following account of the creation and early history of mankind was obtained from an Arikara Indian who said he had paid a quantity of buffalo taken in hunting for the privilege of hearing it from the lips of a 'medicine-man.' The story was afterward told to him a second time, that he might remember it correctly, and he again paid for the relation. The story as told by the Indian was written down as he told it. Lately we desired to hear it again, that any mistakes might be corrected, but the narrator refused on the ground that the 'medicine-men' were displeased with him for having told the story to white people."

In the account itself the term "God" is used throughout for *Atius*. It is not stated that God made the earth, but created "a people of stone and iron." — The following is not contained in the manuscript of Rev. Hall: "Many of the people being big and heavy, and so able to move only slowly, could not reach the tops of the hills to which all tried to escape for safety, and even those who did so were drowned by the rising waters, which at last covered the whole land." — In the account of the duck and the mosquito a remark is added in Rev. Hall's version, in reference to the presence of these two animals after the deluge: "It is always thus with ducks and mosquitoes, you cannot tell where they go to, but they always come." — The obstacles met during the migrations of the tribes are recorded by Rev. Hall in the following order: First a river, which the people cross, following a fish with sharp fins on its back, that is taken out of the sacred bundle. "Some poor women and children who lagged behind, did not get across in time and were drowned in the waters and afterward transformed into fishes. Thus we see that fishes are relations of mankind." The second obstacle is a dense forest, through which the mole burrows. The laggards are transformed into moles, muskrats, beavers, and animals of like nature, that live under ground. The third obstacle is a ravine, where the laggards are transformed into birds. Mr. Grinnell has remarked in his earlier publication that the order in which the obstacles to the progress of the original company are encountered varies in the different versions given to him by various old men. A version which was told to him by Pahukatawá, who is said to have been born in 1821, declares that various tribes of the original company — among which he mentioned Arikara, Pawnee, Sioux, and Mandan — all moved together slowly from the big mountains in the south, and camped on a high hill called the Rough Butte. Another narrator spoke of this hill as the "Hard Butte

in the Black Hills." Pahukatawá, when telling the myth to Mr. Grinnell, said that all the Arikara passed safely over the deep ravine, which could be crossed only by aid of the bird called "striking bone;" thus implying that the laggards caught there and changed to animals belonged to other tribes. — The "Blue Mountains" are "presumed to be the Rocky Mountains." — When the people gamble, one man "lost nearly all he had and wanted to stop, but his partner would not stop. Whereupon the man said, 'You will have to take (or kill) me then.' — 'Well,' answered the other; 'I will take you.' But in the next game the loser won back all he had lost, whereat the other player grew angry and the two began to fight." At that time the people divided into nine tribes. — When they reach the Missouri River (p. 124) it is said, "Now they knew what the boy meant by saying, 'We shall see life and live in it.' He meant the 'Sacred Water,' the Missouri (the breastbone of the great Mother Earth)." According to Mr. Grinnell, this name must be a translation of the Pawnee name of the Missouri River, *Kits'wă'rūksti* ("mysterious water"). — The beans which the boy took out of the bundle are in "the gullet of a buffalo." — The incident of obtaining the fire is not contained in Rev. Hall's version. — The two great fires that pursue the people are not identified with the two deserted dogs, but said to be "caused by the dogs," although later on the dogs in the same version say, "We have bitten you," meaning that the fire has harmed the people. — The record continues as told by Mr. Grinnell; but before the last paragraph on p. 127, the following incident is found: "While living near the Missouri River and planting their field the Arikara remembered those parts of the great original company who had wandered away, and concluded that the reason why they saw no more of them was because of a dense pine forest between them. They had recourse to the boy and his mysterious bundle again. In the bundle were seen birds' feathers, snake-skins, and other such things, but the first that moved was a mole who offered to make a road for one of the other tribes to return to them. The road he made is marked to-day by a very prominent break or chasm in the Black Hills. This second tribe was very glad to find a road through the forests of the Black Hills and speedily followed it. One night these strangers encamped in the Bad Lands and while they were feasting and dancing and singing there, one of them tramping about discovered the wonderful formation of rocks there that has the appearance of a deserted village. It was then occupied by one of the bands of the Arikara tribe who had the first horses these strangers had ever seen, and a pair were presented to the travellers. They then came on until they reached the Missouri River, where they found four bands of Arikara living together near the great bend of the Missouri, between Crow Creek and Fort Sully. As these two horses were brought into camp they were much wondered at and so highly prized that they were called 'mysterious dogs,' and were for several days worshipped. The Arikara have kept horses ever since, as they are good for travel, and do not as dogs give out in hot weather; and they are also valuable in hunting, and especially in Indian bartering. The Arikara have always kept near the Missouri River, and lived in great part by planting." Obviously this, if it belongs to the creation legend at all, is a late addition. The mythical origin of the horses is peculiar, since the Pawnee remember their first acquisitions (G. P. Grinnell, "Pawnee Hero Stories," pp. 249, 265). Mr. Grinnell, when recording the Arikara myth twenty years ago, did not hear

of horses in connection with the creation myth. Two-Crows (Kakapi'tka), then chief priest of the Arikara, told him distinctly that they had received their horses from the Omaha. They did not know what they were, nor their use, nor what they fed on.

Mr. Grinnell did not hear that the people were created by the Mother Corn, but the Arikara constantly expressed their reverence for her who gave them all their culture, taught them how to make kettles of clay, knives from stone in the ground, and how to make bows and arrows.

In regard to the term *Ne-sa'ru* used by G. A. Dorsey in his creation stories, Mr. Grinnell says that it is apparently the Arikara form of the Pawnee word *lesharu* ("chief"). It seems to mean "the chief person." Mr. Grinnell never heard this term used for *Ati'us*, the principal god.

NOTES ON THE NORTHERN WINTUN INDIANS.<sup>1</sup>—The following notes are based on the writer's boyhood recollections, forty and more years ago, of the Indians called Nomlaki, then living in the western part of Tehama County, along the upper portion of Elder and Thomas Creeks, in the vicinity of Lowrey, Paskenta, and Henleyville. The largest village with which the author was personally acquainted was on a confluent of Elder Creek, a few miles north of Henleyville.

In physical appearance these Indians were quite different from those of Pit River, and from the Konkau of Maidu stock, who lived back of Chico. They were of medium stature and not notably inclined to be stout. Their features were good, and many women had beautiful hands and feet. The women generally wore their hair banged across the forehead. The men, as a rule, wore their hair short, searing it off with a coal. The beard was usually pulled out. The pubic hair was not removed, as it was by the Yuki and Pit River Indians. Tattooing was practised somewhat, but not extensively. The nose was occasionally perforated. I have some remembrance of seeing three or four shell beads (*mempak*) used as an ornament worn in the nose, but this was not customary. In general, bodily mutilations were not practised.

The various tribes of neighboring stocks were different from the Nomlaki in habits, implements, and physical appearance. The Yuki to the west were shorter, darker, rather broad, and with short necks and square shoulders. They were simpler or of a lower order in most things pertaining to their houses and mode of life. They were said to store no food, but to live from day to day. The Pit River Indians to the northeast resembled eastern Indians in general appearance, looking as though they might be related to tribes such as the Cheyenne. Their sharp eyes and pronounced features contrasted with the heavier and rather square features of the Nomlaki. The Konkau, of Maidu stock, to the east, seemed taller than the Nomlaki, and in certain ways resembled Hawaiians in their appearance.

The Nomlaki lived in a beautiful country with rolling hills and valleys, well watered and wooded. There were many springs, and it was near these that they generally lived. While the country mostly inhabited was between the Sacramento River and the Coast Range, trips were made to the river for the salmon-runs, and in the fall to gather wild grapes, while pine-nuts were

<sup>1</sup> Communicated as part of the Proceedings of the California Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society. A previous notice of these Indians by the author of the present paper has appeared in "Notes on California Folk-Lore," in this Journal, xix, 144, 1906.



gathered in the mountains. The mountains proper were not ordinarily inhabited. There was a strip of probably about twenty-five miles where no one lived. The crest of the range was the dividing-line between the two peoples. Any one found over the divide was likely to precipitate trouble. There was not very much intercourse across the Sacramento River. The people east of the river were reputed more warlike. The Nomlaki do not appear to have been troubled much with wars, the river protecting them on one side, and the mountains on the other. Ordinarily they lived perhaps ten or fifteen miles west of the river, and five or six miles east of the mountains. They themselves were peaceable and free from care. Having almost always abundant food and easy circumstances, they lacked incentive to war and expeditions for plunder.

Within their own speech or family they called the people to the north of them Wailaki ("north language"), and those to the south Noimok.

Articles of trade were principally salt, obsidian, and shells for beads. Salt was gathered by the Nomlaki at salt springs, and was always more or less mixed with dirt.

Obsidian was obtained by trade. A lump as large as a man's head brought articles to the value of twenty dollars. It was chipped with a wire about the size of a lead pencil. A piece of skin was used with it to protect the hand.

The shells used for making beads came from the south. They were large clams, four or five inches long and three inches wide. These were broken and made into disk beads. These beads, which were called *mempak* ("water-bone"), were the principal article of value and exchange. Their value depended on their thickness rather than on their size, and also in large measure on their age and the degree of polish which they had acquired by carrying and use.

Cylinders of colored stone perforated longitudinally, and strung with disk beads, were brought from Lake County, and were very valuable, bringing from five to ten dollars.

Shells and shell beads other than *mempak* were not much used. Dentalia and haliotis were known and somewhat employed, but were little valued.

The principal villages were more or less permanently inhabited. They were always situated where wood and water were abundant, and consisted usually of about five or six houses. These were often arranged more or less regularly in rows. The houses in appearance were mound-shaped. The supports and frame were of oak logs and were thatched. The entrance was low, so that it was necessary to stoop to pass through it. In the centre of the house was the fire, the smoke coming out through a hole at the top. The houses were small, averaging perhaps a dozen feet in diameter.

The so-called sweat-house, which was really a dance-house, was larger. The ground was excavated for it. The frame rested largely on a centre pole from which logs radiated. The centre pole was not used in the dwelling-houses. The dance-house was not used for ordinary purposes or sleeping. It was distinctly festive and ceremonial in character. It was not used for sweating. Many of these houses were built where there was no water available for swimming after a sweat.

Conditions of life were unusually favorable. The country was covered with wild oats, which had only to be beaten into baskets when ripe. The hills were studded with oaks, from which acorns were obtained. From these both bread and soup were made. The bread was of two kinds, one white, the other black.

The latter was rather sweet, and appears to have been made with the admixture of a certain kind of clay. At any rate, this clay was used as food, being mixed with acorn-flour. The wild oats were parched with live-coals in flat circular baskets, which were given a continuous tossing motion. The coals not only roasted the grains, but burned the chaff. After parching, the oats were pounded to meal. Buckeyes were eaten after the poison had been extracted by leaching or filtration.

There was some provision for the future in the matter of vegetable food. Inclosures of wattles for preserving oats and seeds were made near the house, and sometimes in the house. Acorns were also stored. Besides other methods, the following was employed in years when there was a large crop. The acorns were put into boggy holes near a spring, where the water flowed over them continuously. In this way they would keep for years.

Their fishing was very simple. Salmon in many cases could literally be scooped out, especially when they ran up small streams. Fish-traps of branches were also quickly and readily made. These had wing-dams leading to them; and the fish, on arriving at the end of the trap, rolled out of the water. The Sacramento River at certain seasons was full of salmon, so that from this source alone the Indians were absolutely relieved from serious trouble about their food.

Game was equally abundant, the quantity of deer and elk being enormous. Rabbits and squirrels were of course proportionately plentiful. The principal method of hunting was driving. In this way rabbits and deer were killed. Large parties were formed to drive the game over a certain territory to a particular point. Much noise was made to confuse the animals, which were finally driven into nets. In hunting rabbits, knobbed throwing-sticks were used. These were perhaps four feet long, made of a stick from a shrub with a piece of root attached. The thickness was about that of a man's thumb. The Indians could throw these sticks with great accuracy, and kill rabbits more effectively with them than with arrows. Besides being important in the hunt, these sticks were used in games of skill.

When rabbits and small game were killed, the body was skinned and cleaned. It was then laid on a stone and pounded with a pestle until thoroughly crushed. After this it was cooked and eaten entire.

Grasshoppers, larvæ of bees and wasps, and worms, were eaten. Snakes and lizards were not eaten, and much aversion was felt to the oysters of the whites. Grasshoppers were captured by being driven after the grass had been fired. Worms were taken when the ground was sodden with rain. A stick was put into the earth and worked around and around. All the worms within a radius of five or six feet came rushing out of the ground, and were simply gathered up. They were eaten cooked.

The chief possessed little but nominal authority. Conditions may possibly have been different in this respect before the coming of the Americans. One of the principal functions of a chief or prominent man was haranguing. The speaker used a different inflection of the voice when haranguing, and repeated words over and over. Much of the harangues was difficult to understand. They were unintelligible to me, and appear to have been partly so at least to the younger Indians. A man that could harangue well was considered an important person.

There was no system of punishment for crime or offence. I never knew of a

case of murder within the tribe. Adultery does not seem to have been punished except by beating. The Indians did not seem to have violent passions, but were a jolly, light-hearted people.

They were taciturn only on one occasion. If one went for a visit, there was no greeting. The visitor sat down, and for some time no one said a word. This was customary and proper when a visit was made. After a considerable time they would begin to speak of the object of the visit.

Ordinarily only three terms of color were used, — *kula* ("black"); *tluyoka* ("white"); and *tedeka* ("colored").

When a person saw a desirable piece of fallen wood, he stood it up against a tree, thereby establishing his ownership of it. This ownership was respected. In general, the Indians were not at all thievish. Fire-wood was sometimes brought in by the men as well as by the women.

At death, mourners, usually old women, often came from a distance. They were paid for their services. They blackened their faces and breasts with tar, allowing it to remain on the skin until it fell off. The younger women ordinarily did not disfigure themselves in this way. The hair was cut short in mourning. Crying, lamenting, and singing went on during the day and at night. Valuables were generally buried with the body. The effects of the dead were burned. In addition to these observances at the death, gatherings for the purpose of mourning for the dead were held also at other times.

The names of the dead were not mentioned. People were also very reluctant to mention their own names, and were offended if asked.

One of the principal amusements was shooting at a mark with arrows. Another game was to throw hunting-sticks at a mark. What was known as the grass game was used for gambling. This was a guessing-game played with bones held in the hand. In addition, there was a guessing-game played with a large number of slender sticks resembling the game-sets of the Hupa.

There were professional doctors who were paid for their services. Their chief remedy was sucking. Medicines were used little or not at all. The doctors put objects into their mouths and pretended to draw them from the sick person. Often this object seems to have been a piece of deer-sinew chewed until white and soft.

These Indians possessed secret societies. They were reluctant to reveal anything concerning them. One was called *po'mali* ("fire-makers"). In dances, head-bands of yellowhammer-feathers were used. On special occasions there were also large headdresses of eagle-feathers. In dancing, certain persons acted extravagantly, apparently to provoke applause. At a girl's first menstruation there was a ceremony at which a dance was held.

F. B. Washington.

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## LOCAL MEETINGS

### NEW YORK BRANCH

IN the beginning of January, at the invitation of Professor Boas, a meeting was held for the purpose of discussing the advisability and possibility of organizing a New York Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society. At this meeting a committee of four was appointed, and charged with the preparation of definite plans for the establishment of a branch. The committee consisted

of Dr. Robert H. Lowie, Chairman, Dr. Ernst Riess, Mr. Stansbury Hagar, and Mr. Leo J. Frachtenberg. After securing the support of a number of local members of the American Folk-Lore Society and of others interested in folk-lore, the committee drew up a tentative Constitution. On February 16, 1909, the Chairman of the Committee called a meeting, at which the New York Branch was formally organized, with a membership of thirty. The Constitution and By-Laws prepared by the committee were amended and adopted, and the following officers were elected: *President*, Robert H. Lowie; *Vice-President*, Joseph Jacobs; *Secretary*, Leo J. Frachtenberg; *Treasurer*, Stansbury Hagar; *Executive Committee*, Franz Boas, Marshall H. Saville, E. W. Deming.  
*Leo J. Frachtenberg*, Secretary.

#### BOSTON BRANCH

The twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the Boston Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society was observed on Friday, January 29, by a meeting in Hotel Vendôme. The President, Professor F. W. Putnam, gave an account of the history of the Branch, and paid a warm tribute to the memory of William Wells Newell, prime mover in the organization of the Society, and its general secretary until his death. Other speakers of the evening were Dr. Clarence J. Blake, Professor Crawford H. Toy, Professor Charles E. Fay, and Professor George L. Kittredge. In the twenty years of its existence the Boston Branch has held 116 stated meetings, the total number of papers read before the Branch was 123. Thirty of these treated of the North American Indian; six, of the natives of Central America; five each, of the Aleutians and Eskimo, and of China. Eleven papers were devoted to European folk-lore in America, and six to Negro folk-lore, with special attention to Negro music. Among other subjects discussed, the following may be mentioned: four papers each on Africa, Hawaii, Japan, and Buddhist customs; three on the gypsies; two papers each on the folk-lore of the following countries: Syria, Australia, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Scandinavia, Iceland, Russia, Turkey, Armenia, Arabia, Ireland, Scotland, and France. There was one paper each on the folk-lore of the French Canadians, the Philippine Islands, Central Asia, New Guinea, and the creoles of Jamaica. Two papers dealt with Shakespearian folk-lore, one with the street-cries of London.

*Helen Leah Reed*, Secretary.

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#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DEPARTMENT

EDITED BY ALEXANDER F. CHAMBERLAIN

Address: Clark University, Worcester, Mass., U. S. A.

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#### BOOK REVIEWS

THE ELDER OR POETIC EDDA, commonly known as Sæmund's Edda. Part I. The Mythological Poems. Edited and translated, with introduction and notes, by OLIVE BRAY. Illustrated by W. G. Collingwood. Printed for the Viking Club. King's Weighhouse Club, London, 1908.

The title-page does not indicate the peculiar advantages of this translation of the Edda. In the first place, the introduction contains not only a brief ac-

count of the various manuscripts of the poems, and remarks in general on the Northern mythology, but also a full explanation and argument of each of the poems in the book. These aids are very desirable, and even necessary for one who is not more or less familiar with the poems in the original. More important still, the Old Norse text and the English translation are printed side by side on opposite pages throughout. This method, which has been sometimes used in the translation of classics from other languages, is by all means the most convenient. For one who has studied the original, it is of great assistance when he is looking up references; for one, too, who wishes to learn the original on his own account, it is of considerable help, in that it saves a great deal of time usually spent in thumbing a dictionary; and to one who is interested chiefly in getting at the ideas of the work, it gives constantly the opportunity of at least seeing these ideas clothed in their original dress.

The Old Norse text of this edition is based on that of Gering (Paderborn, 1904), but variant readings of important passages are given in footnotes. The text is accompanied by thirty-three excellent illustrations, which have the comparatively rare merit of really helping the reader to visualize the action and of suggesting the atmosphere of the poems.

The editor, departing from the order of the *Codex Regius*, puts the *Grimnismál* first, and the *Völuspá* last. This is an advisable change from the point of view of one approaching the *Edda* for the first time; for, though the *Grimnismál*, by reason of interpolations, is inferior to many of the other poems, yet, by giving very useful information concerning the life of the gods, it is valuable by way of explanation and introduction; and the *Völuspá*, difficult because of its allusive character, is appropriately placed last, in a position where the allusions become more intelligible.

The question whether the translation would not have been better in prose than in verse is more debatable. Certainly, a good line-for-line translation of any poem requires a great deal of skill and ingenuity; and when one tries, in addition, to maintain the rhythm and to suggest the alliteration of the original, the difficulties are multiplied. In this case the problem is solved more successfully than one would expect: the translation is everywhere perfectly intelligible and reads smoothly; and the lines and strophes opposite their originals make reference and comparison very easy.

The bibliographies of the manuscripts, texts, translations, glossaries, commentaries, and scholarly articles in periodicals, are valuable; the indexes of the Icelandic text and of the translation will also be found useful; and the paper, typography, binding, and general make-up of the volume are attractive and in good taste.

As stated in the introduction, the primary object of the book is to appeal "less to scholars and students than to all who have sufficient taste for mythology, and understanding of old lore, to recognize the truth and beauty which are not expressed in precisely the forms and language of to-day." Accordingly, both the general introduction and the more elaborate introductory explanations of the separate poems do not assume that the reader has a wide knowledge of the Old Norse literature or mythology. For the benefit of the general reader also, the editor has translated the proper names where possible; thus, for example, Odin's names *Grimer* and *Gangleri* appear as *Hood-Winker* and *Wanderer*. To one familiar with Old Norse, this translation of proper names may seem unnecessary, and perhaps undesirable; but it is quite

consistent with the general aim of the book, which is, as already stated, to serve primarily those not familiar with the original.

The translator's chief aim, then, was to introduce the uninitiated to the mysteries of the Northern mythology and to the beauties of the Eddic poems. One may say that on the whole this object has been attained, and, furthermore, that not only for the general reader, but also for the student of Old Norse, the work is of positive value. It is to be hoped that the translator will proceed in the same manner with the heroic poems of the Edda.

On page 322, for "brother's" read "brothers."

*J. W. Rankin.*

SOCIAL CONDITION, BELIEFS, AND LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF THE TLINGIT INDIANS. By JOHN R. SWANTON. (Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1908, pp. 391-485.)

This paper embodies a portion of the material collected by Dr. Swanton during an expedition to Sitka and Wrangell. Perhaps the most important theoretical point made by the author is the establishment of a remote affinity between the Haida and Tlingit languages. This conclusion is stated with considerable caution. Swanton insists on the existence of great differences, and regards an indirect relationship, through differentiation from a common ancestral Athapaskan tongue, as a possibility to be reckoned with (p. 485). The linguistic section apart, it is difficult to select for consideration any special points, without undue neglect of equally valuable data. The following details are therefore offered merely to direct attention to a few features of general interest. The Tlingit were separated into two exogamic phratries with maternal descent. One phratry was known as Raven in all the geographical divisions; the other was usually called Wolf, and in the north also Eagle. Each phratry was subdivided into clans, usually deriving their name from some town or camp they had once occupied, but constituting social rather than local divisions, as a clan might be distributed among two or more geographical groups. The clans were again divided into house groups, the members of which occupied one or several houses. An interesting anomaly is presented by the Nexa'di clan of the Sanya division. This group stands outside of the phratric moieties, intermarriage with either being permissible. The segmentation of each tribe into two sides is of fundamental importance, affecting every-day life in many of its phases. Thus it was the duty of every one to practise unbounded hospitality in the case of a member of the same phratry; attendants on women in labor were chosen from the opposite phratry; and for the mourning feasts only members of the side complementary to that of the mourners were invited. Unlike the Haida, among whom the feast given to the opposite phratry on a relative's death was overshadowed by a chief's potlatch to his own moiety, the Tlingit practised the potlatch observances exclusively for the sake of dead fellow-clansmen, and with the exclusive participation of the opposite phratry in the reception of property, the erection of mortuary houses or poles, and the esoteric performances appropriate to the occasion. The visiting phratry was divided into two temporarily antagonistic parties, eager to discover flaws in each other's conduct, and easily embroiled in serious quarrels. Imitations of crest animals were in order; and secret-society dances, though less important than among the Tsimshian and Kwa-

kiutl, were celebrated. Pure entertainment had its place; and the use of "inverted speech"—that is, of phrases expressing the reverse of the intended meaning (p. 440)—is noteworthy. A point of interest in connection with the social life of the Tlingit is the social inequality of the clans, some of them being regarded as "high caste," and others as "low caste." Their relative importance, according to Swanton, resulted from the size of their towns and the proximity of the towns to trade-routes (p. 427).

Several chapters are devoted to the fundamental religious conceptions of the Tlingit. The world was peopled with an indefinite number of spirits (*yek*), each object having one principal and several subsidiary spirits. Powers of a specific character were credited to a great variety of real and mythical beings. Raven is the organizer of the present condition of the world. The killer-whale was held in reverence, though not to quite the same extent as among the Haida. Land-otters were dreaded, because they liked to abduct men and transform them into land-otter men. The Haida belief in spirits that brought wealth to those that saw or heard them was shared by the Tlingit. Conceptions of a hereafter were derived from men who had died and been restored to life. The home of departed souls was located above the plane of the world, and distinct quarters were allotted to those who had died by violence. Sickness and death were nearly always ascribed to witchcraft, relevant superstitions falling under the category of sympathetic magic. North Pacific coast shamanism, according to the author, reached its climax among the Tlingit. The shaman was more influential than among the Haida, and was generally of higher social standing. He possessed a number of masks, and was assisted by a number of helpers. He not only cured sickness, but was able to locate food-supplies and to destroy enemies in war. The influence of the social division of the tribe is seen in the fact that the spirits of Raven shamans were distinct from those of the Wolf phratry. The prominence of sea-helpers, such as killer-whales, is noticeably less than among the Haida (p. 465). Spirits were inherited from uncle to nephew, rarely from father to son. Sometimes the succession was determined, by the spirits themselves, before the shaman's death.

Even in this brief notice some mention should be made of the plates (Plates XLVIII—LVI) illustrating ceremonial hats and facial paintings of the Tlingit. The symbolical interpretations of the latter are frequently topographical, but also include references to mythological events. Realistic representations of animal forms are of special interest.

*Robert H. Lowie.*

FOLKLORE AS AN HISTORICAL SCIENCE. By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME. Methuen & Co. London, 1908. xvi+371 p.

The title of this work gives a very inadequate notion of its contents. Under the captions History and Folklore, Material and Methods, Psychological Conditions, Anthropological Conditions, Sociological Conditions, European Conditions, and Ethnological Conditions, Professor Gomme discusses not merely the relation of folk-lore to history, but a variety of subjects more or less closely related to the scientific study of folk-lore. Indeed, the only chapter strictly devoted to the vindication of folk-lore as an historical science comprises but one third of the entire volume, and is explicitly regarded by the author as preliminary (p. xiii); in other words, it is rather an introduction to the study of folk-lore that the reader has to deal with.

In some of his general anthropological discussions, the author's theories will hardly go unchallenged. Thus, he confidently states that "at almost the first point of origin in savage society we see man acting consciously, and it is amongst his conscious acts that we must place those traces of a sort of primitive legislation which have been found" (pp. 212, 213). Again, Gomme postulates for the earliest stage of society a group without any tie of kinship operating as a social force, and would have us believe that the social insignificance of the purely physical relationship between even mother and child is attested by the inclusiveness of the corresponding Australian relationship terms (p. 232). In accordance with this view, the Arunta system of local totemism, independent of either paternal or maternal totems, is adduced as an instance of the primitive kinless type of organization (p. 266 *et seq.*). A notable difference between the author's attitude with respect to totemism and that of other English ethnologists is his complete dissociation of the religious from the social aspect of the problem. He is thus able to indicate remarkable totemic superstitions in modern Ireland, which he conceives as survivals from the more fully developed totemic system of belief of the early Britons (pp. 276-296). On other points, Professor Gomme closely follows the traditions of the English school. Thus he states that "it is now one of the accepted facts of anthropology that at certain stages of savage life fatherhood was not recognized," and uses this "fact" to explain the king's desire to marry his daughter in the European story of Catskin (pp. 59-64). It is the more gratifying to find him at other times judiciously critical of the comparative methods employed by some of his most distinguished fellow-students. This is particularly noticeable in his plea that "parallel practices are not necessarily evidence of parallels in culture," which leads him to reject Frazer's elaborate hypotheses (pp. 109, 110). That similarity in form does not necessarily indicate either an historical or a psychological unity of origin is also well illustrated in a comparison of European and African "junior right" (pp. 171-174). A point of equal value is made where the author indicates the specialization of primitive peoples in certain directions, with concomitant lack of development in other directions, the influence of cattle-rearing on every phase of Toda culture being used to illustrate the former tendency (pp. 227-230).

Most of the theoretical views referred to are propounded in the long discussion of Anthropological Conditions. The chapter on Psychological Conditions (pp. 180-207) contains a suggestive evaluation of the relative influence of tradition and persistently primitive psychological constitution on the development of superstition. Though some of the concrete instances cited to exemplify the second of these factors are not altogether convincing, Gomme's general principle, that, granting the overshadowing influence of tradition, the importance of the other element should not be minimized, will be recognized as sound. The fact that the work forms part of a series dedicated to English antiquities has largely determined the author's choice of illustrations. The chapters on Sociological and Ethnological (and, of course, that on European) Conditions are based almost entirely on European material. Here, as elsewhere, the author does not deal exhaustively with the subject; but his insistence on the necessity of studying customs and beliefs in their natural settings, instead of wresting them from their cultural context (pp. 305, 365), is worthy of popularization, whether his classification of survivals into tribal



and non-tribal items — that is, into elements once related with a tribal and a non-tribal social system — prove feasible or not.

Compared with some of his general ethnological views, Professor Gomme's conception of mythology and folk-tales seems rather one-sided. While rightly insisting on the foundation of folk-tales on the facts of real life (p. 128), he adheres rigidly to the theory in which it is assumed that myths are the serious philosophical conceptions of rationalizing primitive folk, and become folk-tales by a process of degeneration (pp. 129-150). That folk-tales may have existed simultaneously with serious myths, or may have become invested with a philosophical aspect at a later stage, is not even mentioned as a possibility.

The treatment of the more special subject indicated in the title of the book does not seem to me convincing. The point that folk-tales represent the everyday life of the primitive story-teller, which has been repeatedly urged by Lang, Hartland, and other English students, is, of course, well taken, and some of Gomme's illustrations are skilfully selected to enforce it; but extreme caution is required in inferring the pristine occurrence of an institution from an incident in folk-literature. The author's interpretation of the Catskin story has already been referred to. The youngest-son stories, which Gomme, like others, inclines to view as evidence for the former reign of junior-right (p. 313), may less artificially be accounted for by the principle of rhetorical climax. The question raised by Mr. Joseph Jacobs as to in how far the conception of folk-tales as documents of culture-history is modified by the undoubted occurrence of diffusion, is not dealt with. Indeed, incredible as it may seem in a work of this sort, the whole subject of diffusion is dismissed in half a dozen lines, in which the author states his conviction not only that diffusion cannot account for all parallels (in which most students will concur), but also that "diffusion occupies a very small part indeed of the problem, and that it only takes place in late historical times" (p. 153). The question how to account for similarities in South Pacific and American Indian folk-lore, or for the homologies more recently revealed by Jochelson and Ehrenreich between Siberian and North American, and North American and South American, mythologies respectively, — fraught as the data are with historical significance, — is wholly neglected. A hardly less serious deficiency is the absence of a thoroughgoing investigation of the historical value of oral tradition, — a point of extreme theoretical significance. While claiming an historical value for orally transmitted tales, Professor Gomme, without entering into a treatment of the theoretical question involved, merely shows that legends of historical personages or localities may conceivably, if written history and speculation are impressed into the service, yield a confirmation of already known facts, or explain why popular hero-myths cluster about an historical character. Two instances of traditional beliefs preserved through centuries, and verified by recent excavation, are mentioned in footnotes (pp. 30, 31, 45). A discussion of the direct historical value of tradition and of the distribution of folk-lore would seem to merit a much fuller treatment, and would greatly enhance the value of Professor Gomme's book.

*Robert H. Lowie.*

## RECORD OF NEGRO FOLK-LORE

ANANCY STORIES FROM JAMAICA. — Since reviewing W. Jekyll's "Jamaican Song and Story" (this *Journal*, vol. xxi, pp. 265-267), the writer has come across an interesting little book, "A Selection of Anancy Stories" (77 pp.), by "Wona," published at Kingston, Jamaica, in 1899. The collection contains the following tales: Do-mek-a-see; Put you down a me wife pot; Tocooma a me fadder ole ridin' harse; Anancy and bredda firefly; Anancy and the sheep; Anancy and bredda tiger; Dry head; Tumbletut; Anancy's deserts; Groun' hab yie; Anancy and bredda dog; Anancy meets bredda death. Most of the stories occur in both books; and there is considerable difference, sometimes, in the two versions; as for example, in the tale of Anancy and Brother Death. The "fire-fly" of the Wona stories is the "candle-fly" of the Jekyll tales. The familiar end-line of the latter, "Jack Montora me no choose any," appears in the former as "Jack Mondory I don't choose none;" Tacoma, the son of Anancy, as Tocooma. In the Wona stories, Anancy's wife is Crooky. The story of "Tocooma a me fadder ole ridin' harse" is familiar to readers of "Uncle Remus." In the Wona tale, "Anancy married Miss Rose, and lived happily for some time after." A bug-a-boo appearing in the Wona stories is "Old Hige," and we are told that "in the old slavery days it was the custom for the Nana, or nurse, to tell the breathless little 'buckra pickney-dem' these stories at night before chalking the door to keep away the dreadful 'Old Hige'" (p. 5). The author reports that "there has grown up among the Negroes themselves a strange, almost inexplicable feeling, somewhat akin to shame, which prevents their relating these stories even in the privacy of their own huts, as they once did."

NEGRO AND INDIAN. — In his article on "The Negroes and the Creek Nation," in the "Southern Workman" (vol. xxxvii, pp. 106-110), for February, 1908, Dr. F. G. Speck calls attention to the remarkable ethnological phenomenon presented by the race-amalgam of the Creek Indians and African Negroes (originally slaves). The following statement is of great interest to the folklorist: "Not only in matters of blood kinship, war and industry was the amalgamation of the two strains producing results, but the mental attitude of the Indians was being changed by intimacy with the Negroes. While the latter had almost completely lost their old African culture under the stress of existence in bondage, there was, nevertheless, a certain underlying and unchanging stratum of thought and action which stood by them throughout. And these qualities were by daily contact producing a change in the life of the Creeks which went hand in hand with their change of blood." To-day, "almost without exception, the Negroes who have been slaves to the Creeks, and who may not have Indian blood in their veins, speak Creek as fluently as they do English; many of them, indeed, speak English poorly, and with an Indian accent and idiom, — this is naturally true of those of mixed Indian and Negro blood." Perhaps the Negroes have influenced somewhat the Creek language. In mythology and folk-lore, in all probability, Negro influence is discernible. On the other hand, "the Negroes and mixed-bloods have adapted themselves readily to the Creek harvest ceremony in the absence of other religious activities, and many so-called pagan Creeks, who follow the old beliefs, are of very dark skin and present physically more Negro

than Indian features." Again, "in the ordinary customs of daily life and practice (especially superstitions) the Negroes and mixed-bloods of the nation show the characteristics of the Creeks." Dr. Speck notes that "the Negroes have had the effect of minimizing the credulity and the seriousness with which the Creeks regarded their native beliefs." The nation at present consists of four classes: (1) Old full-blood conservative Indians with nearly all of their native attributes; (2) the mixed Indian-Negroes, conservative and Indianized; (3) the modernized progressive Indians and mixed-bloods; (4) the old Negro freedmen, who hold themselves intact from both modern influences and Indian influences. Of these the second class is the most numerous and may become dominant. Dr. Speck sees a future in store for this race-mixture so remarkable in several respects.

VOODOO. — In the "Metropolitan Magazine" (N. Y.) for August, 1908 (vol. xxviii, pp. 529-538), Marvin Dana has an illustrated article on "Voodoo, its Effects on the Negro Race," based on Larousse, Miss Owen, the "Saturday Review," Sir Spenser St. John, etc., and the author's own observations. The voodoo practitioners in North America, according to Mr. Dana, "are scattered all over the land, in the North as well as in the South, from New York to Florida;" and "there is an annual gathering of the elect in Louisiana, which is held on St. John's Eve, June 23, at a lonely spot, somewhere in the neighborhood of Lake Pontchartrain, but the exact location is kept secret." The voodoo sorcerers of the United States have "a language of their own, — a mixture of African words with French." In Louisiana, this secret jargon is known as "gumbo," not to be confounded with the common speech thus named. The author styles voodoo "an African fetish worship of the basest sort," more vicious in America even than in the land of its origin. Voodoo reached the United States from Haiti, whither "the *vôdu* cult, with its adoration of the snake god, was carried by slaves from Ardra and Whydah, where the faith still remains to-day."

SPIRIT OF NEGRO POETRY. — In the "Southern Workman" (vol. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 73-77), Mr. Monroe N. Work writes of "The Spirit of Negro Poetry" before and after the war. Slave-songs were universal and personal; they were religious, and emphasized the future life; they expressed an unquestioning faith in God, and in the strength of the Negro, his ability to endure, etc. The present-day poetry of the Negro is individualistic and impersonal; objective; the religious element is not so emphasized, and there are now strains of uncertainty and doubt. The author thinks that "the deep inner life of the Negroes may be a fruitful theme" again, as in slavery days. In connection with this article should be read Dr. Proctor's discussion of "The Theology of the Songs of the Southern Slave," in the same periodical for November and December, 1907.

SEA ISLAND NEGROES. — The story "I sho ben lub dat buckra," published by J. E. Blanton, in the "Southern Workman" (vol. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 242-246), is stated to be "a very interesting and valuable bit of folk-lore, representing as it does the dialect and mode of expression of the Sea-Islanders of South Carolina."

BRAZILIAN NEGROES. — In "Anthropos" (vol. iii, 1908, pp. 881-904) E. Ignace discusses "Le fétichisme des nègres du Brésil." The article is based on the author's personal observations, with additions from Nina Rodriguez's "L'animisme fétichiste des nègres de Bahia" (Bahia, 1900), and

J. do Rio's "As Religiões no Rio" (Rio, 1904). It treats of fetishism of the Brazilian negroes; theology (*Olorun* supreme being; 16 *orisas* or saints), fetishes (*orisas* are fixed in objects by the priest; totemism only secondarily important; phylolatriy little developed; 3 classes of "magic" objects), anthropology, angelology, cosmology, eschatology, morality, hierarchy (priests, fortune-tellers, sorcerers), fetishistic liturgy (oratories, musical instruments), calendar (days of week consecrated to various *orisas*; each saint has an annual festival), ceremonies (numerous dances, sacrifices, "saint-making"), sorcery, oracles; contact of fetishism and Christianity. On p. 885 is given a list of the 16 *orisas* or saints, their colors, fetishes, sacred foods, and the figures in Christianity (Nosso Senhor de Bomfim, the Devil, Sainte Barbe à Bahia, St. Georges à Rio, St. Antoine à Bahia, the Holy Sacrament, St. Georges à Bahia). These studies of the religion of Brazilian negroes are of great psychological and ethnological value.

A. F. C.

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## THE ANGLO-SAXON CHARMS<sup>1</sup>

BY FELIX GRENDON

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### THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS

No complete and separate edition of the Anglo-Saxon charms has yet been published, nor has any interpretative work been issued which covers the field; but texts of all the known charms have been printed, and many of the poetical incantations have been singly and minutely treated from a linguistic as well as from a literary point of view. The present publication aims to furnish a detailed treatment of the subject. All the Anglo-Saxon metrical incantations are presented in the text, as well as all prose charms with vernacular or gibberish formulas; while exorcisms with Christian liturgical formulas, and Old English recipes involving charm practices, are represented by typical specimens. In the critical treatment of the exorcisms no attempt has been made to cover either the general European or the more limited Germanic field; but while a searching investigation has been made only among the Anglo-Saxon charms, incidental illustrations from other sources — European and Asiatic — are introduced whenever needed to support an argument.

The earliest English charms extant are undoubtedly those in a British

<sup>1</sup> I desire to thank Professor George Philip Krapp of the University of Cincinnati for the kindness with which he gave me the benefit of his scholarship and special knowledge at every turn in this investigation. I am also indebted to Professor William Witherly Lawrence of Columbia University for many helpful suggestions and criticisms.

Museum manuscript (Regius 12 D xvii) which dates from the second half of the tenth century. This manuscript (described by Leonhardi ["Kleinere Ags. Schrift." p. 110] and also by Cockayne [ii, xx ff.]), known as the "Leech Book," is a compilation of recipes drawn, in large part, from Greek and Latin sources. Some herbal,<sup>1</sup> and most of the trans-ferential, amulet, and remedial charms in the following pages are taken from the Regius Manuscript.

Nearly all the amulet and remedial charms not in the "Leech Book" are found in Harley 585 and in Harley 6258 b, both manuscripts in the British Museum. Harley 585, a Northumbrian manuscript of the late eleventh century, is described by Leonhardi (p. 157). It contains two collections of recipes, — the one which Cockayne called "Lacnunga," and the so-called "Herbarium." Harley 6258 b, a manuscript of the middle of the twelfth century (minutely described by Berberich, in his edition of the "Herbarium," pp. 1-4), furnishes another text of the "Herbarium" remedies. This Anglo-Saxon "Herbarium" is really a free translation — with interpolations from Germanic folk-lore — of a book of medical recipes ascribed to Lucius Apuleius (born about A. D. 125).

Some exorcismal and herbal charms appear in the foregoing manuscripts, but a majority of the A and B spells are scattered through sixteen manuscripts variously preserved in the British Museum, in the Cambridge Corpus Christi Library, and in the Bodleian and Hatton Libraries at Oxford. These manuscripts are named and dated in the Table of Abbreviations (p. 160).

Humphrey Wanley was the first to print an Anglo-Saxon charm. In his "*Antiquæ Literaturæ Septentrionalis, Liber Alter*" (Oxford, 1705), he included texts of A 14, A 16, and A 21. The collations were fairly accurate, but were unaccompanied by textual or other comments. Eighty years passed before the text of another spell, A 13, was published by Erasmus Nyerup, in "*Symbolæ ad Literaturam Teutonicam Antiquiorem editæ sumtibus P. Fr. Suhm. (Havniæ, 1787).*" Another gap of sixty years ensued. Then, from the time that B. Thorpe ("*Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*" [London, 1834]) and T. Wright ("*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*" [2 vols., London, 1841]) included one or two conjurations in their respective volumes, critical notices and editions began to appear. A pioneer in charm criticism was Jacob Grimm, who, in 1842, cited a few of the poetical incantations in his "*Deutsche Mythologie*" (Göttingen, 1835), chapter on "Sprüche und Segen," and in a later edition of the same work made other citations in the "Anhang" under "Beschwörungen." The

<sup>1</sup> The spells here collected (pp. 164-213) are arranged in five groups, designated A, B, C, D, and E respectively. For an explanation of the grouping, see p. 123. All the minor spells not here printed are indicated by double letters: AA, BB, CC, etc. A list of these follows the Table of Abbreviations (see p. 162).

charms in the 1842 edition were accompanied by emended forms and brief critical passages, but those in the "Anhang" were printed without comment. Grimm was of course dealing with the Germanic field in general; yet in his discussion of magic formulas he gave considerable space to Anglo-Saxon material; and while his emendations were not always happy ones, his work is noteworthy for the prominence given to exorcismal lore, for the first German renderings of English spells, and for the first printed appearance of any of the prose charms.<sup>1</sup> The five chronologically succeeding editions each contain from one to six of the charms, copied from Grimm. These editors were J. M. Kemble ("The Saxons in England" [2 vols., London, 1849]), who translated some of the formulas; L. F. Klipstein ("Analecta Anglo-Saxonica" [2 vols., New York, 1849]); L. Ettmüller ("Engla and Scaxna Scôpas and Bôceras" [Quedlinburg, 1850]), who first suggested improvements on Grimm's readings; K. W. Bouterwek ("Cædmon's des Angelsachsen biblische Dichtungen" [2 Teile, Gütersloh, 1854]); and Max Rieger ("Alt- und angelsächsisches Lesebuch" [Giessen, 1861]).

So far, no recognition had been given to the charms as a separate body of Old English material. In 1864, however, T. O. Cockayne published his "Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England" (3 vols., London, 1864), containing the surviving medical books of the Anglo-Saxons, and two sections entitled "Charms." With four exceptions, this book included all extant Old English conjurations, although these were not all arranged consecutively. Indeed, the two sections of charms comprised but a fraction of the whole body of spells, the majority of which were scattered through the several books of recipes. Cockayne did not attempt any interpretative treatment of the incantations, but confined himself to a discussion of the Greek and Latin sources from which many Anglo-Saxon charms were borrowed.

After Cockayne, texts of single charms were issued in reading-books, anthologies, and periodicals. Editions appeared in the works of Rask-Thorpe ("A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue," 2d ed., revised and translated by B. Thorpe [London, 1865]); Henry Sweet ("An Anglo-Saxon Reader" [Oxford, 1876]); W. de Gray Birch ("On Two Anglo-Saxon MSS. in the British Museum" [in "Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature," 2d series, xi, 463 ff., London, 1878]); R. P. Wülker ("Kleinere angelsächsische Dichtungen" [Halle, 1882]); H. Berberich ("Das Herbarium Apulcii" [Heidelberg, 1902]); and J. M. McBryde, Jr. ("Charms to Recover Stolen Cattle" [in "Modern Language Notes," xxi, 180-183]). In Berberich's book the charms are not designated as such, but merely form part of the recipe collection. Mr. McBryde, in his extended criticism of A 15, points out the separation of

<sup>1</sup> The charms are retranslated into English in J. S. Stallybrass' translation of the fourth edition of Grimm's work, *Teutonic Mythology* (4 vols., London, 1883).

Parts I and II into "formula proper" and "legal oath." In analyzing Part I, moreover, he is the first to distinguish the recurrent Anglo-Saxon charm motives on the principle adopted by O. Ebermann ("Blut- und Wundsegen" [*Palæstra*," xxiv, Berlin, 1903]) in investigating German conjurations.

A newly collated edition of the "Leech Book" and the "Lacnunga"—already published in Cockayne's work—was issued by G. Leonhardi ("Kleinere angelsächsische Denkmäler, I") in Wülker's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa," Bd. vi (Hamburg, 1905). Leonhardi printed all the prose incantations belonging to the A group, and, with few exceptions, all the B, C, D, and E charms, as well as eighty out of the eighty-four charms and charm remedies referred to, but not printed, in the present edition. The spells are not specified as such, not being distinguished from the rest of the collection of recipes in Leonhardi's book. There is no critical commentary, but variant readings and linguistic notes are appended to the text.

An elaborate philological analysis and criticism of an Old English charm (viz. A 4) was first undertaken by J. Zupitza ("Ein verkannter englischer Bienensegen" [*Anglia*," i, 189 ff., 1878]). In another paper, "Ein Zauberspruch" (*ZfdA.* xxxi, 45, 1887), the same editor similarly discusses A 3. Both articles included texts and German translations of the formulas under examination. In the footsteps of Zupitza followed J. Hoops ("Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen" [Freiburg i. B., 1889]) and O. B. Schlutter ("Anglo-Saxonica" [*Anglia*," xxx, 123 ff., 239 ff., 394 ff., and xxxi, 55 ff.]), who gave scholarly critical editions of B 4 (Hoops) and A 2, A 14, and AA 1 (Schlutter), with German translations appended.

A notable collection of incantations was included in R. P. Wülker's "Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie," Bd. i (Kassel, 1883). It comprised all the Anglo-Saxon verse formulas (except A 3; A 15, Part II; B 5; and AA 18). This was the first authoritative text of any considerable collection of the charms, and was accompanied with variant readings and occasional textual notes. Suggestive critical discussions of single charms or of parts of different charms may be found in the same author's "Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Litteratur" (Leipzig, 1885); in A. Fischer's "Aberglaube unter den Angelsachsen" (Meiningen, 1891); and in H. Bradley's "The Song of the Nine Magic Herbs" (*Archiv*," cxiii, 144, 1904). Kögel's "Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur" (Strassburg, 1894) contains several chapters devoted to Old Germanic charm practices, to the origin of charms, to their method of intonation, and to the metrical structure of the rhythmical pieces. Kögel made liberal use of Anglo-Saxon material by way of illustration; and A 1 was subjected to special critical scrutiny and translated into German. A most readable chapter on the rhythmical exorcisms is furnished by S. A.



Brooke ("History of Early English Literature" [London, 1892]). The more prominent folkloristic features of the incantations are brought out in the course of a narrative in which a proto-historical background is imaginatively reconstructed by the editor. Most of the formulas discussed are cited partly or wholly in English translations. "English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times" (Oxford, 1904), by J. F. Payne, includes a treatise on superstitious medicine, notable as the first attempt at a classification of the Anglo-Saxon formulas. But Payne's seven divisions are hardly satisfactory: A 9, for example, being classed as "miscellaneous," while A 5 is called a "charm in the more ordinary sense," and DD 19 an "exorcism of disease." The book is nevertheless valuable for its information about folk-medicine, and for its interpretation of some of the obscure Old English names of plants and diseases that are mentioned in the conjurations. Equally unsatisfactory is the classification of the charms in Alois Brandl's brief critical survey of these pieces in H. Paul's "Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie" (ii, 955-957, 2d ed.), under the caption "Heidnisch-rituelle Gattungen" (Strassburg, 1901-08). The criticism deals almost exclusively with the verse spells, treats principally of language and metre, and groups the spells with respect to form, leaving content wholly out of account.

Among the translations of incantations not already referred to are several in F. B. Gummere's "Germanic Origins" (New York, 1892).

It will readily be recognized that a formal bibliography would be impracticable, owing to the diversity of the topics touched upon and the extensiveness of the literature concerned with those topics. The most important works used and consulted are mentioned either in the foregoing outline or in the Table of Abbreviations (p. 161), while other book and periodical references are given in the footnotes to the following pages or in the notes following the translations.

A large number of spells not really belonging to the earliest English period are popularly designated as "Old English." Instead of the latter phrase, the term "Anglo-Saxon" has therefore been used in the title, since its more specific meaning leaves less room for misconception. It is almost needless to add that wherever the words "Old English" occur in the following pages, they are synonymous with "Anglo-Saxon."

Since Cockayne's quaint but somewhat inaccurate and periphrastic renderings of the spells, no translation of any considerable body of the charms has been published. Five of the more important metrical incantations, however, have been put into excellent modern English by William D. Stevens in Cook and Tinker's "Select Translations from Old English Poetry" (Boston, 1903), pp. 164-171. Special attention, finally, deserves to be called to the German translations — already referred to — of O. B. Schlutter. Besides a few minor conjurations, he has given versions of only two important spells, A 2 and A 14; but in these he has com-

bined scholarly accuracy and literary charm in so unusual a manner as to establish a standard which later translators will find it no easy matter to attain.

#### GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF SPELLS

The one hundred and forty-six charms considered here include incantations properly so called, as well as numerous remedies depending for efficacy on the superstitious beliefs of the sufferers. Besides the sixty-two typical charms selected for the text, reference will be made to eighty-four others, which will be designated by double letters, AA, BB, etc., according to the group to which they belong.<sup>1</sup> Examination reveals distinct characteristics which severally appear in a certain number of the charms. These characteristics may be arranged under ten headings, as follows: (1) Narrative introduction; (2) Appeal to a superior spirit; (3) The writing or pronouncing of potent names or letters; (4) Methods of dealing with disease-demons; (5) The exorcist's boast of power; (6) Ceremonial directions to patient and exorcist; (7) The singing of incantations on parts of the body and on other objects; (8) Statement of time for performance of rites; (9) Sympathy and the association of ideas; (10) Minor superstitious practices.

(1) *Epic Narrative*. — Among the earliest Indo-European charms, the actual conjuration of the disease-spirit was preceded by a short narrative, in epic manner, of deeds performed by some god or hero. The Atharva-Veda Samhitā, which comprises a multitude of incantations, offers numerous examples of the epic introduction. Thus, a spell against worms begins, "The great mill-stone that is Indra's is the bruiser of every worm. With that I mash together the worms as khālva-grains with a mill-stone."<sup>2</sup>

A charm for deliverance from unseen pests has this introduction: "The sun goes up from the sky, burning down in front the demons; he, the Āditya, from the mountains, seen of all, slayer of the unseen."<sup>3</sup>

Similar narratives precede the two celebrated "Merseburger Zaubersprüche" from a manuscript of the tenth century.<sup>4</sup> The first of these is a spell to secure the release of a fettered prisoner: —

"Eiris sâzun idisi, sâzun hera duoder.  
suma hapt heptidun, suma heri lezidun,  
suma clûbôdun umbi cuoniouuidi:  
insprinc haptbandun, invar vîgandum!"<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the grouping of the charms, pp. 123 ff.

<sup>2</sup> AV. ii, 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* vi, 52.

<sup>4</sup> See *Denkm.* i, 15 ff.; a Heathen epic recital is also found in the *Strassburger Blutsegen* (see *Denkm.* i, 18).

<sup>5</sup> "The Idisi once alighted, alighted yonder.  
Some riveted fetters, others stemmed the war tide,  
Others hammered upon the chains:  
Slip from the shackles, escape from the foe!"

The *Idisi* <sup>1</sup> are represented as hovering around a battlefield, checking the fighting, and assisting favorite prisoners to escape. This constitutes the introductory narrative leading up to the actual formula in the last line.

The second Old High German *Zauberspruch*,<sup>2</sup> for dislocations, begins with an episode in the careers of Woden and Balder. Balder's horse suffers a sprain. Three goddesses unsuccessfully exercise their healing arts. At length, Woden,<sup>3</sup> "*sô hê uuola conda*," effects the necessary cure. This story completes the epic portion of the charm; the remainder, beginning "*sôse bēnrenki*," is the incantatory formula, presumably used by Woden himself. From this and the other Old High German and Vedic examples cited before, we can readily understand the purpose of the epic passage. The exorcist, desiring to cure a disease or to invoke favors from the deity, recounts a mythological incident presenting circumstances analogous to the situation in which the patient is found.<sup>4</sup> The procedure of the supernatural beings in the narrative is to serve as a precedent in the case with which the conjurer is dealing. Thus, in the second Vedic hymn above quoted, the action of the sun-god slaying demons is recited as a precedent to the desired destruction of unseen pests. The connection between the epic precedent and the desired result is plain enough in the Merseburg dislocation charm; in the bond spell preceding the latter, the story of goddesses hammering at chains is likewise appropriate to the end in view, — that of liberating fettered captives.

In the two Old High German and in many of the Hindu incantations, it will be observed that the recitation of the mythological precedent frequently concludes with a precise formula, supposedly uttered by the deity or hero who appears in the incident. The potency of a phrase having been proved by its use under supernatural auspices, the conjurer believes that a recital of the same formula will insure the attainment of his end. Thus in the Merseburg charm quoted above, the mythological story is brought to a close by the *sôse bēnrenki* passage, which, first used by Woden to heal the sprain of Balder's horse, is then repeated by human exorcists to heal all sprains whatsoever.<sup>5</sup>

Charms with narrative passages in heroic style occur in nearly all Indo-European languages: they may be found not only in Hindu and Germanic dialects, but in Celtic, Slavonic, and Greco-Italic tongues. In the

<sup>1</sup> Divine women, possibly Valkyries (see Grimm, i, 332).

<sup>2</sup> See *Denkm.* i, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Chief source of magic power (see Grimm, i, 109 f.).

<sup>4</sup> On the connection between magic and mythology in charms, see Chantepie, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> In numerous Christianized charms the talismanic words are supposed to have been used originally by Christ under circumstances stated in the introduction of the charm. For manifold instances, see O. Heilig, "Eine Auswahl Altdeutscher Segen" (*Alemannia*, 25, 265; 26, 70; 27, 113).

Ugrian group of languages, the magic songs of the Finns present many interesting examples of spells containing the same characteristic. Nos. 10 b, 8 c, and 10 c, in Mr. Abercromby's collection,<sup>1</sup> are notable illustrations of charms beginning with narratives. Among the Anglo-Saxon charms, the epic narration, or its later substitute the parallel simile,<sup>2</sup> is found in Nos. A 1, A 2, A 15, A 16, A 21, A 22, B 4, D 10, AA 4, AA 10, AA 11, AA 13, DD 6, DD 14, DD 19, DD 20. In A 1, a charm against a sudden stitch, the exorcist begins with a short description of the "furious host,"<sup>3</sup> which was fabled to rush over hill and dale. After relating a personal encounter with this mischievous band, he utters the disenchanting spell, —

"Ūt, lytel spere, gif hēr inne sȳ!"

Lines 13-14 indicate that these words were first used by that semi-divine smith, probably the legendary Wayland, on whom the conjurer relies for aid.

(2) *Appeal to a Superior Spirit.* — A second characteristic of the charms is the appeal for aid to some deity or superior power. In almost every one of the Atharva-Vedic spells, the help of Indra, Varuna, Agni, or some important Indo-Aryan divinity, is invoked.<sup>4</sup> It is well known that a similar call upon friendly powers is frequently included in the ceremonial practices of magicians amongst all primitive races. Owing to the influence of the English Church, allusions to the original Pagan gods in Old English charms are exceedingly rare; for the ecclesiastical authorities austere replaced every mention of Pagan idols by the name of "God" or of some one of the patriarchs, saints, prophets, or disciples.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, a large number of the Anglo-Saxon spells contain invocations to Christ;<sup>6</sup> a great many direct their supplications to the Virgin Mary or to the four Evangelists;<sup>7</sup> and others appeal variously to the Trinity, to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and to the twelve apostles. There are, however, six cases in which Pagan powers are appealed to. These are A 4, A 13, B 5, A 1, A 16, and B 4. In the first three, the earth spirit is invoked to aid the magician;<sup>8</sup> in the next two, a mythological spirit or personage is appealed to;<sup>9</sup> and in the last is found an indirect supplication to the power of Woden.<sup>10</sup>

(3) *The Use of Potent Names and Letters.* — The writing or pronouncing of strange names or letters was frequently resorted to by exorcists of many peoples in the course of their magic ceremonies. According to

<sup>1</sup> Aber. ii.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, ii, 765 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *AV. passim.*

<sup>5</sup> See p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> For example, A 21, A 22, A 24, B 4, AA 13, etc.

<sup>7</sup> For example, A 14, C 3, etc.

<sup>8</sup> See A 4, line 4; A 13, lines 30, 52; B 5, line 13.

<sup>9</sup> See A 1, line 13; A 16, line 6.

<sup>10</sup> See B 4, line 32.

the "Doctrina de Magia,"<sup>1</sup> magicians use two classes of words. In the first class stand Abracadabra, Sator, Arebo, Tenet, Obera, Rotas, Hax, Pax, Max, Adimax; Jehova, Jesus, Halleluia, Hosanna, and so on. In the second class, "Nomen Dei et SS. Trinitatis, quod tamen invanum assumitur, contra acerrimum summi Legislatoris interdictum, Exod. 20." The use of mystifying names seems to have arisen from a belief, widespread among barbarous peoples, that names were intrinsically bound up with the objects they denoted. Among many tribes, a person dislikes to tell his name, because he believes that doing so will place him in the power of those who learn it.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, he dislikes to name the dead, because the power over departed spirits, which naming them would convey, is believed to arouse their anger.<sup>3</sup> The extension of this aversion from the names of ancestral ghosts to those of the spirit world in general was a simple one; so that, among many peoples, including the Chinese and Hebrews, it was stringently forbidden to refer to the deity by name.<sup>4</sup> The names of rulers and gods were thus invested by the popular mind with a certain mystery and intrinsic power, which made them peculiarly adaptable to the conjurers' uses. By inscribing certain names on sticks, on parchment, on animals' bones, on walls of houses, and even on parts of the human body, the thaumaturgist could impress his patients with the potency of his remedies, and achieve the result — then as now eminently important in medical practice — of influencing the patient's mind through suggestion.

It was but a slight step from the use of awe-inspiring names to the use of any words or symbols unknown and therefore mystifying to simple minds.<sup>5</sup> These mysterious terms were often corruptions of phrases formerly quite intelligible. A juggler's rigmarole current in Elizabethan days was "Hocus pocus, tontus, talontrus, vade celeriter jubeo," of which Ady says that it was "a dark composure of wordes to blende the eyes of the beholders."<sup>6</sup> The "hocus pocus" of the mountebank's formula was simply a degenerate form of the sacred "Hoc est corpus" chanted by the priest at mass.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Conrad of Wittenberg, 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Prin. of Soc.* i, 247.

<sup>3</sup> Exemplified by the Hebrew legend of the witch at Endor. Samuel's ghost, raised by her, cries, "Why hast thou disquieted me, to bring me up?" (I Sam. xxviii, 15). Numerous examples also occur in the *Edda*, *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Edkins, *Religion in China* (London, 1877), p. 71, and Exod. iii, 13-15. Among the Chinese and Japanese, as well as among other peoples, the use even of the ruler's name was interdicted.

<sup>5</sup> For numerous instances of this mystification in Scythian, Roman, Slavic, etc., charms, see Bolton, 35 ff.

<sup>6</sup> H. Ady, *A Candle in the Dark* (London, 1659), p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> On magical writings, see, further, Wuttke, § 243. On Runes as charm symbols we have the following from the *Edda*, which tells of the origin of the Runes: "The Sage read them, graved them, thought them out from the lees that had leaked out of Cleardripper's skull and out of Hodd-rofni's horn. He [Woden?] stood on the cliff, holding a sword, and

In the Old English charms, powerful names or magical formulas composed of senseless words are found in the following eight ways:—

(a) The names of foreign idols, rulers, and legendary personages are pronounced. Leleloth and Tiecon, Arabian gods, are mentioned in A 18; and Naborredus, a Babylonian monarch, is named in A 19. The fact that these names were unfamiliar to the ancient English rendered their use all the more weird, impressive, and doubtless efficacious.

(b) To replace the names of idols, the Church generally enforced the use of some one of the designations of God or of Christ, such as Deus, Emanuel, or Adonai.<sup>1</sup> According to P. L. Jacob,<sup>2</sup> the words "Emanuel" and "Adonai" were believed during the dark ages to have special potency with evil spirits.

(c) The names of saints, of apostles, and especially of the evangelists, were also permissible substitutes for Heathen appellations. In three charms (A 2, AA 11, and AA 14) the celebrated seven sleepers of Mount Celion are mentioned.<sup>3</sup>

(d) An incoherent jumbling of words, miscellaneous derived from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Gaelic, and other tongues, was relied upon to work miraculous cures. A 10, A 11, A 12, B 7, D 10, E 7, and E 9 are gibberish charms of this nature.<sup>4</sup>

(e) This gibberish was often arranged in rhythmical lines, with frequent assonant rhymes. Such jingles were in great favor even among later Greek physicians of a superstitious bent.<sup>5</sup> Thus Alexander of Tralles gives the following charm as a tried remedy for gout:—

"Meu, treu, mor, phor,  
Teux, za, zor,  
Phe, lou, chri,  
Ge, ze, on."<sup>6</sup>

a helm on his head. Then spake Mim's Head . . . the first wise word, and told the staves true. They were engraven on the shield that stands before the shining God, on Allwaker's ear, and Allswift's hoof, and on the wheel that turns under Rungni's car, on Sleipni's teeth, and on the sledge-bands, on the Bear's paw, on Brage's tongue, on the Wolf's claw, and the Eagle's beak, on the bloody wings, and the Bridge's end; on the Mid-wife's palm, on the healing footprint, on men's amber and gold, on talismans, on wine and wort, on the Sibyl's seat; on Gugin's point and Grani's breast; on the Norn's nail and the Owl's beak. — All that were engraven were scraped off, and mixed with holy mead, and sent away on every side. The Anses have some, the Elves have some, some the wise Wanæs have; mortal men have some. There are Beech-runes, Help-runes, Love-runes, and great Power-runes, for whomsoever will, to have for charms, pure and genuine, till the world falls in ruin. Profit by them if thou canst." — *Sigdrifumöl*, 14-20 (trans. from C. P. B. i, 29).

For the use which Anglo-Saxon warriors made of runes and other symbols inscribed on weapons, see *Sal. and Sat.* lines 317-337.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, charms D 7, D 9, D 10, E 1.

<sup>2</sup> P. L. Jacob, *Curiosités des sciences occultes* (Paris, 1885), p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> See pp. 125 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Eng. Med.* 124.

<sup>6</sup> Alexander Trallianus, xi, 1.

The Anglo-Saxon gibberish jingles are A 5, A 6, A 7, A 8, A 9, A 19, B 6, and D 6.<sup>1</sup>

(f) Mysterious letters and numbers are the magic symbols in spells D 7, D 8, D 9, D 11, D 12, and E 6. Alpha and Omega, potent letters among the Greek physicians,<sup>2</sup> are also employed in A 12, A 19, and D 8.

(g) One of the chief arts of the necromancer was foretelling the future by means of geometrical figures or of signs connected with the earth.<sup>3</sup> This was known as geomancy. Geomantic predictions depended on the figures made by connecting points taken at random on the earth's surface, or on the disposition of the particles in a handful of seed, grains, or dust thrown haphazard.<sup>4</sup> The square, the rectangle, the triangle, the circle, and the pentagram were regular figures widely used in geomancy, which was already a popular method of divination in the days of the Chaldeans.<sup>5</sup> Among the English charms, we find only the circle in D 11, and a somewhat complicated arrangement of rectangles in D 12.

(h) As the power of the Church increased, prayers, paternosters psalms, hymns, crosses, and other Christian liturgical forms and marks were employed to disguise grossly Heathen ceremonies. A 24, D 7, D 10, AA 1, BB 3, BB 14, BB 16, EE 5, EE 28, furnish examples of this.

(4) *Methods of dealing with Disease-Demons.* — In exorcism the attempt is made to expel mischief-working demons by flattery, threat, command, or even by nauseation and physical violence, the patient's body serving as the spirit's proxy in the last two methods of treatment. In the bee charm, A 4, the evil spirits possessing the swarming insects are coaxingly addressed as *sigewif* ("victory-dames"), a title of honor belonging to the Valkyries. Whether experience had taught that a soft answer turneth away the wrath even of demons, or whether the belief that a demon might be conciliated by fawning had become deeply rooted, it is certain that the coaxing treatment was applied by sorcerers, and has indeed not been entirely abandoned by professional witches, thaumaturgists, and necromancers, even at the present day.<sup>6</sup>

When the exorcist believed himself powerful enough to cope with the hostile spirit or conjurer, he abandoned flattery and resorted to threats.

<sup>1</sup> On jingle charms, see pp. 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, xxii, 16; see also p. 124, note 6.

<sup>3</sup> The sign of the Macrocosm in *Faust*, Part I, line 429, was a geometrical figure "possessing the magic power to give Faust a vision of the 'grand harmony.'" See Goethe, *Faust*, Pt. I, ed. Calvin Thomas (Boston, 1901), p. 257, note to line 429. Cf. the mystical signification of lines, circles, triangles, etc., in F. Hartmann, *Mysterien, Symbole, und magische Kräfte* (Leipzig, 1902), p. 69 f.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the account of geomancy in *The Complete Works of Chaucer*, ed. by W. W. Skeat (6 vols., Oxford, 1894); note to A 2045, *Knights Tale*. Skeat says that geomantic figures are formed from dots jotted down hurriedly on paper.

<sup>5</sup> See Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination* (4 vols., Paris, 1879), ii, 149.

<sup>6</sup> See *F. L. S. passim*; and Aber. i, 349.

Thus in the cattle charm A 16 the good magician openly warns the evil wizard to beware, and states that he will combat the latter's "powers, his might, his influence, and his witchcraft." Again, in A 23, the Devil's departure is demanded under threat of pursuit by Christ; and in DD 19 we read, "Fevers, depart: 714,000 angels will pursue you." <sup>1</sup>

Where threats and flattery did not avail, physical violence was believed to be successful. The body possessed by the evil spirit was vigorously scourged for half an hour, pierced with sharp instruments,<sup>2</sup> or similarly rendered uncomfortable for ghostly habitation. This method of procedure is followed in E 2, a charm for an elf-shot horse; that is, a horse ill from the effects of shots supposedly sent by elves. Part of the remedy consists in pricking a hole in the horse's left ear and in striking it on the back with a cudgel. In E 3 we learn a remedy for lunacy, — a disease which, more than any other, presupposed demoniac possession. The demented one will be cured, runs this leechdom, if he be soundly thrashed with a stout whip of porpoise-skin. In E 4, evil spirits are driven out of swine by reeking the animals with the smoke of burning herbs. Certain fumes, it was believed, were obnoxious to the sensitive fiend, and would surely induce his flight. In like manner the smoke from burning smearwort is declared in E 5 to be efficacious against demoniacal possession. If smoking and whipping failed, the resourceful exorcist had in his bag still other devices to compel the evacuation of mischievous sprites. He could concoct revolting or unpalatable mixtures, which were administered to the luckless patient, and were calculated to dislodge the most insensible of demons. Animal excrements were favorite ingredients in these compounds. Thus, in E 11, a man possessed by a dwarf <sup>3</sup> is directed to eat a cake of which the chief ingredient is white hound's dung; in EE 19, hound's vomit is recommended against dropsy; and in A 5, a salve composed of saliva and cow's excrement is prescribed for internal difficulties.

Sometimes the conjurer's power is such that a mere order to depart suffices to expel the unwelcome visitor. Exorcism by command was not uncommon among the Jews. Thus we read in the New Testament, — "And in the synagogue there was a man, which had a spirit of an unclean devil. . . . And Jesus rebuked him, saying, Hold thy peace, and come out of him. And . . . he came out of him." <sup>4</sup>

In a Vedic spell against fever, the necromancer commands, "O fever, together with thy brother, the *batāsa*, and thy sister, the cough, together with thy cousin, the scab, go to yon foreign people." <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Christ "rebuking" the fever (Luke iv, 39).

<sup>2</sup> For laws against such treatment, see Nos. 25 and 26, p. 142.

<sup>3</sup> *Dweorg on weg tō donne*, literally, "to remove or expel a dwarf;" that is, probably to cure convulsions.

<sup>4</sup> Luke iv, 33 and 35.

<sup>5</sup> *AV.* v, 23, verse 12.



A similar command is given in A 23 to the Devil, alleged cause of a strange swelling. Frequently the disease-demon is bidden to repair to a definite place. Finnish sorcerers send the malevolent spirit into the middle of the sea, to fens and swamps, to boiling whirlpools, to copper hills, and to desert wastes.<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Saxon conjurer orders the witches who provoke a sudden stitch to fly to a mountain,<sup>2</sup> while a demon responsible for a malignant ulcer is dispatched "to the nearest hill."<sup>3</sup>

(5) *The Exorcist's Boast of Power.* — In many Indo-European spells the exorcist begins with an account of his own prowess and a recital of his achievements. No doubt this is intended to intimidate the spook or to impress the victim. In A 1 the exorcist tells how he can successfully withstand the attacks of spear-hurling kobolds, and how his power will enable him to save his patient. In A 16 the magician called in to restore lost cattle announces his ability to find the animals, to guard them from harm while still astray, and to cope with the spectre or wizard responsible for the theft. "All grasses may spring up with herbs, the sea vanish away, all the salt water, when I blow this venom from thee," says the exorcist in B 4,<sup>4</sup> and in B 5 he confidently proclaims the infallibility of his remedy.<sup>5</sup>

(6) *Ceremonial Directions to Patient and Exorcist.* — Many of the incantations and charm remedies outline a definite course of action for the patient or for the exorcist. In A 1 the sufferer is directed to seek shelter under linden-trees when attacked by malicious spirits. In E 1, pregnant women who cannot bring the foetus to maturity are instructed to perform four rather complicated ceremonies. The exorcist who wishes to acquire proficiency in curing abdominal pains must catch a dung-beetle and its excrement in both hands, wave the creature vehemently, and throw it away backwards without looking.<sup>6</sup> The accurate fulfilment of these instructions endows the sorcerer with healing-powers for a twelvemonth. As the Church began to exercise its authority in thaumaturgic matters, more numerous and more elaborate ceremonials of a Christian character were added to the charms. Such lengthy and involved directions as those specified in BB 6, a spell for the "dry disease,"<sup>7</sup> illustrate the extreme to which charm ritual was finally carried. It is interesting to note the main observances which this charm prescribes. The sufferer must dig around a sorrel-plant, sing three paternosters, pull out the plant, sing "sed libera nos a malo," take five slices of the herb and pound them with seven peppercorns, sing the psalm "Miserere mei, Deus," twelve times, likewise the "Gloria in excelsis Deo" and another paternoster; then, at daybreak, add wine to the pre-

<sup>1</sup> Aber. 10 a, 17 a, d-f, m-p, r-u, w.

<sup>2</sup> See charm A 1.

<sup>4</sup> See lines 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> See charm C 2.

<sup>3</sup> Charm A 3.

<sup>5</sup> See lines 10-15.

<sup>7</sup> Inflammation.

paration. Again, he must stand toward the east in the middle of the morning, make the sign of the cross, turn himself around, following the course of the sun from east to south and west, then drink the much-hallowed potion. The originator of this comprehensive ceremony was obviously an early advocate of strenuosity; for he concludes with the injunction, "After drinking, let him [the patient] go and stand for a time, before he seek rest."

Like BB 6, charms A 13, C 3, C 4, D 1, D 2, E 2, BB 12, and CC 2 contain circumstantial rehearsals of prescribed observances.

With the sixth characteristic we may include the naming of the patient, a practice as world-wide as conjuration itself. In many Greek, Roman, Hindu, and Semitic charms, the utterance of the patient's name (not to speak of the name of the patient's father) was regarded as essential to the success of the incantation.<sup>1</sup> Instances of this custom occur only six times in the Anglo-Saxon charms. This infrequency may be explained on the assumption that the naming of the patient was understood. The six instances occur in A 10, A 24, AA 11, CC 2, DD 19, and DD 20. In A 10 the necromancer is directed to "name the man and his father," while only the patient's name is to be mentioned in the remaining spells. Evil spirits as well as their victims are designated in classical and Oriental magic by proper names. Not so in the Anglo-Saxon charms, where disease-demons, repeatedly referred to as elves, dwarfs, night visitors, and so on, are never individually designated. If the word *diabolus* can be regarded as a specific title for the Devil, a few Christian spells may be said to form an exception to this statement.

(7) *The Singing of Incantations on Parts of the Body and on other Objects.* — A peculiar feature of the English incantations is the frequent injunction that they be sung or written on certain parts of the body. The left side appears to have been preferred to the right. Charms A 2, A 5,<sup>2</sup> A 11, and B 5 are to be chanted into the left ear; charm D 9, upon the left breast; while D 12 requires a magic writing to be placed in the left shoe, and DD 18 an amulet on the left thigh. The right side of the body is mentioned four times, — in charms A 2, A 5,<sup>3</sup> B 4, and DD 14, which are all to be sung into the right ear. B 4 is also to be sung into a man's mouth; A 11, on his head; A 23, on his little finger; and A 5, A 20, B 4, and B 5, on the wound or seat of pain. In E 6 a writing is to be put on the arm, in E 7 on the nose. Very frequent is the direction to place crosses on head, tongue, breast, limbs, and other parts of the body.<sup>4</sup> Again, A 15 directs the spell to be sung on a horse's fetters and bridle, on his footprints, and on the four sides of a house. If disease be contracted

<sup>1</sup> See Schrader, 573; Pliny, xxii, cap. 16; *Eng. Med.* 120; and F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, tr. by W. R. C. (London, 1877).

<sup>2</sup> In the left ear of a female sufferer.

<sup>3</sup> In the right ear of a male sufferer.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, E 8, BB 14, EE 5, EE 28.

indoors, charm AA 13 is to be sung over water; if outdoors, the same charm must be recited over butter.

(8) *Statement of Time for Performance of Rites*. — When the observances accompanying an incantation were of special importance, the time at which they were to be performed was recorded. Night seems to have been considered the most favorable season for these, as for most other essays in the supernatural arts: for, of the ten instances in which the time of ceremony is stated in the charms, nine prescribe the hours of darkness. The “*Kāuṣika-Sūtra*” of the “*Atharva-Veda*,” commenting on a spell to heal serious wounds,<sup>1</sup> declares the proper time for charm-recital to be “when the stars are disappearing;”<sup>2</sup> that is, just before daybreak. Practically the same time is set four times in the English charms. In A 13, an important rite is to be observed “at night before it dawns;” and in BB 6, BB 7, and BB 9, the important step is to be taken “when the night and day are divided,” that is, just before dawn. In B 2, Thursday<sup>3</sup> eve is the time set; in C 1, “after sunset;” in AA 13, “at night before going to bed;” in BB 12, “when the moon is seventeen nights old, after sunset, before moonrise;” in DD 3, “when the moon is on the wane in April or October;” and in EE 7, “every month when the moon is five, fifteen, and twenty nights old.” In only two instances is daytime assigned for spell ceremonial. In A 13, sods are to be restored to their original places “ere the setting of the sun;” while in BB 6, various rites are fixed “for the middle of the morning.”

(9) *Sympathy and Association of Ideas*. — The efficacy of many of the charms depends upon a real or supposed association of ideas between the rite performed or spell recited, on the one hand, and the object sought for, on the other. This feature will be better understood by regarding an illustration from modern superstition. Lancashire country folk believe that warts can be cured by stealing a piece of butcher’s meat and rubbing the warts with it. The meat must then be buried in a secluded spot; as it decays, the warts disappear.<sup>4</sup> The object used in the ceremonial need have no such direct connection, however, with the afflicted body. Merely a representation of the body will serve. Thus among the Chipewas a sorcerer transfers a disease by making a wooden image of his patient’s enemy, and piercing it to the heart.<sup>5</sup> The same custom had its vogue in European countries, and the recorded survivals of it are numerous.<sup>6</sup> Hardy, for instance, makes one of his Wessex characters jab

<sup>1</sup> *AV.* iv, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Kauc.* 28, 5. Cf. Fauberht of York: “*Nolite exercere quando obscuranteor*” (cited Brand, Pt. II, p. 55).

<sup>3</sup> Thursday, Thunar’s day, was the lucky day, *par excellence*, among the Germans (see Grimm, ii, 953).

<sup>4</sup> *Lan. Lore*, 78.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. Schoolcraft, *Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi* (London, 1855).

<sup>6</sup> See *F. L. S. passim*; and cf. D. G. Rossetti, *Ballad of Sister Helen*.

needles into a wax figure representing an enemy,<sup>1</sup> much in the manner approved by Voodoo practitioners in the southern United States. Again, the mention of something which often bears only a remote relation to the subject of the charm is considered sufficient to achieve the sorcerer's purpose. In two of the charms for stolen cattle, A 21 and A 22, this formula occurs: "The cross of Christ was hidden and has been found." The associated idea is, "so may these lost cattle be found."

In another cattle spell, A 15, the exorcist says, "The Jews did the worst of deeds to Christ; they tried to conceal what they could not conceal." Here the sympathetic idea is, "so may the thief be unable to conceal the stolen cattle." This sympathy between the simile and the effect desired is found particularly in Christian spells. Blood and fire are to stand as still as Christ hung on the cross,<sup>2</sup> as the Jordan stood at the baptism,<sup>3</sup> as mankind will stand at the Judgment Day.<sup>4</sup> The fire is to keep in its sparks as Mary kept her maidenhood,<sup>5</sup> blood is to stop flowing as Christ's blood stopped when Longinus pierced His side,<sup>6</sup> the worm is to feel such pain as Peter felt when he saw the Lord suffering,<sup>7</sup> the hoof to break as little as ever God broke His word,<sup>8</sup> the babe to leave the womb of the parturient woman as Lazarus left the dead when Christ commanded,<sup>9</sup> the theft to become as well known as Bethlehem was renowned, and the thieves to be punished as the Jews were punished.<sup>10</sup>

These similes, with parallel narratives drawn from the Bible, are found in the Christianized charms. In the more decidedly Heathen spells, similes are likewise present, but the parallels are taken from natural phenomena. Thus in A 16, line 16, we read, "May he be destroyed as fire destroys wood," etc.; and similar comparisons appear in A 3 and in B 5, line 13.

(10) *Minor Superstitious Practices.*—Heathen reminiscences and superstitious directions abound in the Old English charms. Only the most striking instances of these will be pointed out here.<sup>11</sup> Widely prevalent among Germanic peoples was a belief in the virtues and sanctity of running water.<sup>12</sup> Each brook, river, and stream was supposedly haunted by a spirit, who might be helpful or harmful, and must be flattered and propitiated by sacrificial offerings. The water-sprites and water-fairies of English folk-lore were spirits of this kind, and such was

<sup>1</sup> *The Return of the Native.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 494.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 500.

<sup>4</sup> Grimm, iii, 501.

<sup>5</sup> Charm DD 14.

<sup>6</sup> See Charm A 15; and cf. Grimm, iii, 505. Other instances of association of ideas can be found in C 5, EE 18, and EE 30. See also *AV.* 59, 73, 126.

<sup>7</sup> Less important ones will be commented on in the notes to the several charms.

<sup>8</sup> See Gum. 394; Grimm, i, 484 ff.; and Burchard von Worms, i, 94, *interrogationes*, 40-54. But see Black, 104, for Chinese objections to running water.

<sup>9</sup> Grimm, iii, 503.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 501.

<sup>11</sup> Charm AA 10.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* iii, 502.

the water-elf who inflicted the malady for which charm B 5 is the magician's cure. Most commonly, water-spirits were believed to be benignantly inclined rather than the contrary, so that the streams and torrents over which they ruled came to be regarded as possessing fabulous medicinal properties.<sup>1</sup> Chrysostom, preaching an Epiphany sermon at Antioch in A. D. 387, said that people at that festival drew running water at midnight and kept it for thaumaturgic purposes. After the lapse of a whole year it was still fresh and uncorrupted.<sup>2</sup> A German superstition of great antiquity requires running water to be drawn before sunrise, downstream and silently; this water remains fresh, restores youth, heals eruptions, and makes young cattle strong.<sup>3</sup> The decrees of numerous church councils,<sup>4</sup> the testimony of historians,<sup>5</sup> the laws of the Anglo-Saxons and of the Scandinavians, and passages from the "Pœnitentiale,"<sup>6</sup> all prove that well and water worship was a deeply-rooted institution among the Teutonic peoples, and enable us to understand why running water plays such an important part in Germanic folk-lore. In charms A 11, C 1, D 3, E 8, E 13, BB 3, and CC 2, the procurement or use of running water is essential to a successful treatment of the several ailments.<sup>7</sup>

The credulous patient is enjoined to practise still other superstitious rites. According to instructions in B 1, he must himself "be clean," while in BB 3 he must secure the assistance of an "immaculate" person. In B 3, C 1, BB 3, and CC 2, all observances must be performed in silence. To cure internal difficulties, BB 10 demands that celandine-root be taken out of the ground "with the two hands turned upwards." For flux of blood, BB 12 prescribes that mulberries be plucked with "the thumb and the ring-finger of the left hand." BB 5 directs the medicinal herb to be taken "with averted head;" while in BB 7 and BB 9 the patient is told to walk three times round the herbs before uprooting them. A 12, A 23, and B 5 furnish instances of the well-known wonder-working method of expelling a disease-fiend by drawing a magic line around the scene of his activities. The stroke made around the victim in A 12, the line around the sore in A 23, the "healing wreaths wreathed round wounds" in B 5, and the circle scored with a sword round the herbs in B 3, are supposed to render the circumscribed space immune from further assaults of the mischievous demon. Pouring wax on the hoof-tracks of stolen cattle, and lighting candles, are two remedies prescribed

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the mineral properties of certain of the so-called healing springs (*Heilbrunnen*) strengthened this belief.

<sup>2</sup> *Opera*, tom. ii, 369 (ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1818); also cf. Gum. 390; and see note to B 5, line 12.

<sup>3</sup> Jul. Schmidt, *Reichenfels* (Cassel, 1835), p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> For example, *Concil. Turon.* ii, anno 566, can. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Gregory of Tours, ii, 10.

<sup>6</sup> See laws Nos. 5 and 10-14 inclusive, quoted p. 141.

<sup>7</sup> For further Anglo-Saxon uses of running water, see Fischer, 39.

in A 15. These are additional instances of sorcery effected by association of ideas. The wax dipped on the footprints which the animals have long left behind them is believed to glue their hoofs to the ground wherever they may be; while the lighted candles symbolize the miraculous exposure, to the owner, of the whereabouts of cattle and thieves.

Saliva has always had a thaumaturgic if not a therapeutic value in folk-medicine. Spitting on the painful spot will prove helpful, according to charm A 20.<sup>1</sup> In C 1, the healer is commanded to expectorate three times while treating a case of leprosy; and spitting is part of the ceremonial in other charms, such as E 1. Color is also a feature of the magic rituals. Butter churned from a cow of one color, "red or white and without spots," forms part of the treatment in B 7 and BB 4. A cow of one color must likewise furnish the milk which is to be drunk by women suffering from the "loathsome late birth,"<sup>2</sup> while horn from a tawny ox is prescribed in E 2.

The numbers 3 and 9 occur very much more frequently than any other numbers in the charms. 3<sup>3</sup> occurs eighteen times; 9, sixteen times. Thus, certain rites are to be performed three times in C 1 and C 3, and on three successive days in A 2, A 8, and E 14. Chants are to be sung three times in AA 10 and EE 10. Three stones, three nails, three cups, three leek-leaves, three herbs, and three incisions are mentioned in D 4, E 2, E 13, AA 14, BB 1, and CC 2 respectively. Finally, the conjurer who employs charm A 16 agrees to restore the stolen cattle within three nights. The number 9 is put to similar uses. Certain incantations are to be sung nine times over a soft-boiled egg in A 8; over a barley loaf, B 6; over butter, B 7. Nine masses, nine paternosters, and nine "Miserere mei," are to be sung in the course of many of the Christian charms. Certain things are to be done for nine mornings, E 14; and nine days, E 13. Again, nine herbs and nine twigs are mentioned in B 1, nine wafers in AA 15; while to cure lunacy, the directions in B 2 are, that an herb must be plucked when the moon is nine nights old.

Strangely enough, the number 7, so prominent in Oriental and in modern superstition and mysticism,<sup>4</sup> occurs only twice; namely, in A 2 and in EE 1. 33, a favorite charm number in Indo-European folk-lore, is found twice in B 4.<sup>5</sup> The only other number which receives frequent mention is 12, which is found six times.

Not the least curious of these superstitious rites is the recipe in a charm against snake-bite. "Against snake-bite," run the directions, "if the man procure and eat rind taken out of Paradise, no poison will harm him."<sup>6</sup> The scribe who copied the remedy, naïvely added, "Þæt hio wære tor begete," that such rind was hard to get.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Crombie, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> See E 1.

<sup>3</sup> Not counting 111 = *thriwa*.

<sup>4</sup> See M. D. Conway, *Demonology and Devil-Lore* (2 vols., New York, 1889), i, 256 ff.

<sup>5</sup> See note to B 4, line 4.

<sup>6</sup> See E 9.

The worship of the dead, once prevalent among Germanic tribes,<sup>1</sup> has left its traces in charms E 1 and EE 17. It has already been noted that primitive peoples very generally imagined that the dead influenced the destinies of the living.<sup>2</sup> The dead were accordingly worshipped by those who wished their aid, and parts of corpses were highly valued as amulets and periapts. Numerous Anglo-Saxon laws against bewitching by means of the dead attest the vogue which the practice enjoyed among our ancestors. The canons of Edgar, and the penitentials of Egbert,<sup>3</sup> expressly forbid sacrilege at the grave, and witchcraft by means of the dead.<sup>4</sup> Our charms are instances in which these laws were violated. Charm E 1 contains the following directions: "The woman who cannot bring the fœtus to maturity must go to the sepulcher of a dead man and step thrice over the sepulcher."

EE 17 is a spell against a "boring worm." The remedy consists in burning a human skull to ashes, and applying the powder externally. An identical custom prevailed among many primitive tribes, and survived among more civilized peoples even to the nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> Until recently the powder of a man's burnt bones was highly esteemed in Scotland as a cure for epilepsy.<sup>6</sup> As late as 1865, a collier's wife is said to have applied to a sexton for "ever so small a portion of human skull for the purpose of grating it similar to ginger." The powder was to be added to a mixture to be administered to a girl suffering from fits.<sup>7</sup>

Before dismissing this subject, it may be remarked that almost all the superstitious rites treated in this chapter have their modern survivals or analogues.<sup>8</sup>

#### CLASSIFICATION OF CHARMS

Anglo-Saxon charms may be divided into five groups, as follows:—

- A. Exorcisms of diseases or disease-spirits.
- B. Herbal charms.
- C. Charms for transferring disease.
- D. Amulet charms.
- E. Charm remedies.

<sup>1</sup> See Mogk in *Grdr.* i, 932.

<sup>2</sup> Modern spiritualism is obviously an idealized survival of this belief.

<sup>3</sup> See laws, p. 140.

<sup>4</sup> That these practices outlasted legal prosecution is attested by a law, passed in the English Parliament as late as 1604, bestowing the death penalty on any one who exhumed a corpse or any part of it to be used in "witchcraft, sorcerie, charme or enchantment" (see *Statutes of England*, iv, pt. 2, 1028).

<sup>5</sup> For instances see Waitz, iii, 388; and A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro* (London, 1853), p. 498.

<sup>6</sup> Black, 96.

<sup>7</sup> *Analecta Scotica*, ed. J. Maidment (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1834-37), ii, 54. Cf. the popular medicinal uses of mummy; note, for example, the handkerchief dyed in mummy (Shakespeare, *Othello*, iii, 4, 74).

<sup>8</sup> See instances in *F. L. S.*

A. *Exorcisms*. — In the first group belong charms A 1-24 of the text. The one characteristic common to the members of this group is a well-defined incantatory formula, the chanting of which is to produce curative or beneficial results. These charms may be arranged in four subdivisions:—

I. Charms A 1-4. — These are incantations distinctly reminiscent of Heathendom. The principal features of these charms are: (a) they are literary compositions in poetic style; (b) they have a definite form, charms A 1 and A 2 even possessing an elaborate structure;<sup>1</sup> (c) they contain numerous allusions to Heathen beliefs, customs, and practices; (d) the formula is in the vernacular.

II. Charms A 5-12 (Gibberish Charms). — These conjurations, unlike the preceding ones, are crude, formless pieces, destitute of literary merit. Their distinguishing feature is a meaningless formula composed of a jumble of more or less obscure words. Occasionally a Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Gaelic, or Anglo-Saxon word appears, and a few words seem to have had their origin in one or other of these languages; but the derivation of a majority of the words is not ascertainable.

An attempt has been made in the preceding pages to outline the possible origin of gibberish charms.<sup>2</sup> Whether the Anglo-Saxon charms of this type arose independently in Britain, or were in part borrowed by Saxon exorcists from classical sources, cannot be conclusively determined. Gibberish incantations, similar in form to some of the English rigmæles, certainly existed among the Romans, Greeks, and Phœnicians, and are interspersed among recipes in classical books of medicine to which Anglo-Saxon leeches had access.<sup>3</sup> But since gibberish spells have been found among peoples widely different in race,<sup>4</sup> it may fairly be argued that English spells arose among the English themselves, or at least among their Germanic ancestors.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that acquaintance with classical doggerel charms caused exorcists to introduce into the native spells modifications of vocabulary and metre, which led to a general resemblance between English and Græco-Roman gibberish formulas.<sup>6</sup>

(a) *Jingle Charms*. — Charms A 5-9 exhibit such differences from the remaining gibberish spells as to warrant a separate subdivision. They are marked by a rhythmic but loose and irregular measure, which

<sup>1</sup> See the explanatory notes on these charms.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 113.

<sup>3</sup> See Bolton, 39 ff.; *Eng. Med.* 119 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bolton, 63 ff., for instance, cites spells in Penobscot, Japanese, Mahratti, Turkish, Armenian, etc., which strongly resemble our gibberish charms.

<sup>5</sup> See "Wandering Words," by T. W. Sandrey, in *The Cornishman*, 1880.

<sup>6</sup> The mediæval exorcist drew powerful spells from the Hebrew Cabala, with its mystic letters and artificial words. Thus the word *Agla* — formed from the initials of the Hebrew sentence "Thou art a mighty God forever" — was widely used (see Wuttke, p. 264). It is possible that the runes of the early charms were replaced by Cabalistic letters.



makes the name "jingle charm" appropriate. In this respect, and in some others which remain to be mentioned, they are strikingly like the counting-out rhymes of children.<sup>1</sup> The question naturally arises whether there is any relationship between the two forms, and whether the doggerels used by children can possibly be survivals of magic formulas similar to our jingle charms. An affirmative answer can be supported by arguments which, though far from conclusive, deserve consideration.

One of the best known among the modern counting-out rhymes is the following: —

"Eena meena mona my,  
Barcelona bona stry;  
Hara wara, frumma frack,  
Hallico ballico,  
Wee, wo, wy, wack."

Compare this with jingle charm A 6: —

"Luben luben niga  
Efið efið niga  
Fel ceid fel,  
Delf cumer fel  
Orgaei ceufor dard,  
Giug farig fidig  
Delou delupih."

We can observe the following resemblances between the two pieces: (1) similar rhythm; (2) frequent alliteration; (3) occasional rhyme; (4) repetition of syllables with slight vowel or consonant changes; (5) preponderance of polysyllabic words (mainly dissyllabic); (6) the collocation of meaningless words.

Now, the researches of Tylor, Bolton, Newell, and Simrock have established that the *Eena meena mo doggerel*, and others like it, have long existed, with variations, in many Germanic countries.<sup>2</sup> This fact points to the possibility of a common Germanic origin for the rhymes, — an origin which must be set at a remote pre-Christian period. It may be supposed that when the Church first made its influence felt, the old incantations, deprived of their sacred character, may have been more freely bandied about than hitherto. The mystifying phrases of the formulas, the uncouth names of foreign deities, the odd-sounding Greek and Latin jargon,<sup>3</sup> might easily appeal to the verbal memories of children, and thus the jingles would gain currency in games. In the oral transmission from one generation of boys and girls to another, names and sentences would be considerably distorted, so that what may once

<sup>1</sup> See Bolton, 47; also *Games and Songs*, 194 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *P. C.* i, 67 ff., 78 ff.; *Games and Songs*, 195; Bolton, 45 ff; K. J. Simrock, *Das deutsche Kinderbuch alterthümlicher Reime, Lieder . . . und Scherze für Kinder* (Frankfurt a. M., 1857).

<sup>3</sup> On mysterious words and phrases in spells, see pp. 114 ff.

have been at least partially intelligible would become entirely obscure. This gradual obscuration may be observed in the counting-out doggerel,<sup>1</sup> —

“One-erzoll, two-erzoll, zickersoll, zan,” etc.,

which is most likely a corruption one or two stages removed from the original, —

“One is all, two is all, six is all, seven.”

When the doggerel has undergone half a dozen further changes, its loss of identity with the primal form will be complete. The same process, then, which brought about the change just described, which led an inn bearing the legend “God encompasseth us”<sup>2</sup> to become known as the “Goat and Compasses,” and which caused the British sailor on the “Bellerophon” to rechristen his vessel the “Billy Ruffian,” might have helped to transmogrify Heathen spells into modern counting-out rhymes.<sup>3</sup> The permitted survival both of the jingle spells and of the children’s rhymes is explicable enough: for whether the original theurgic phraseology was replaced by outright gibberish, as in the spells, or by harmless lingo, as in the rhymes, the obtrusive Heathenism of the Anglo-Saxon compositions would alike have disappeared, so that the Church could afford to wink at the persisting forms.<sup>4</sup>

A spirited, narrative introduction, it will be remembered, is a characteristic of many of the Anglo-Saxon charms.<sup>5</sup> Just such a beginning marks a Bulgarian counting-out rhyme still used in Sophia, and not yet grown completely unintelligible. Bolton gives the jingle as follows: <sup>6</sup> —

“Skâtcha, zhâ bâ,  
Ot plef, do plef,  
Ta ví ka, ta klí ka,  
Zbí raite syâ, voiní tze”<sup>7</sup> . . .

Many English and German children’s rhymes present this same pseudo-epic feature. Numerous examples may be gleaned by the reader

<sup>1</sup> Even in the hands of the leech-sorcerers, the jingles suffered corruption in transmission. See, for example, notes to B 6.

<sup>2</sup> A. Trollope, *Framley Parsonage*, 67.

<sup>3</sup> See Charles G. Leland’s interesting account tracing the rhyme, “One-ery, two-ery, ick-ery Ann,” etc., to an old gypsy magic spell; also cf. J. B. Ker, *Essay on the Archaeology of our Popular Phrases and Nursery Rhymes* (2 vols., Andover, 1840), i, 308.

<sup>4</sup> A parallel to the process by which the ancient incantations became jingles for casting lots, and then counting-out rhymes, is found in the series of changes by which the old Pagan sacrifices were first transformed to folk-festivals which were, in turn, preserved in children’s games (see Newell’s Introduction to *Games and Songs*).

<sup>5</sup> See p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> The translation shows the spirited nature of the first four lines: —

“A frog is jumping  
From fence to fence,  
It is calling, — it is screaming:  
Muster yourselves, soldiers!”

from the large collection of rhymes appended to Bolton's volume.<sup>1</sup> One quotation here will suffice:—

“Hinty minty cuty corn,  
Apple seed and apple thorn.  
Wire, brier, limber lock,  
Three geese in a flock.  
One flew east and one flew west,  
One flew over the cuckoo's nest.”<sup>2</sup> . . .

The analogies to which attention has been called are by no means regarded as establishing a relationship between jingle charms and counting-out rhymes; they are regarded simply as presumptive evidence of such relationship. Assuming the connection between the two forms to exist, and bearing in mind the main purpose of the counting-out rhymes, it seems plausible to infer that those spells in particular which magicians employed when casting lots, have survived in modern doggerels. Such a spell, charm A 9 may well have been, since, with its numerical formula, —

“Nine were Notthe's sisters,  
And the nine became eight,  
And the eight seven,  
And the seven six,” —

down to zero, — it was singularly appropriate to the ceremony of casting lots; and it will readily be admitted, that, without a single change, this Anglo-Saxon charm could be used by modern English children for counting out.

(b) Charms A 10-12. — These differ from the jingle charms in rhythm and in verbal content. The rhythm is either missing or much less obvious; and the formula consists, not of meaningless words strung together, but of unintelligible collocations of liturgical Latin, with words of foreign origin mixed with native words. As a rule, the ceremonies prescribed are of Heathen ancestry, while the formulas show church influence.

III. Charms A 13-20 (Charms showing marked Christian Influence). — In these spells, Heathen beliefs and practices are manifested under a thin veneer of Christian phrasing. Charms A 13-16 have poetic formulas which possess the four features that distinguish charms A 1-4. They are not classed with the latter, however, because, unlike them, they have been Christianized in ways to be described.<sup>3</sup> For the same reason, charm A 17, which is really a jingle charm, and charms A 18-20, which are essentially gibberish charms, are not grouped with charms A 5-12.

IV. Charms A 21-24 (Christian Exorcisms). — Evidences of Heathen-

<sup>1</sup> Pages 63-121.

<sup>2</sup> It will be noted that there is an inversion of the usual order, the gibberish in this case preceding the narrative portion.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 147 ff.

ism are either absent from these spells or are completely obscured by Christian phraseology and religious ceremonial prescription. A 24 is an excellent specimen of the completely religious character acquired by the ancient Heathen conjurations in the hands of exorcists appointed by the Church.

B. *Herbal Charms*. — In many cases the formula was not applied to the disease, or the spirit which caused the disease, but to the herbs with which the patient was treated. The charms in the B division contain incantations chanted over herbs and other materials employed as medicines or amulets.

B 1, B 2, and B 3 contain formulas and prescribe ceremonies to be used while culling talismanic or medicinal herbs. The formulas in B 4 and B 5 are intended for recital over herbs already gathered, just before working them into healing salves. These two formulas are poetic Heathen incantations with all the features that mark charms A 1-4. B 6 is a jingle charm the singing of which over a barley loaf is to endow the loaf with healing virtues. The instructions in B 7 direct the recital of a gibberish formula, a paternoster, and a litany, over butter before eating.

All the B charms, with the exception of B 3, contain features which link them closely to Heathendom. B 3, like A 24, illustrates the Christian ritualistic character which the charms assumed in the hands of ecclesiastics. The charm is for elf-disease, and the directions are very elaborate. The exorcist must begin his work on a Thursday evening at sunset. He must find the herb helenium, sing the Benedicite, Paternoster, and Litany over it, then stick his knife into the root. Next evening he must go to church and cross himself prior to returning, in perfect silence, to the marked herb. Then, while chanting another Benedicite, Paternoster, and Litany, he must delve up the herb, carry it as quickly as possible to the church, and lay it under the altar. Next morning it must be made into a drink spiced with lichen from a crucifix; and after boiling the mixture in milk and pouring holy water upon it, the Paternoster, Credo, and "Gloria in excelsis Deo,"<sup>1</sup> must be sung over it. The ritual is completed by making three crosses on different sides of the concoction, which the sufferer may then, at length, imbibe.

The herbal charms are arranged on the following plan: —

1. Directions for gathering the herb. Enumeration and description of objects to be employed as medicaments.
2. The actual formula.
  - Heathen and vernacular: B 1, B 2, B 4, B 5.
  - Christian liturgical: B 3, B 7.
  - Gibberish: B 6, B 7.
3. Additional directions for the use of herbal brews and other concoctions after the recital of the formula.

<sup>1</sup> Luke ii, 14.

C. *Transfereñtial Charms*. — Charms for transferring disease include those ceremonies and formulas employed in an attempt to transfer disease from a patient to some other living creature or to an inanimate object. Captive birds, brought into immediate contact with a sufferer, were released to carry the disease back into the desert, which was regarded as a permanent haunt of sprites and hobgoblins.<sup>1</sup> This practice was well established in biblical times,<sup>2</sup> and seems to have arisen from the notion that evil spirits could be bribed with sacrifices to return to their native abiding-places.<sup>3</sup> The essential trait of this procedure is the bringing of the creature or object to be infected into immediate contact with the sufferer.<sup>4</sup> At the expiration of a certain time, the thing which had received the disease was removed and variously disposed of.

Diseases were most frequently transferred to animals and trees, less often to lifeless objects.<sup>5</sup> In the case of transference to animals, perhaps the simplest procedure is that mentioned by Pettigrew: the patient is to sit on an ass, with his face to the tail; the pain will then be transmitted to the ass.<sup>6</sup> According to the same author, ague is cured in some rural Irish districts by giving a dog a cake made of barley-meal and the sufferer's urine. In a case cited, the dog had a shaking-fit, and the patient was cured.<sup>7</sup> It is interesting to note that Grimm believed the names "hen's eye," "magpie's eye," and "crow's eye," which Germans give to a corn,<sup>8</sup> to imply a belief in the possibility of transmitting such excrescences to the creatures named;<sup>9</sup> but the appearance of corns may more plausibly be supposed to have given rise to the metaphoric names.

In the Anglo-Saxon charms for transferring disease, C 2 provides for the transfer of abdominal pains to a beetle. The prescribed ritual of catching a beetle, waving it vigorously, and hurling it away while speaking talismanic words, must be performed, not by the patient, but by the exorcist, who, curiously enough, for twelve months thereafter has power to transfer the same illness from man to beetle by merely grasping the seat of the pain.

Charming diseases into trees was an ancient Heathen practice which has lingered until modern times. The common procedure in this mode of transfer was to make children walk or creep through a gap in a tree.

<sup>1</sup> See Grimm, ii, 873 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Lev. xiv, 7, 42.

<sup>3</sup> See Sayce, *Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie*, 1902, p. 149; and cf. Grendel's refusal to be bribed (*Beowulf*, lines 175 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Marcellus distinguished between six kinds of transference which he elaborately named (a) inseminatione, (b) implantatione, (c) impositione, (d) irritatione, (e) inescatione, (f) adproximatione. In practice, there was no essential difference between the six methods.

<sup>5</sup> See law against transferring disease, in note to law No. 4, p. 140.

<sup>6</sup> Pettigrew, 78.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 77; Pliny (xxx, 7) speaks entertainingly of transference to animals.

<sup>8</sup> German *Hühnerauge*, *Elsterauge*, *Krähenauge*.

<sup>9</sup> See Grimm, ii, 980.

This seemingly translocated the sickness to the genius of the tree.<sup>1</sup> In the "Canones Edgari," we find an Old English reference to similar practices: "Trēow-wurðunga and stān wurðunga and þone dēofles cræft, þær man þā cild þurh þā eorðan tihð" ("tree-worshippings and stone-worshippings, and that devil's art wherein children are drawn through the earth").<sup>2</sup> The custom has survived in European countries,<sup>3</sup> and is not unknown in certain parts of the United States.<sup>4</sup> An interesting ceremony took place in the year 1709, when the plague at Conitz in Prussia was charmed into a hole of the lime-tree in a churchyard. A plug kept ready, and fitting exactly, was driven in, and the plague disappeared.<sup>5</sup>

The translocation of diseases from the sufferer to the ground, to a stone, to water, to a piece of meat, and to other inanimate objects, next deserves our attention. The Penitentials of Theodorus<sup>6</sup> and of Egbert,<sup>7</sup> like the "Canones Edgari" above mentioned, contain severe injunctions against this observance. Egbert says, "They pull their children through the earth, and thus commit themselves and their children to the Devil."<sup>8</sup> From this we may infer that children were drawn through holes in the ground very much as we have seen before that patients were made to crawl through cloven trees. The children were clearly expected to emerge recovered, and the disease was supposed to remain buried in the earth. Similarly, diseased people were passed through perforated stones. "At Minchin Hampton in Gloucestershire is an ancient stone called the 'Long Stone.' At its lower end is a perforation through which children used to be passed for the cure or prevention of measles, whooping-cough, and other ailments."<sup>9</sup> Illnesses were furthermore transferred to single objects like spoons and sticks, as well as to pieces of flesh and to a variety of other things.<sup>10</sup> Among the Anglo-Saxon charms, C 1 is a case of transference to running water. In C 3 an oaken brand, and in C 4 a green spoon, respectively receive the disease. In each instance the translocation is effected by bringing the receiving-object — brand, spoon, and running water — into contact with the sufferer's blood; the brand and spoon are then thrown away, while the running water conveys the disease to the ocean. In CC 2 the removal of the disease is made doubly sure by

<sup>1</sup> The Old French *Tristan*, 1321-34, tells how the dwarf Frocine confides to the blackthorn the secret that King Mark has horse's ears. He first puts his head under the hollow root, and then speaks. Thus the secret is passed on to the thorn.

<sup>2</sup> *A. L.* 396; numerous examples of drawing through trees in *F. L. S.*, *passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Indeed, it seems to have been indigenous to almost every country (see *P. C.* ii, 137).

<sup>4</sup> See the New England charm for an obstinate ague (*Black*, 38).

<sup>5</sup> See Tettau, 222.

<sup>6</sup> *A. L.* 292.

<sup>7</sup> See laws 10, 11, and 16, pp. 141, 142.

<sup>8</sup> See *A. L.* 293.

<sup>9</sup> See "Rude Stone Monuments of Ireland," by Col. Wood-Martin, in *Jour. of Roy. His. and Arch. Assoc. of Ireland*, 4th series, vol. viii.

<sup>10</sup> See *Black*, 34 ff.; Cockayne, i, liii ff.

selecting a receiving-object, and then hurling this object into a stream. The charm is against felons, and the directions to the conjurer read, "Take a hazel stick or spoon, write your name on it, make three incisions in [the felon], fill the name with the blood, throw it over your shoulder or between your thighs into running water and stand over the man. Strike the incisions and do all this in silence."

Death, always an enigmatical and superstitious subject among the living, played its part in the transference of disease. By touching a dead man's hand or garment, a sufferer could transfer his ailments to the corpse.<sup>1</sup> Again, diseases of survivors could be buried with their departed acquaintances; and the desired translocation might be effected by merely stepping over a dead man's grave. A charm for boils consists in poulticing the boil for three days and nights, and then placing the poultices and their cloths in the coffin of a dead man.<sup>2</sup> Black reports an amusing story of an Irishman bent almost double from rheumatism. Learning of the death of a neighbor, he crept to the "wake-house," seized the hand of the corpse, and, applying it to his arm, shoulder, and leg, said, "Tak' my pains wi' you, Thady, in the name of God!" According to the story, the invalid was thereafter able to throw away his crutches and walk as sturdily as younger and healthier men. In charm E 9 a similar transference of disease is provided for. A pregnant woman who cannot bring her child to maturity is told to step three times over the sepulchre of a dead man. Clearly, the idea is that an evil spirit is retarding gestation, and that, after the stepping-ceremony, this spirit is believed to enter the body of the dead.

The C spells may be analyzed as follows: —

1. Preliminary superstitious ritual to be performed by sorcerer or patient.
2. Description or designation of the receiving-object.
3. Ceremony of contact between receiving-object and patient.
4. Incantatory formula.<sup>3</sup>
5. Removal of receiving-object.

D. *Amulet Charms*. — The fourth group of charms includes those remedies which depend on the talismanic influence of some magical writing or of some material object carried about by the sick man. The custom of wearing amulets to prevent or to cure diseases may have had its origin in the sympathetic association of ideas. If a benevolent deity could not be prevailed upon to go in person and drive away the demons of disease, the next best thing was to secure some plant, stone, or other

<sup>1</sup> The relics of dead men, more especially of criminals and bad men generally, have always been esteemed in folk-medicine for their curative properties. Witness, at a lynching-bee, the scramble made for some part of the victim's remains.

<sup>2</sup> See *English Folk-Lore*, by T. F. Dyer, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> There is no formula in charms C 4 and C 5.

object sacred to the god, or in some way associated with him, and to expel the intruder or ward off future attacks by wearing the object, say, around the neck. Thus, in Scandinavia, some ten little silver Thor's hammers have been found, each of which was attached to a chain serving as a neck-piece. The hammers were regarded by Norsemen as miniatures of Thor's prodigious weapon, and were believed to contain all the virtues of their prototype.<sup>1</sup> The number of things which could effectually serve as amulets was well-nigh unlimited. A small list would contain the bones, teeth, skin, and other parts of animals, parts of plants, precious and common stones.

Herbs, prescribed as amulets in eighteen of the Anglo-Saxon charms (B 1, B 2, D 1, D 3, and DD 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18), were renowned among the Teutons for their magical properties. Many wonderful stories are told of them in the Anglo-Saxon "*Herbarium*." An herb named Asterion<sup>2</sup> is said to "shine at night as a star in heaven, and he who sees it supposes that he has seen an apparition."<sup>3</sup> The same peculiarity is ascribed to the peony.<sup>4</sup> Dittany is a wort which roes eat when wounded with arrows. The arrows are thereupon ejected, and the wound is healed.<sup>5</sup> Those who were barked at by dogs could escape the annoying experience if they carried a piece of vervain, an herb in high repute among sorcerers.<sup>6</sup> Mullen, if the compiler of the "*Herbarium*" is to be credited, will safeguard the person who carries it against attack by wild animals, and will endow him with absolute fearlessness.<sup>7</sup> Another wort<sup>8</sup> is especially recommended to travellers over unfrequented regions, since it is warranted to put robbers to flight. To cure swellings and to drive away snakes, a little yarrow need merely be hung around the neck.<sup>9</sup> Yarrow was a veritable stand-by with the ancient English. It could be used to heal any wound made with iron weapons, and was prescribed in cases of toothache, urinary disarrangements, eczema, hardened veins, stomache-ache, hiccough, purulent inflammation, snake-bite, dog-bite, and internal difficulties of every description. Again, eleven or thirteen grains of coriander, knit on a linen cloth and held by a maiden on the left thigh of a confined woman, will

<sup>1</sup> See *Nord. Myth.* 550.

<sup>2</sup> Only the Greek name is found in the *Herbarium*.

<sup>3</sup> Cockayne, i, 165.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i, 169. The same herb is used as an amulet for madness (see DD 4).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* i, 167.

<sup>6</sup> In DD 5.—In a MS. from the Royal Library at Stockholm the following verse about vervain is found:—

"If it be on hym day and nyth  
And kepe fro dedly synne aryth,  
Ye devil of helle schal hawe no myth."

See *Holt.* 315.

<sup>7</sup> In DD 6; mullen is also the amulet in charm D 3.

<sup>8</sup> ἡραχλεῖα; see DD 16.

<sup>9</sup> In DD 17.



induce speedy parturition.<sup>1</sup> Nocturnal visitors, most horrifying of night-mares to primitive man, might be withheld by keeping on hand a piece of wood-thistle or of betony.<sup>2</sup>

Some curious superstitions were connected with the mandrake, which was liberally employed in Saxon leechdom and sorcery. The fresh root of this plant has a powerful narcotic odor, which sometimes strongly affects the senses. The fable consequently arose that it was fatal to dig up the root; so an animal, usually a dog, was selected as the victim. The Saxon "Herbarium" describes in detail the ceremony of delving for the magic plant.<sup>3</sup> The most important part of the proceeding was to tie one end of a cord to the root, while the other end was fastened to a dog's neck. A piece of meat was then thrown near the dog, but beyond his reach, so that he would jerk up the plant in his endeavor to obtain the bait. It was also believed that some specimens of mandrake which resemble a man or a woman,<sup>4</sup> when torn up, uttered a shriek which it was death to hear.<sup>5</sup>

Among other herbs valued by the Old English leech-sorcerers were the castor-oil plant, the periwinkle, the sea-holly, lupine, garlic, madder, buttercup, clover, dock, pennyroyal, and sorrel.<sup>6</sup> The first named was favored by mariners, since, if hung on shipboard, it soothed the tempest, averted the hailstorm, and warded off the lightning and the thunder-bolt.<sup>7</sup> Of the sea-holly, the "Herbarium" reports that it has a head like a gorgon's, while its twigs have eyes and nose.<sup>8</sup> Finally, in B 1 the periwinkle is extolled as a talisman against snakes, wild beasts, poisons, and demoniacal possessions. Better still, it can be used as a sort of perpetual wishbone; since, for the mere asking, its fortunate possessor can obtain a variety of wishes, secure grace to himself, and inspire envy and terror in the bosoms of his foes.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In DD 18. For a similar purpose, DD 9 prescribes twelve grains of coriander-seed, and naively promises that the performance will give "a boy or a maiden."

<sup>2</sup> DD 15. The Stockholm MS. has this verse about betony: —

"Who so betonye on hym bere  
Fro wykked sperytis it wyll hym were."

See Holt. 308.

Betony is also used in charm D 1 for nightmare.

<sup>3</sup> Cockayne, i, 245

<sup>4</sup> There are, in fact, two species. A similar fable is reported of southernwood (see Cockayne, i, 253).

<sup>5</sup> *Eng. Med.* 75; and Cockayne, i, 247. Mandrake stories were exceedingly common in the middle ages, and were frequently cited and referred to by Elizabethan writers.

<sup>6</sup> These plants are all recommended as amulets: lupine and garlic in D 1, lupine also in DD 2 for indigestion; madder in DD 1 for dysentery; buttercup in DD 3 against lunacy; clover, which hung around the neck, insures the wearer against dimness of eyesight (see Cockayne, i, 321); dock in DD 10 for a horse which has been shot (probably elf-shot); pennyroyal in DD 11 to cure a sudden dumbness; and sorrel in DD 12 for an elf-shot horse.

<sup>7</sup> See BB 11.

<sup>8</sup> It is a talisman against "every evil" (see Cockayne, i, 319).

<sup>9</sup> For further Old English superstitions connected with herbs and trees, see the charms

Like herbs, stones were held in great veneration by the ancient Germanic tribes, and were employed as periapts. They are so used in charms D 4, D 5, and D 11. It is difficult to say how a belief in the magical properties of stones arose. Legends narrated the transformation of giants and men into stones,<sup>1</sup> and these stones were supposed to retain a sort of subliminal consciousness of their former state.<sup>2</sup> Not unnaturally, compassion and interest in man's welfare began to be attributed to these petrified beings. Hence such expressions as "the very stones wept," "it would move a heart of stone." Connected in this way with superstitious beliefs, stones became the object of worship, and were kept in houses as horseshoes are to this day, or were carried around to ward off evil. References to stone worship are found in the Anglo-Saxon laws. Expressions such as "stānwurþunga" and "bringan tō stāne," which occur in the canons of King Cnut, in those of King Edgar, and in the Penitentials, show that the practices indicated were not infrequent.<sup>3</sup>

Certain varieties of stones were supposed to be peculiarly efficacious as amulets. Amber and jet are frequently recommended, the latter in D 5 and E 14, for instance.<sup>4</sup> Again, stones of particular colors or from specified places are preferred. Thus, a favorite talisman among mariners was a blue stone, which sailors washed when winds were unpropitious.<sup>5</sup> One of the charms recommends a white stone as a talisman against stitch, strange calamities, lightning, thunder, and delusions of every kind.<sup>6</sup> Three stones taken from the crop of a young swallow are prescribed as amulets in charm D 4. Nor was it imperative that the stones be actually carried by the person or be kept indoors. To shield a farm against evil spirits, D 11 recommends the farmer to place a meal-stone in the middle of a field. The directions further specify that a circle and certain words and numbers be inscribed on the stone.

In five of the printed D charms, the amulet consists of a writing containing mysterious words, letters, and other symbols. These more or less unintelligible writings have already been fully discussed on a preceding page.<sup>7</sup> It will be sufficient to say here that D 6 has a jingle incantation of precisely the same nature as the formulas in jingle charms A 5-9, while D 7-10 contain collocations of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew

in the text (especially B 4); also Fischer, 28 ff.; Holt, 293 ff.; Hoops, 41 ff.; and charm CC 2. In connection with herbs when carried as amulets, we twice read the curious direction that they are to be tied with a "red thread;" namely, in BB 3 and in Cockayne, ii, 307. This red thread was once, according to Grimm, a legal symbol sacred to the god of boundaries (see R.A. 182 and 809).

<sup>1</sup> Grimm, ii, 551.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii, 645.

<sup>3</sup> See laws Nos. 5, 10, 12, 13, 15, pp. 141, 142.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. talismanic use of jet (Beda, chap. i, 1), of pearl (Grimm, ii, 1019), and of many other stones, in *Precious Stones in Nature, Art, and Literature*, by S. M. Burnham (Boston, 1886).

<sup>5</sup> Grimm, iii, 185.

<sup>6</sup> See DD 8.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 114.

words and letters, interspersed with numerals and with Christian ecclesiastical phraseology.

The material on which writings are to be placed is only specified in two instances, D 10 and DD 14, where parchment and wax are respectively named.<sup>1</sup>

In two spells, D 11 and D 12, geometrical figures are employed. D 11 prescribes the meal-stone talisman already cited. On this stone, two circles with unequal radii, but with a common centre, are to be inscribed. The smaller circle is divided by two diameters into four parts. In three of these parts Roman numerals are placed; the fourth part contains a few abbreviated Latin words. In D 12, a periapt against theft, the diagram presents two rectangles, one within the other, with interesting perpendiculars from the middle of the four sides of the larger rectangle, and letters in different parts of the figure.

The D charms fall naturally into two divisions. To the first division belong charms D 1-5, which prescribe material objects for amulets, and have no incantatory formula. To the second belong charms D 6-10, in which a magical writing, not a material object, serves as amulet.

An analysis of the charms in the first division reveals the following features:—

1. A description of the amulet.
2. Information regarding means and method of obtaining the amulet.
3. Statement of how and where the amulet is to be worn.
4. Enumeration of diseases which the amulet is alleged to cure.

All except the first of these features are likewise descriptive of the charms which constitute the second division. The fourth and distinctive feature of the second group is a written formula composed of gibberish in the manner of the *rigmaroles* discussed under the third of the general characteristics of charms. In these D charms the written statement itself is the amulet, and therefore does not need further description.

Two charms, D 11 and D 12, remain to be considered. They reveal more affinity with the second than with the first of the main groups, for in each there is a magical writing. This is not in verbal form, however, but is made up of figures and of separate words and numerals. D 11, however, betrays a resemblance to charms of the first group, in so far as the amulet does not consist solely of the written symbols, but of these together with the stone on which the symbols are inscribed.

Besides herbs, stones, and writings, the following articles are mentioned as amulets in the Anglo-Saxon charms: a fox's tooth wrapped in a fawn's skin, an ear of barley, the right shank of a dead black dog, a

<sup>1</sup> See reference, in *Sal. and Sat.*, lines 319 ff. and 326 ff., to magical rune writings on swords.

bunch of hair and wax.<sup>1</sup> It is curious to observe the directions for wearing or placing amulets. Most of the herbs and stones are prescribed to be carried on the person, without specifying where. But to stanch a flow of blood, barley is to be poked into the victim's ear.<sup>2</sup> For other evils, herbs are variously placed around the house, on a beehive, on a man's neck, and on a woman's left thigh.<sup>3</sup> To cure a woman who has been suddenly stricken dumb, pennyroyal wound up in wool is merely to be laid under the unfortunate.<sup>4</sup> Finally, objects are hung on the arm; and writings are placed around the neck, on the left breast, in the left shoe, under the heel, and under the right foot.<sup>5</sup>

*E. Charm Remedies.* — In the Anglo-Saxon medical books occur recipes in which superstition is either the most important or the sole element.<sup>6</sup> Fourteen of these recipes have been selected as types for publication in the text; but all will be referred to.

The primitive conception that disease is caused by evil-working demons finds concise expression in the opening words of charm EE 1: "For a fiend-sick man, when a devil possesses a man, or ravages him internally with disease."

All the charm remedies do not contain such explicit references to disease-demons. There are, indeed, numerous charms against elves, dwarfs, loathsome fiends, mighty witches, night-demons, devils, and succubæ, which are really pseudo-remedies for diseases alleged to have been caused by the creatures named. But in the majority of English spells the evil spirit is not directly referred to. Yet even in these cases it is easy to conclude, from the remedies prescribed, that malevolent, superhuman beings are regarded as the fountain-heads of all varieties of illnesses. When a recipe for extreme dyspepsia requires the victim's ears and whiskers to be severely pulled,<sup>7</sup> or dropsy is treated with a salve made from dog's vomit,<sup>8</sup> we recognize without difficulty the familiar sorcerer's device of expelling the demon by violence or by nausea. Twenty-eight of the forty-five E charms can be understood only upon the basis of some such connection between the remedy suggested and a disease-demon not actually named, but plainly inferred. In four of the remaining seventeen charms, the Devil is named as the originator of disease; four others are against elvish influence; two are directed against succubæ and incubi; two against dwarfs, and four against witchcraft.<sup>9</sup> In EE 30 and in EE 24 there appears to be no intimation of an evil

<sup>1</sup> See D 2, D 6, DD 7, DD 13, DD 14, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> D 6.

<sup>3</sup> DD 2, DD 1, DD 3, DD 9, respectively.

<sup>4</sup> DD 11.

<sup>5</sup> See DD 6, D 10, D 9, D 12, and DD 14. For further instances of AS. amulets, see Fischer, p. 22.

<sup>6</sup> *Hǫvumól*, 146, refers to such charm remedies.

<sup>7</sup> See EE 26.

<sup>8</sup> See EE 19.

<sup>9</sup> Charm E 14 is against elf and witchcraft too.

spirit. "If a man's head be distorted," reads the former, "lay the man with face upward; drive two stakes into the ground at the armpits, then place a plank obliquely over the feet and strike three times upon it with a sledge-hammer. His skull will soon be right." The remedy is clearly based on parallelism and association of ideas. The blows on the plank simulate the blows which, directly applied to the head, might restore it to a normal shape, but which, in the nature of the case, cannot be so applied. Charm EE 24 is likewise sufficiently curious to deserve citation: "If a man intend to fight with his enemy, let him seethe the young of shore swallows in wine; then let him eat them before the fight; or boil them in spring water."<sup>1</sup>

We can readily understand this charm if we remember the mythical character of certain animals and birds. In old Germanic lore, swallows and other birds converse on the destiny of men, and furnish them with superior knowledge.<sup>2</sup> An old Germanic legend tells of men who understand the language of birds as soon as they have eaten a white snake.<sup>3</sup> Just as in this instance extraordinary sources of information were opened up to the snake-eater, so, in EE 24, it may be that extraordinary agility, or some other quality valuable in combat, was obtained by eating the swallow.

Four charms against nightmare caused by elves are B 3, BB 3, BB 14, and D 8. Other diseases were later ascribed to elfin malice; and charms A 24, B 5, DD 12, E 2, E 8, E 14, and EE 9 are remedies for such misfortunes.

Convulsions of an epileptic nature were ascribed to dwarfs; and four charms (A 2, E 6, E 11, and AA 16) are formulas for expelling these fiends.

One consequence of Christianity was that the blame for sicknesses was foisted on the Devil, rather than on fiends indiscriminately. Thus insanity, especially in its more violent phases, came to be regularly attributed to possession by Satan. Perhaps this was because "devil-sickness," as the Saxons termed the disease, was felt to be the most abhorrent and debasing of maladies, and therefore worthy the activity of the Archfiend himself; or perhaps because madness was traditionally

<sup>1</sup> See also charm BB 13, where the right forefoot of a badger is recommended as an amulet to insure victory in combat.

<sup>2</sup> See Grimm, ii, 558 ff.; and cf. the ballads of *The Three Ravens* and *The Two Corbies*, No. 26 in F. J. Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*.

<sup>3</sup> See Grimm, ii, 560. According to an Icelandic belief, one could understand the language of birds by touching one's tongue with the heart plucked from a living raven (Gering, p. 207, No. 3); cf. Sigurd comprehending the birds after tasting the dragon's blood (*Fáfnismál*, strophe 31 ff.). For similar beliefs, see *Germ.* xi, 395. Other animals, parts of whose bodies the Anglo-Saxons considered invaluable either as imparting strength and protection, or furnishing remedies for disease, were badgers, dogs, wolves, porpoises, goats, and sheep (see *Herbarium*; Cockayne, i, 70 ff.; and Fischer, 36 ff.).

viewed as the disorder which afflicted those two from whom Christ transferred the devils to the swine.<sup>1</sup> Spells against devil-sickness, or spells which mention the Devil as the originator of disease, are Nos. A 23, B 1, D 3, EE 10, EE 11, EE 29, and EE 31.

In a few charms, not evil spirits, but the witchcraft of human sorcerers, is held accountable for the disease. Such charms are D 4, D 8, DD 6, E 10, E 12, E 14, EE 25. It must not be forgotten, however, that while in these instances the blame is laid at the door of sorcery, the actual suffering may still have been viewed as caused by demons, since every conjurer in good standing was believed to hold a brace or so of fiends in leash.

An interesting light is thrown on mediæval superstition by charms D 4 and E 10. These are remedies for knots,<sup>2</sup> imaginary bindings or checkings of muscles, which prevented men from performing the conjugal act. Knots were always the work of an enemy. At the instance of some jealous girl,<sup>3</sup> a sorcerer would mumble the necessary spell, and then assure his client that knot or ligature successfully controlled the intended victim. The effect was considered to be most speedily brought about by administering an herbal brew over which an incantation had been uttered. The incantation alone, however, was sufficient, and the marriage of the man selected for the knot was deemed a most opportune time for the bewitchment. So great was the terror which this disease inspired, that priests were cautioned not to make alterations in the wedding-rites on account of knots, lest their so doing should rivet the chains of this terror on the minds of the people.<sup>4</sup>

Analyzing the procedure in the E charms, the following are discovered to be the principal features:—

1. Instructions to exorcist or patient, or both, concerning prescribed superstitious ceremonials.
2. A spoken or a written formula.
3. A statement expressing confidence in the success of the treatment, or an enumeration of the disorders which the remedy will cure.

The three methods for effecting the expulsion of disease-demons can likewise be shown most satisfactorily in the following diagrammatic form:<sup>5</sup>—

<sup>1</sup> Matthew viii, 28.

<sup>2</sup> So called by Cockayne (i, xli).

<sup>3</sup> Read the story of a knot laid by Gunnhild upon Hrut (*Nials saga*, 12); cf. other stories in Fischer, 13, 18.

<sup>4</sup> "Ne ob timorem immodationis vel ligaminis alicuius, matrimonia solemnizent modo aliquo ab ordinario loci non approbato . . . ne ipsi, qui alios ab huiusmodi vano timore, verbo et exemplo retrahere debent, ipsis mali et damnabilis timoris exemplum præbere videantur" (in Eynatten, *Manualis Exorcismorum*, 1619, p. 220).

<sup>5</sup> With one exception, EE 19, only the printed E charms are included in this analysis.

- I. (a) Superstitious ritual and  
      (b) Spoken formula.  
           Heathen, E 1.  
           Christian, E 2.
- II. (a) Superstitious ritual.  
      (b) Physical force.  
           Blows, E 2 and E 3.  
           Fumes, E 4 and E 5.  
           Salve { loathsome, EE 19.  
                   { holy, E 8.  
           Magic food { E 9, E 11.  
                        { E 10, E 12.  
           Magic drink, E 13.  
           Besprinkling with holy water, E 14.
- III. (a) Superstitious ritual.  
      (b) Holy writing on some part of the body, E 6 and E 7.

The ritual forming a part of all E charms consists of one or more of those superstitious performances described under the general characteristics of charms. The incantations in E 1 are composed of Anglo-Saxon phrases more or less unintelligible. In E 2, ritual, spoken formula, and physical violence, are all employed. The formula in this case is a *Benedicite*, a Christian substitution for earlier idolatrous spells.

The six means of forcible expulsion found in the E remedies are all well-known black-art methods which have previously received attention. The method by blows is admirably illustrated in the elf-shot horse charm, E 2, which provides for the piercing of the animal's ear and the beating of its back. The salves are either herbal concoctions rendered holy, and therefore obnoxious to spirits, by the addition of incense and holy water, or they are loathsome mixtures with nauseating ingredients, such as hound's vomit in EE 19. Abominable foods, again, may be employed to eject the demon of disease. The prescription in E 11, for example, calls for a cake compounded of meal and the excrement of a dog: this the sufferer from "dwarf-complaint" is required to eat. Holy foods are sometimes called for;<sup>1</sup> and the magic drinks are all holy drinks, — herbal brews with drops of holy water added.<sup>2</sup> EE 1 offers an interesting variation from the other magic potions. It recommends "a drink for a fiend sick man to be drunk out of a church bell." Church bells were regarded by fiends<sup>3</sup> with peculiar aversion, since the ringing of bells called people to a worship which was hostile to the old belief in

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the rind from Paradise, in E 9.

<sup>2</sup> But it is probable that in Heathen times runes and other symbols were cut into the stalks of worts used in charm remedies. The virtues of the magical signs were supposed to be communicated to the herbal brews. See *Sigrdrifumál*, 5; and Gering, 212, note 9.

<sup>3</sup> These were, of course, largely recruited from the old Heathen divinities.

Heathen deities and nature spirits. Other drinks and foods with almost equally peculiar directions are prescribed in the several EE charms. In all these instances the object desired is the freeing of the patient from some illness, while the treatment prescribed seems obviously modified from older "methods of violence" used in expelling the various demons of disease.<sup>1</sup>

#### CHRISTIAN ELEMENTS IN THE CHARMS

The attitude assumed by mediæval Church and State towards magic in general, and charms in particular, is reflected in the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, in the sermons of the period, and in the penitential enactments of the Church. The following citations comprise all extant Anglo-Saxon legislation, as well as penitentials and ecclesiastical admonitions, pertaining to charms.

#### *Laws against Charm Magic*

1. And wē lārað þæt prēosta gehwīlc crīstendōm geornlice ārære, and ælcra hēðendōm mid-ealle ādwæsce; and forbēode wil-weorðunga and līc-wīglunga and hwata and galdra and man-weorðunga, and þā gemearr þe man drīfð on mislicum gewīglungum and on frið-splotum and on ellenum and ēac on oðrum mislicum trēowum and on stānum and on manegum mislicum gedwimerum þe men ondrēogað fela þæs þe hī nā ne scoldon.<sup>2</sup>

2. Gif wīf drý-craeft and galdor and unlibban wyrce, fæste xii. mōnað, oððe iii. æ-fæstenu oððe xl. nihta, gewite hū mycel sēo fyren sig.<sup>3</sup>

3. Nis nā sōðlice ālýfed nānum crīstenum men þæt hē īdele hwatunga begā, swā hēðene men dōð (þæt is, þæt hig gelýfon on sunnan and on mōnan . . . and sēcon tīda hwatunga hyra þing tō begynnanne), ne wyrta gad-erunge mid nānum galdre, būtan mid Paternoster and mid Crēdan, oððe mid sumon gebede þe tō Gode belimpe.<sup>4</sup>

4. Si qua mulier divinationes vel incantationes diabolicas fecerit, l. annum poeniteat.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See charac. 4, p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 16 (A. L. 396).

<sup>3</sup> *Confess. Ecg.* 29 (A. L. 355).

<sup>4</sup> *Pæn. Ecg.* ii, 23 (A. L. 371). For similar OHG. law, see Grimm, iii, 413: *Wie das nu*, etc.; against gathering herbs with charms, see also *Ælfr. Hom.* i, 476.

<sup>5</sup> *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 13 (A. L. 292).

Similarly hostile to the sorcerer's spells were the earliest Icelandic church ordinances. One of them ordains:—

"If any one engages in witchcraft or charm-magic, he shall lose his freedom" (*Nord. Myth.* 566).

Norwegian laws were likewise directed against charms, as the following enactments show:

"Whoever engages in charm-magic must leave the king's land."

"No one may believe in sorcerers, witchcraft, or herbs;" that is, in the magical properties of herbs (see p. 132).

"Every woman who uses charm remedies and declares that she can help people, if convicted thereof, shall pay three shillings" (*Nord. Myth.* 567).

See also *Ælfric's* opposition to charm magic, *Hom.* i, 474. — The following decree from the collection by Burchard of Worms is likewise directed against charms: "*Perscrutandum, si aliquis subulcus vel bubulcus sive venator vel ceteri hujusmodi diabolica carmina*



Laws against Heathendom<sup>1</sup>

5. And wē forbēodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe.

Hæðenscipe byð, þæt man dēofolgyld weorðige, þæt man weorðige hæðene godas and sunnan oððe mōnan, fȳr oððe flōd, wæterwylas oððe stānas oððe æniges cynnes wudutrēowa, oððe wiccecræft lufige . . . swylcra gedwimera ænig þingc drēoge.<sup>2</sup>

6. And þæt is þonne ærest þæra bisca frumræd, þæt wē ealle fram synnum georne gecyrran . . . and ælcne hæþendōm georne forbūgan<sup>3</sup> . . .

7. And gyf hwā Cristendōm wyrde oððe hæþendōm weorþige . . . gylde swā wer swā wīte.<sup>4</sup>

8. Gif þonne æni man āgiten wurðe, þæt ænigne hæðenscipe heonan forð drēoge oððe on blōt oððe on firhte oððe on ænig wiccecræft lufige, oððe idola wurðinge, . . . gilde X. healfmarc.<sup>5</sup>

9. And wē lērað þæt man geswīce frēolis-dagum hæðenrā lēoða and dēofles gamena.<sup>6</sup>

10. Trēow-wurþunga and stān-wurþunga and þone dēofles cræft þær man þā cild þurh þā eorðan tihð<sup>7</sup> . . .

11. Wifman bēo þæs ylcan wyrde gif hēo tilað hire cilde mid ænigum wiccecræfte, oððe æt wega gelæton þurh þā eorðan tihð. Eala þæt ys mycel hæðenscipe.<sup>8</sup>

12. Gif hwylc man his ælmessan gehāte oððe bringe tō hwylcon wylle oððe tō stāne oððe tō trēowe oððe tō ænigum oðrum gesceaftum būtan on Godes naman tō Godes cyrican, fæste iii. gēar.<sup>9</sup>

13. Gif friðgeard sȳ on hwæs lande ābūton stān oððe trēow oððe wille oððe swilces ænigge fleard, þonne gilde sē ðe hit worhte lahsliht.<sup>10</sup>

14. Siquis ad arbores, vel ad fontes, vel ad lapides sive ad cancellos, vel ubicunque excepto in ecclesia Dei, votum voverit aut exsolverit, iii. annos pœniteat.<sup>11</sup>

dicat super panem, aut super herbas, aut super quædam nefaria ligamenta, et hæc aut in arbore abscondat, aut in bivio aut in trivio projiciat, ut sua animalia liberet a peste et clade, et alterius perdat" (*Interrogatio*, 43).

There are numerous German ecclesiastical enactments of the same tenor. See, for example, Burchard of Worms, *Decretals*, i, 54; x, 8, 34.

<sup>1</sup> Including laws against tree, stone, earth, and water worship.

<sup>2</sup> Cnut, sec. 5 (*G. A.* 312).

<sup>3</sup> *Laws of King Æthelred*, vi, 1 (*G. A.* 246).

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of Edward and Guthrum*, 2 (*G. A.* 130).

<sup>5</sup> *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, 48, A. D. 1028–60 (*G. A.* 383).

<sup>6</sup> *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 18 (*A. L.* 397); see above, law No. 1 (Edgar 16), also directed against heathendom.

<sup>7</sup> *Canons enacted under King Edgar*, 16 note (*A. L.* 396).

<sup>8</sup> *Pœn. Ecg.* iv, 20 (*A. L.* 380). Very similar is law No. 16, below, and the following from Burchard's decrees: "Fecisti quod quædam mulieres facere solent, illae dico quæ habent vagientes infantes, effodiunt terram et ex parte pertusant eam, et per illud foramen pertrahunt infantem et sic dicunt vagientis infantis cessare vagitum" (Burchard, No. 199).

<sup>9</sup> *Pœn. Ecg.* ii, 22 (*A. L.* 371); similarly, *Ibid.* iv, 19 (*A. L.* 380); and Ælfr. *Hom.* i, 474.

<sup>10</sup> *Laws of the Northumbrian Priests*, 54 (*G. A.* 383).

<sup>11</sup> *Pœn. Theo.* xxvii, 18 (*A. L.* 293).

15. Si quis pro sanitate filioli, per foramen terræ exierit, illudque spinis post se concludit, xl. dies pœniteat.<sup>1</sup>

*Laws against Witchcraft*<sup>2</sup>

16. And wē hēodað, þæt man eard georne clānsian aginne on æghwylcan ende and manfulra dāda æghwær geswice.

And gif wiccean oððe wīgleras, morðwyrhtan oððe hōrcwenan āhwær on lande wurðan āgitene, fýse hig man georne ūt of þysum earde, oððe on earde forfare hig mid ealle<sup>3</sup> . . .

17. Dā fæmnan þe gewuniað onfōn gealdorcræftigan and scīnlæcan and wiccan, ne læt þū ðā libban.<sup>4</sup>

18. Dā ðe . . . liblāc wyrcað, bēon hī ā fram ælcum Godes dāle āwor-pene<sup>5</sup> . . .

19. And wē cwædon be þām wiccecræftum and be liblācum . . . gif mon þær ācweald wære, and hē his ætsacan ne mihte, þæt hē bēo his fēores scyldig.<sup>6</sup>

20. Swā hwylc man swā corn bærne on þære stōwe þær man dēad wære lȳfigendum mānnum tō hīele, and on his hūse: fæste V. winter.<sup>7</sup>

21. Wif gif hēo set hire dohtor ofer hūs oððe on ofen forþām ðe hēo wylle hig fēfer-ādle gehēlan: fæste hēo VII. winter.<sup>8</sup>

22. Gif hwā drife stacan on ænigne man: fæste III. gēar.<sup>9</sup>

23. Gif hwā wiccige ymbe æniges mannes lufe and him on æte sylle oððe on drince oððe on æniges cynnes gealdorcræftum, þæt hyra lufu forþon þe mære bēon scyle, gif hit læwede man dō, fæste healf gēar.<sup>10</sup>

24. Si quis pro amore veneficus sit, et neminem perdideret, si laicus est, dimidium annum pœniteat; si clericus, I. annum; si subdiaconus, II. annos pœniteat.<sup>11</sup>

25. Non licet Christianos ecclesiam Dei derelinquere, et ire ad auguria, atque angelos nominare, et congregationes facere, quæ interdicta noscuntur.<sup>12</sup>

26. Si quis ligaturas fecerit, quod detestabile est: III. annos pœniteat.<sup>13</sup>

Full of injunctions against charm magic, amulets, herb enchantments, and other heathenisms, is a sermon by St. Eligius.<sup>14</sup> It is an ex-

<sup>1</sup> *Pœn. Theo.* xxvii, 16 (A. L. 293).

<sup>2</sup> As before, only those laws are quoted which relate to the present subject; for example, laws on witchcraft involving knots, and on superstitions connected with the dead.

<sup>3</sup> *Secular laws of King Cnut*, 4 (G. A. 310); exactly like this are *Laws of Edward an Guthrum*, ii (G. A. 134), and *Laws of King Æthelred*, vi, 7 (G. A. 248).

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of King Alfred*, 30 (G. A. 38).

<sup>5</sup> *Laws of King Edmund*, i, 6 (G. A. 186).

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of King Æthelstan*, ii, 6 (G. A. 152).

<sup>7</sup> *Confess. Ecg.* 32 (A. L. 356); similarly, *Pœn. Theo.* xxvii, 15 (A. L. 293).

<sup>8</sup> *Confess. Ecg.* 33; (A. L. 356).

<sup>9</sup> *Pœn. Ecg.* iv, 17 (A. L. 379); similarly, *Modus imponendi Pœnitentiam*, 38 (A. L. 405).

<sup>10</sup> *Pœn. Ecg.* iv, 18 (A. L. 379).

<sup>11</sup> *Pœn. Theo.* xxvii, 10 (A. L. 292).

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii, 7 (A. L. 292).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* xxvii, 22 (A. L. 293).

<sup>14</sup> Born 588, died 659.

cellent example of the manner in which the subject was treated by the more radical opponents of superstition:—

“Before all things I declare and testify to you that you shall observe none of the impious customs of the pagans, neither sorcerers, nor diviners, nor soothsayers, nor enchanters, nor must you presume for any cause, or for any sickness, to consult or inquire of them; for he who commits this sin loses unavoidably the grace of baptism. In like manner pay no attention to auguries and sneezings; and when you are on a journey pay no attention to the singing of certain little birds. But whether you are setting out on a journey, or beginning any other work, cross yourself in the name of Christ, and say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer with faith and devotion, and then the enemy can do you no harm. . . . Let no Christian place lights at the temples, or the stones, or at fountains, or at trees, . . . or at places where three ways meet, or presume to make vows. Let none presume to hang amulets on the neck of man or beast; even though they be made by the clergy, and called holy things, and contain the words of scripture; for they are fraught, not with the remedy of Christ, but with the poison of the Devil. Let no one presume to make lustrations, nor to enchant herbs, nor to make flocks pass through a hollow tree, or an aperture in the earth; for by so doing he seems to consecrate them to the Devil.

“Moreover, as often as any sickness occurs, do not seek enchanters, nor diviners, nor sorcerers, nor soothsayers, or make devilish amulets at fountains or trees, or cross-roads; but let him who is sick trust only to the mercy of God, and receive the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ with faith and devotion; and faithfully seek consecrated oil from the church, wherewith he may anoint his body in the name of Christ, and according to the Apostle, the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up.”<sup>1</sup>

This legislation, with its uncompromising tone towards magic arts, was the product of a period when the Church had firmly intrenched itself in the soil of Western Europe, and felt the need of exterminating Paganism, root and branch. But the early Christian fathers pursued no such intransigent policy. While they were necessarily opposed to the conspicuous forms of heathendom, their first attitude towards popular beliefs and superstitious healing was one of discreet conciliation. They assaulted beliefs, but respected customs. The gods were dethroned in favor of Jehovah, but the ancient rites were continued in the latter's worship. This milder system of conversion was in part owing to the wisdom of Pope Gregory. In his recommendations to the English missionaries he said, among other things, “*Fana idolorum destrui . . . minime debeant; sed ipsa, quæ in eis sunt, idola destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, in eisdem fanis aspergatur, altaria construantur, reliquæ ponantur . . . ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens ac adorans ad loca, quæ consuevit, familiarius concurrat.*”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1841), p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> “That the temples of the idols in that nation ought not to be destroyed; but let th

What further led to the easy persistence of the old customs was the credulity of the clergy themselves. The Church might refuse to sanction incantatory practices, but it could not eradicate them while its own servants believed in fiends and evil spirits. Priests did not at all question the existence of the heathen gods: they merely denied their divinity, and ranked them as demons.<sup>1</sup> Nor were there many to dispute the power of these demons or the efficacy of superstitious remedies. Therefore Pagan charms had to be met by Christian charms; and wherever heathen names of deities were used, authorized canonical names had to be substituted. From this want of single-hearted aim in its war on magic usages, the Church met with but slight success; so that Christian and Pagan ceremonies came to be strangely mingled. In the letters of Boniface there is a passage which bears on the anomalous situation. The author bitterly laments the confusion of the ancient and the new rites, and declares that "foolish, reckless, or guilty priests are to blame."<sup>2</sup>

Pursuant to the policy of peaceable substitution recommended by Gregory the Great, Heathen celebrations were continued under Christian names. Thus the old Yuletide merrymaking in honor of Thor became a festival celebrating the birth of Christ, and a German feast held on the 1st of October in memory of warriors slain on the field was metamorphosed into the festival of All-Souls to commemorate the souls of departed believers.<sup>3</sup> Other Heathen customs underwent similar transformations. Water-worship and vigils at wells, when under Heathen auspices, were, as we have seen, rigorously forbidden. But when a saint replaced the elfin genius as patron of a stream or well, the interdicted practices were winked at or flatly approved by the clergy, and were thus carried on even until recent times.<sup>4</sup> Mention has already been made of the inbred Heathen faith in the virtues of running water, and of the uses to which water is put in the charms. The employment of holy water by the Church appears to be a continuation of an ancient rite, and baptismal sprinkling seems likewise to have had its origin in a primitive custom.<sup>5</sup> Among the Germanic tribes, new-born children were dipped idols that are in them be destroyed; let holy water be made and sprinkled in the said temples, let altars be erected, and relics placed . . . that the nation, seeing that their temples are not destroyed, may remove error from their hearts, and knowing and adoring the true God, may the more familiarly resort to the places to which they have been accustomed." — Bede, i, 30.

<sup>1</sup> Observe how the invocation "of demons, or of Neptune, Diana, or Minerva," is condemned in one breath by St. Eligius in the sermon quoted above.

<sup>2</sup> See Grimm, i, 75, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> W. Müller, *Geschichte u. System d. altdutschen Religion* (Göttingen, 1844), p. 74.

<sup>4</sup> In England they still persist in places. See Hope, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> See Gering, *Einleitung*, 8. The thirteenth spell mentioned in *Hávamál*, 157, is for recital over a child at time of naming. That children were sprinkled with water during the ceremony of naming them is further shown by *Rígsþula* 7 and 21. Bugge (371 ff.) denies the Heathen origin of baptismal sprinkling. Cf. also H. Pfannenschmid, *Germanische Erntefeste im heidnischen Kultus* (Hannover, 1868), p. 76.

in running water, and warriors were sprinkled with the magic liquid before entering battle. Odin is reported to say, "If I pour water on the young warrior, he will not fall, even in battle; he will not be slain by the sword."<sup>1</sup> This lends plausibility to the belief that sprinkling-rites antedated the Christian era, and that when, in the charms, persons or beasts are directed to be moistened with holy water, the latter replaces the running water of an earlier Heathen version. So, in the remedy for diseased sheep (EE 14), the ceremony of pouring hallowed water over the animals may well be a Christianized form of an old Teutonic custom.

Not only wells, but streams, trees, and stones — where wood and water sprites had once held sway — continued their miraculous cures under the new régime. But the picturesque elves of Heathen lore gave way to saints. Grimm mentions several instances of this substitution;<sup>2</sup> and the subject is extensively illustrated in R. C. Hope's "Holy Wells, their Legends and Traditions." The attitude of the Church is reflected in the twenty-sixth canon of St. Anselm: "Let no one attribute reverence or sanctity to a fountain, without the Bishop's authority." In other words, a well might not continue "to do business," unless under the auspices of a saint.

Nor did the medieval Church make any attempt to abolish the invocation of a superior spirit in curing diseases; only, the faithful were directed to address saints, angels, and martyrs, instead of gods, demons, and magicians. One result of this was, that in the Catholic superstition of the middle ages there grew up a regular system, in which a particular saint, male or female, was invoked for almost every pain and disease in the several limbs and organs of the body.<sup>3</sup> In like manner, demons were driven out, not by threatening them with the ire of a protecting genius or of a potent counter-demon, but by intimidating them with the power of God or of the angelic kindred.<sup>4</sup> The exorcism in charm DD 19 reads, "Fevers, depart from N., the servant of God: seven hundred fourteen thousand angels will pursue you."

A sequel to the conciliatory policy of the Church was the active participation of the clergy in the old superstitious customs. This was not as unnatural as it may seem. The very air of the time was heavy with irrational beliefs; and priests, like other people, breathed in what they were far from recognizing as Pagan superstitions. Moreover, in the early days of proselytizing, the clergy was largely recruited from the Heathen

<sup>1</sup> Gum. 393.

<sup>2</sup> Grimm, i, 488, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> For a list of such saints, see Brand, 197, and M. Höfler, *Volksmedizin und Aberglaube* (München, 1893), p. 41.

<sup>4</sup> For the part played by monks in exorcismal healing, see Ebermann, p. 135, and *ZfdA.* iv, 576 ff.

priesthood.<sup>1</sup> The Church gained doubly by such conversions. Heathen worshippers were at once impressed and conciliated; and the service of Christ acquired the men who, by intelligence, training, and influence, were best fitted to propagate the new religion. These convert priests, nevertheless, continued in sympathy with the more deeply-rooted practices of their countrymen. They realized the power and fascination which spells, for instance, exerted on the popular mind: hence they sought to reconcile charm magic with the Christian faith. Benedictions were accordingly uttered upon bride and bridegroom; upon the sick and the dead; upon bread, salt, and honey; upon women at their churching; upon house, well, cornfield, and orchard; and upon sword and standard before a combat. These blessings were all substitutions for ancient incantations. In further recognition of Heathen beliefs, the Church proceeded to appoint exorcists, officially so-called,<sup>2</sup> who ranked after the sub-deacon, and sought, with appropriate exorcisms, to expel the devils, the incubi, and the succubæ with which people believed themselves afflicted.<sup>3</sup> That charm remedies were administered by priests as a matter of course, we have the further testimony of EE 20, a charm rite for epilepsy, where the directions read, "A mass priest shall perform this leechdom, if a man has means to get one." In short, church history, and, more particularly, church legislation, show that the clergy retained many Heathen charm ceremonies. Priests even manufactured amulets, and practised tree, stone, and water charms, as we learn from the penalization of these customs by the Archbishop Theodore,<sup>4</sup> and their vigorous condemnation in the sermon of St. Eligius, quoted above.

Beda tells a curious story which throws light on the substitution of Christian for Heathen formulas. A certain soldier, captured in battle, was ordered bound; but the order could not be executed, for the shackles

<sup>1</sup> A good instance of this is found in Beda, ii, 13. King Edwin and his high priest, Coifi, have just been addressed by the missionary Paulinus. Coifi, impressed, cries out, "I have long been conscious that there was nothing in the things we worshipped. . . . For which reason, I advise, O king, that we instantly abjure and set fire to those temples and altars which we have consecrated without reaping any benefit from them." Also see Gum. p. 342.

<sup>2</sup> "Exorcista is on Englisc, sē þe mid ā ðe hālsað þā āwyrgeðan gāstas, þe wyllað menn dreccan, þurh þæs Hælendes naman, þæt hý menn forlæton." — Ælfric's *Canones*, x.

<sup>3</sup> An interesting English charm, just such a one as a Church exorcist might have remodelled from an older Saxon incantation, appears in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, lines 294 ff., *The Complete Works of Chaucer* (ed. W. W. Skeat), vol. iv.

"Ther-with the night-spel seyde he anon-rightes  
On the foure halves of the hous aboute,  
And on the threshold of the dore withoute:  
'Jesu Crist, and seynt Benedight,  
Blesse this hous from every wikked wight,  
For nightes verye, the white paternoster!  
Where wentestow, seynt Petres soster?'"

Skeat believes *verye* to be cognate with AS. *wearg* (= "accursed thing").

<sup>4</sup> See law No. 24, p. 142, and *Pan. Theo.* xxvii, 8 (*A. L.* 292).

invariably fell off when those who bound him retired. Bond-loosing spells being of the commonest in Germanic folk-lore,<sup>1</sup> the prisoner was taxed with availing himself of one of those devices. He denied this, but said that the marvel might be owing to the masses which a brother of his, a priest, — who doubtless supposed him killed, — was probably saying for his soul. On his return to his own country, the former captive learned that “*Illis maxime temporibus sua fuisse vincula soluta, quibus pro se missarum fuerant celebrata solemnia,*” the bonds had been generally loosed at those times when mass had been celebrated for him.<sup>2</sup> A similar story in the *Kristnisaga* tells of a bishop who recited Christian spells over a stone where a “family spirit” was thought to be confined. The formulas proved efficacious, for the stone was mysteriously rent asunder.<sup>3</sup>

It must not be forgotten that the laws which condemn the participation of priests in the ceremonies of our Heathen ancestors represent the crystallized sentiment of a later period. In the early proselytizing church there was no such manifest sentiment. But from the beginning there appeared, sporadically, zealots who censured the intermixture, by priests, of Christian and infidel rites. St. Eligius was one of the first to read his brethren a lecture; the letters of Boniface present another instance. As time went on and the Church tightened its grasp on the minds of men, more and more drastic measures were taken to extrude Heathenism from Christian worship. Punishment was rigorously meted out to priests who took part in incantatory songs in connection with the dead;<sup>4</sup> and other traditional customs which the clergy had been permitted to countenance, began to be deprecated. Since time immemorial, dancing had accompanied field and harvest celebrations. In compliance with its early policy of concession, the Church had permitted this Heathen custom to become part of religious ceremonials at harvest festivals. The practice became so popular that nuns are reported as dancing in a church, and councils were constrained to severely censure the abuse.<sup>5</sup> How far the clergymingled the old rites with the new, we can somewhat estimate when we learn that even Dunstan was accused of sorcery, and that he “loved the vain songs of ancient heathendom, the trifling legends, the funeral chants.”<sup>6</sup> The ecclesiastical authorities were finally driven to issue peremptory condemnations of clerical partiality to such evident forms of heathendom as charm songs and amulets. A penitential of the Archbishop Theodore, bearing on this subject, has already been cited.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For example, the famous Merseburg bond spell.

<sup>2</sup> Bede, iv, 20; the same story with different names is narrated in *Ælfr. Hom.* ii, 358.

<sup>3</sup> *C. P. B.* i, 416.

<sup>4</sup> J. Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands* (2 vols., Göttingen, 1846), i, 326.

<sup>5</sup> Pfannenschmidt, 489 ff.; see law of AS. Church against dancing in *Pwn. Theo.* xxxviii, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Gum. 470.

<sup>7</sup> Law No. 24, p. 142.

Another, by the same prelate, reads, "Non licet clericos vel laicos, magos aut incantatores existere, aut facere philacteria, quæ animarum suarum vincula comprobentur; eos autem qui his utuntur, ab ecclesia pelli præcipimus."<sup>1</sup>

An examination of the Christian elements in the Old English charms can now be profitably pursued. Remembering what has before been emphasized, that the rites of exorcism came to be assumed by the clerical profession, it will readily be understood how the Æsir, the Valkyries, and the semi-divine heroes of Germanic mythology were degraded to the level of evil spirits,<sup>2</sup> and invocations to them condemned as demon-worship. The divinities who, from their golden palaces across the rainbow bridge in Asgard, ruled the Teutonic imagination, must have been subjected to repeated appeals in the spells of their worshippers. Yet only six of the charms preserve such an appeal,<sup>3</sup> and in only one of these six does the name of a major deity, Woden, occur.<sup>4</sup> Plainly, the Christian exorcists must have replaced the old Heathen titles with the names we now find in the Saxon spells — names of the Godhead, or of some member of the earthly or celestial hierarchy. Instructions from the papal throne to the priesthood frequently embraced the matter of these changes. A German manuscript of the thirteenth century contains specific directions to pastors for dealing with popular charm remedies and for altering names in invocations to the autochthonic gods.<sup>5</sup>

This kind of substitution became general in Teutonic folk-lore. No longer were the wind-elves implored for succor in a storm: petitions were addressed to the saints, known in this capacity as *wazzer heilige*, that is, water-saints.<sup>6</sup> The semi-divine white women whose appearance betokened good fortune to their beholders, were, in later legends, changed to nuns.<sup>7</sup> In a Scandinavian song dating from the tenth century, Christ, like Thor of old, was acclaimed the conqueror of mountain giants, and his throne was placed at the sacred fount of the Norns.<sup>8</sup> Not the least striking of these changes was that of blessing with the sign of the cross, where the sign of the hammer had been the old German mark of consecration. The spells themselves are not lacking in evidences of these replacements. A case in point is furnished by several Christianized versions of the famous Merseburg dislocation spell.<sup>9</sup> For example: —

<sup>1</sup> *Pæn. Theo.* xxvii, 8 (*A. L.* 292).

<sup>2</sup> In charm A 1, for instance; see also Grimm, iii, 401, for coupling of demons and gods.

<sup>3</sup> A 1, A 4, A 13, A 16, B 4, B 5.

<sup>4</sup> In two other charms, A 18, A 19, non-English gods are invoked.

<sup>5</sup> See Grimm, iii, 413: "*Hier-umb ist den ze ratenne*," etc.

<sup>6</sup> Grimm, iii, 182.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* iii, viii.

<sup>8</sup> Meyer, 437.

<sup>9</sup> This spell is printed in *Denkm.* i, 16. Translated, it reads, —

"Phol and Woden rode to forest  
Where sprained was the foot of Balder's foal.



"Our Lord rade, his foal's foot slade;  
Down he lighted, his foal's foot righted.  
Bone to bone, sinew to sinew,  
Blood to blood, flesh to flesh:  
Heal in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."<sup>1</sup>

This and other Christian versions are plainly related to the Old High German charm, the principal modern changes being the invariable substitution of the words "Jesus," "Lord," or "God" for the names "Woden," "Phol," "Sindgund," "Frija," and "Volla."<sup>2</sup>

The Old English charms may now be examined for instances of the replacement of Heathen names by Christian ones. God — rarely the Almighty, once the Holy Ghost,<sup>3</sup> more frequently Christ — is most often invoked or referred to.<sup>4</sup> The four evangelists are called upon in six charms,<sup>5</sup> generally collectively; while in A 14 they are also specifically appealed to, — Matthew to be the helmet of the suppliant, Mark his breastplate, Luke his sword, and John his shield. The Heathen notion of God's kingdom as a military power can easily be recognized in these suggestive metaphors. Suppliants further invoke the Virgin Mary:<sup>6</sup> and many entreaties are variously addressed to the twelve apostles; to the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph; to David; to Eve, Hannah, Elizabeth, and Sarah; to the angelic kindred; to the host of Seraphim; to two individual but nameless angels; to the seven sleepers; and to the following saints, — Veronica, Helena, Columba, Stephen, Machutus, Vitricius, Nicasius, Patrick, and Paul.

The substitutions were by no means confined to names. Christian ritual was boldly introduced in the charms to replace Heathen rites. Making the sign of the cross naturally became a favorite observance in magical remedies. Crosses were sometimes made of wood, as in A 13, with sacred names written on each end. As the hammer had been the æsir's might against wicked dwarfs and giants, so now the cross symbolized the all-conquering power of God against devils and evil spirits.

Then Sindgund charmed it, and Sunna, her sister;  
Then Volla charmed it, and Frija, her sister;  
Then Woden charmed it, who could charm it well:  
'Leg luxation, and blood luxation, and limb luxation,  
Bone to bone, blood to blood,  
Limb to limb as they were glued together.'"

<sup>1</sup> W. Chambers, *Fireside Stories*, 129.

<sup>2</sup> In the following Swiss nursery rhyme, the three Marys are probably substitutions for the Norns or Fates: —

"Rite, rite rösl, ze Bade stot e schlössli,  
ze Bade stot e güldi hus, es lüeged *drei Marie* drus.  
die eint spinnt side, die ander schnätzelt chride,  
die drit schnit haberstrau; bhüet mer Gott mis chindli au!"

Grimm, i, 345, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Viz., in A 14.

<sup>4</sup> Viz., in A 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 22; B 3, 4; D 8; E 1; AA 4, 6, 8, 13; DD 19, 20; EE 1, 31.

<sup>5</sup> Viz., A 13, 14, 17, 18; C 3; and AA 13.

<sup>6</sup> Viz., A 13, 14.

Crosses were accordingly made on various parts of the body — on the forehead, the limbs, the tongue, the breast, and the arm — to drive the demons out.<sup>1</sup> To give a flavor of Christianity to the herbal hodge-podges which had long been brewed according to Heathen recipes, the exorcist added holy water or a little frankincense.<sup>2</sup> Once, in EE 20, oil hallowed for use in extreme unction is prescribed as a salve for epilepsy,<sup>3</sup> and the consecrated wine used in the communion service is deemed sufficient to hallow the herbal mixture against elf-possession in charm BB 3. The use, for medicinal purposes, of oil, wine, and water, sanctified, not by cabalistic spells, but by priestly benediction, received the encouragement of the Church, as we learn from St. Eligius. The good Bishop warns the sick man to avoid enchanter, and faithfully to “seek consecrated oil from the church . . . and the Lord shall raise him up.”<sup>4</sup>

Vernacular incantations, like Heathen rites, were summarily condemned; and, as in the case of the latter, substitutes were officially designated for the former. The twenty-third Penitential of Archbishop Egbert<sup>5</sup> expressly forbids the gathering of herbs with charms, and adds that Paternosters, Creeds, or “other holy prayers,” may be used instead. This demand was very generally complied with. Liturgical formulas of all kinds abound in the Old English spells, — prayers, songs, litanies, psalms, Paternosters, hymns, masses, and exorcismal phrases not included in these categories. Such formulas have crept into all types of charms; and while they have sometimes replaced the older incantations, the latter have occasionally been retained with the Christian pieces interpolated. An instance of this is furnished by charm A 13, where the Tersanctus, the Benedicite, and the Magnificat occur in connection with a spell of unquestionably Pagan composition. When Heathen rites were practised in charm remedies, the superstitious Christian compromised with his conscience by continuing the traditional ceremonial as in charm E 13, but substituting the Latin Creed and Paternoster for the vernacular spell. It was in the formulas recited while gathering herbs that the Old English enchanter gave freest rein to their imaginative vein and their poetic fancies. There survives, most fortunately, a long spell, B 4, from which we can get an excellent idea of the old herbal conjurations. Compare B 4 — which miraculously escaped mutilation by medieval iconoclasts — with B 3, where the Christian metamorphosis is almost complete. The artless narration, the vigorous diction, the spirited movement, have disappeared; and in their places are a tame Benedicite, two litanies, a “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” and a

See charms A 13, B 3, E 2, E 6, AA 10, BB 14, EE 5, EE 28.

<sup>2</sup> See charms B 3, DD 10, EE 10, and BB 8, BB 14.

<sup>3</sup> In A 24, oil of unction is also prescribed for smearing crosses in connection with an exorcism of elves.

<sup>4</sup> Maitland, *The Dark Ages* (London, 1841), p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> See law No. 3, p. 140.

Credo. A favorite liturgical direction for the herb-culling ceremony was the singing of masses. Three, nine, or twelve masses are generally prescribed, although four and seven masses are each called for once. Many other Christian formulas are used, both in spells over herbs and in exorcisms of disease-demons. Interchangeably occur the several litanies, the Athanasian Creed, the "Miserere mei," the "Deus in nomine tuo," the "Domine Deus, inclina domine," and "In nomine patris," the "Deus misereatur nobis." Occasionally Psalms are called for, the sixty-eighth, the ninety-first, and the one hundred and nineteenth being the favorites. None of these has any special appropriateness except the ninety-first, which, oddly enough, is a particularly good specimen of an exorcism.

Of the church prayers employed to replace Heathen spells, the majority are Paternosters,<sup>1</sup> which are prescribed for recital in about one fourth of the charms. Sometimes considerable portions of the church service were held over a sick person or animal, as in AA 7, where several prayers and a benediction, interspersed with two readings from the New Testament, are severally prescribed. Exorcismal prayers were invariably couched in ecclesiastical Latin, and were frequently of great length, like the one in BB 16, intended for an herbal rite, and the one called the "Prayer of St. John," warranted to cure snake-bites.<sup>2</sup> Special prayers were sometimes designated to replace the Old English spells. Such prayers were officially labelled "Benedictio Herbarum," "Benedictio Potus," or "Benedictio Unguentum," according to their intended use in connection with herbs, medicines, or salves. A "Benedictio Unguentum" reads, "Dominus pater omnipotens et christe iesu fili dei rogo ut mittere digneris benedictionem tuam et medicinam celestem et diuinam protectionem super hoc unguentum ut perficiat ad salutem et ad perfectionem contra omnes egritudines corporum vel omnium membrorum intus vel foris omnibus istud unguentum summentibus. A. A."<sup>3</sup>

Though belonging to the group of Heathen jingle charms, the vernacular incantation in B 6 is strangely called a "prayer." The same name is given to the formula in AA 13, which is composed of a jumble of corrupt Greek and Hebrew, of ecclesiastical phrases, and of obscure words of uncertain origin. Sometimes the old charm rites were entirely dispensed with, and only the Latin prayer formula remained. A case in point is the blessing on the fruit of the field, entitled "þis is sēo ððer blētsung:" "Domine deus omnipotens qui fecisti cœlum et terram, tu benedicis fructum istum, in nomine, etc. Amen and Pater-noster."<sup>4</sup> This Christian benediction may be assumed to have been

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sal. and Sat.* (Wülker's *Bibliothek*, iii, 68), where a Paternoster is cited with runic letters to be used as a charm in conflict.

<sup>2</sup> See Cockayne, ii, 113, 4.

<sup>3</sup> See examples in Cockayne, iii, 79 ff., and in the *Durham Ritual*, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Cockayne, iii, 295.

substituted for a typical **H**eathen field blessing like the one in charm A 13.<sup>1</sup>

Still other Christian formulas lacking a definite liturgical character were frequently put in the place of Old English incantations. In A 24 are several such formulas. One of them reads, "Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium, Byrnice,<sup>2</sup> Beronice, lurlure, aius, aius, aius, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus, dominus deus Sabaoth, amen, alleluiah." A 20 has a curious Latin formula for joint pain: "Malignus obligavit; angelus curavit; dominus salvavit."<sup>3</sup> The charms for lost cattle, A 21 and A 22, instruct the exorcist to turn to the east, west, north, and south successively, and each time to say, "Crux Christi ab oriente reducat," or "ab occidente," etc., as the case may be. "Fuge diabolus, Christus te sequitur," is the Christian transformation, in A 23, of what once was plainly an old-fashioned threat spell. Other formulas are the "Crux mihi vita, et tibi mors, inimico," of the erysipelas charm, A 11; the adaptation from John i, 1, in BB 16; the "Solvi iube, Deus e catenis," of AA 9; the "Crescite et multiplicamini, et replete terram," of A 13; and the rigmarole conjuration in AA 6, "Cristus natus aaui, sanctus a cristus passus aaui, a cristus resurrexit."

Another transformation which the charms underwent in the process of Christianization was one affecting the epic passages. Stories dealing with the feats of northern deities were replaced by excerpts from the New Testament, generally relating to Christ; or by anecdotes in which the Saviour, or one of his disciples, prominently figures. The anecdote charms form a class by themselves, and will be treated in detail later. Exorcismal pieces from the New Testament are usually brief, and are always couched in Latin. In A 15, A 16, A 21, and A 22, the story of the crucifixion of Christ by the Jews forms a part of the conjuration; in DD 19 the crucifixion is again spoken of, with the blame attached to Pontius Pilate; in DD 14 condensed stories of the conception of Christ, of the conception of John the Baptist, and of the resurrection of Lazarus, form integral parts of the spell. Not a story, but a formula with an excerpt from Matthew vii, 7, modifies the distinct Heathenism of the incantation in A 17. The interpolation runs, "Querite et invenientis. Adiuro te per patrem et spiritum sanctum non amplius crescas sed arescas."

Like the exorcismal prayers, sanctification by contact was another ceremony which the Church borrowed from Pagan custom. Among the old Scandinavians, runes were cut on the hilt of a sword or on the side of a drinking-horn, and were then scraped off into ale. Through

<sup>1</sup> Another spell consisting wholly of a prayer is one against quotidian fever (Cockayne, iii, 294). Long exorcismal prayers against variola, etc., are in Cockayne, iii, 78, and in charms BB 3 and AA 11.

<sup>2</sup> That is, Veronica.

<sup>3</sup> The same formula occurs in AA 8.

their contact with sword or horn, the runes were believed to acquire magic virtues, which they transferred to the mead, and in turn to the drinker. In the *Sigrdrifumöl*, Sigrdrifa gives Sigurd mead which has thus been filled with useful charms, with potent exorcisms, and with healing runes.<sup>1</sup> The practice was doubtless common to the several Germanic tribes, but the Old English charms preserve it only in its Christian transformation. Housel-dish, church bell, and crucifix are substituted for drinking-horn and sword, and holy writings and psalms for the mystic runes. In an exorcism of fever, BB 16, the directions are to write the first two verses and a half of the first chapter of St. John on a housel-dish, the writing to be thereafter washed off into a certain drink. Similarly, BB 3 requires psalms and texts to be written on the sacramental paten, and then washed off into a bowl of water prepared for an elf-possessed patient. Again, a drink for a "fiend-sick" man is sanctified by mixing it in a church bell;<sup>2</sup> and in several charms, wholesome concoctions are strengthened by the addition of moss or lichen grown on a crucifix.<sup>3</sup>

An easy extension of the practices just described consisted in consecrating things by bringing them into direct contact with the church itself. Sods from bewitched land were laid under the altar in order that the power of God might undo the work of demons.<sup>4</sup> Very generally herbs intended for healing purposes were first taken to church, and placed for a time near or under the communion-table. The patient himself was sometimes admonished to go to church. This occurs in E 1, a charm remedy for delayed birth. The woman is ordered to present herself before the altar, there to utter certain unintelligible phrases, which, though addressed to Christ, smack strongly of Heathendom, and are probably fragments of a well-worn spell once recited to an ancient deity.

It will be seen that sanctity, like magnetic force, could be communicated to articles by contact with things which in their turn had been similarly consecrated. If this was the case, an object which had come, or was believed to have come, from some intrinsically holy place, would naturally be regarded as superlatively hallowed, and endowed with surpassing virtue for the expulsion of fiends. So a charm remedy, E 9, calls for a rind, which, it is specified, must come from Paradise. Of an incantation "against all evils," it is prefaced that "an angel brought this writing from Heaven,"<sup>5</sup> and the same is asserted of another angel in charm D 10.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sigrdrifumöl*, 5, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Charm EE 1.

<sup>3</sup> For example, in B 3 and in BB 14.

<sup>4</sup> See A 13.

<sup>5</sup> See AA 13.

<sup>6</sup> The Jew-Christian sect of *Elkesaiten* believed in a holy book said to have fallen from heaven. For other testimony respecting belief in the protecting power of the so-called

With respect to the Christian elements which have been severally enumerated, the Anglo-Saxon charms may be grouped in three divisions, — first, those charms which are virtually Heathen, but have some trifling mark of Christianity added from qualm of conscience, or, more probably, from fear of ecclesiastical punishment; secondly, charms in which Christian and Heathen features stand in fairly equal proportions; lastly, charms which are almost completely or indeed completely Christian in tone and ceremonial. To the first group belong such charms as B 5 and E 10. Both in ceremonial and in formula B 5 is a thoroughly Heathen spell against the “water-elf disease.” The words “add holy water” are the only signs of Christian influence in the charm, and are obviously extraneous. The same is true of charm E 10.<sup>1</sup> To the rigmale conjuration in A 10, the one word “Amen” is added, and the same word concludes a typical Pagan fiend-expulsion ceremony in E 3. The addition of frankincense in D 1, E 4, and E 14, and of holy salt in E 8, are the only Christian marks of otherwise infidel spells. Frequently a Paternoster, a text, or some Christian phrase, is interpolated. Thus, a Paternoster in A 8; nine litanies in B 7; as many benedicites in A 9; the phrase “May the Lord help thee!” in A 1; “Through the name of Almighty God,” in AA 12; “Shout, the Lord God is my shield,” “Miserere mei,” etc., in D 10; “Alleluiah!” in B 6; and a few words from Matthew in A 17, — form so many mere appendages to characteristically Pagan spells. Even the *Nine Herbs* charm, B 4, redolent as it is of old Germanic lore, is not without its Christian accessories. These are, “Herbs the Lord created, Holy in Heaven;”<sup>2</sup> and the phrase “Christ stood over venom.”<sup>3</sup> DD 8 is an amulet charm, based on many old superstitions. Notice how a Christian flavor is given to the piece by the pretence, made in the last line, that the remedy came from an influential prelate: —

*Against Stitch.* — “The white stone is powerful against stitch and against infectious illnesses. . . . You must shave it into water and drink a good quantity, and the stones are all very good to drink of against all strange, uncouth things. When fire is struck out of the stone, it is good against lightnings and against thunders and against delusions of every kind. And if a man on a journey has gone astray, let him strike with the stone a spark before himself: he will soon find the right way. All this, Dominus Helias, patriarch at Jerusalem, ordered to be said to King Alfred.”<sup>4</sup>

*Himmelsbriefe*, see Dietrich, 19-27, and Branky, 149 ff. Cf. the Talmudic belief in the book brought to Adam from Heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Also of AA 2; DD 2; EE 2, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 57 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Two other Pagan charms in which Church phraseology has been palpably intruded are E 1 and B 2. The former has been mentioned before. The latter is an ancient herbal spell with this inserted direction: “Sign it [i. e. the herb] with the sign of the cross.”

Charms in which Christian and Heathen elements are freely mixed form the most numerous of the three divisions. In these charms, the credulous observances and magic spells of Paganism stand obscured by apostolic formulas and dogma; and the names of Jehovah, of Christ, and of the celestial hosts, are strangely coupled with idolatrous titles. A Danish exorcism of devils reads, "A ligger mä paa mi hyver ley, saa souer a paa vor frou Frey. Herud Ragirist! herind, Mari, med Jesu Christ!"<sup>1</sup> Observe the mention, almost in a single breath, of the goddess Freya with Christ and the Virgin Mary.

An analysis of the spell for bewitched land, A 13, will show to what extent the older rites received the sanction of the early English Church, as well as how greatly the stark Paganism of those rites was modified by Christian dogma. The charm consists of seven well-defined parts. Lines 1-26, comprising the first part, explain the ceremonial to be pursued before reciting the incantatory formula. The ceremonial consists of old Heathen customs practised to insure fruitfulness during the coming year. Sods are cut from the four corners of the field; oil, honey, and yeast, milk of each sort of cattle, and twigs of every kind of soft-wood tree, and parts of all known herbs, are laid on the sods while two Christian formulas are recited and holy water is sprinkled.<sup>2</sup> This heaping of things on the turfs was an ancient rite symbolizing the desired productiveness.<sup>3</sup> The second part, lines 27-39, constitutes an alliterative appeal to God and to Earth to assist in disenchanting the land in question. Despite the frequent mention of the Lord, this piece does not belie its intrinsic Paganism. Substitute the name of Thor for that of God, and the formula becomes a typical Heathen invocation. Further procedure, similar to that in Part I, is prescribed in the third part, lines 40-51. Ancient ceremonies, such as buying seed from beggars, consecrating the plough, and turning the body in the direction of the sun's course, are interspersed with prayers to Christ and to the Virgin, and with chanting the Benedicite, the Tersanctus, and the Magnificat. Then follows the principal incantation in the charm. It extends from line 52 to line 67, and is a Pagan address to "Mother Earth," beseeching her to bless the fields with fertile soil and bountiful crops. The names of the Almighty and of his saints appear to have been inserted by a Christian hand; for they stand side by side with the gibberish formula, "Erce, erce, erce,"<sup>4</sup> with the mention of the goddess Earth (in the capacity of Ceres), and with a conspicuously Heathen formula against demons, witches, and sorcery. In lines 68-72, the first furrow is cut to the chant-

<sup>1</sup> "I lay me on my right side, so shall I sleep with Lady Freya. Get out, Ragirist! come in, Mary, with Jesus Christ!" — Grimm, iii, 506, liii.

<sup>2</sup> Holy water, according to Chantepie 128, was a church substitution for dew.

<sup>3</sup> See Mannhardt, 317, for detailed account of Heathen field ceremonial.

<sup>4</sup> On the meaning of *erce*, see notes to A 13.

ing of a song to Folde, another name for the goddess Earth. The line "Be fruitful in God's embracing arm" shows admirably the method of toning down the Paganism of the spell. Part VI, lines 73-75, describes an old sacrificial custom which was pursued by the ancient Germans at the first ploughing of their fields, and which terminated the superstitious rites on that occasion.<sup>1</sup> In the charm, the use of holy water is the one Christian addition.

It will be seen that the new religion had wrought many changes in this ancient "*Æcer-bōt*," as it was called. Yet the ecclesiastical censors were not content with their work. They still found many surviving elements of Heathendom, and at these they looked askance. To put the best possible face on the matter, a fourth song was added. It was in the manner and style of the three preceding invocations, but was more decidedly Christian in tone; God, not the earth or the sun, being called upon to grant fruitfulness to the fields. This song, comprising lines 76-83, forms the seventh part, and concludes with the direction, "Then say thrice, 'Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benediciti.' Amen and Paternoster thrice."

A similar admixture of the old rites and the new is found in charms A 14-23, B 3, B 7, C 2, C 3, D 6-11, E 2, 4, 6-9, 13, and in an overwhelming majority of the charms not included in the text. For the most part, the ceremonies prescribed are of superstitious, Pagan nature, while the actual conjurations are Christian. Frequently, portions of church ritual, and, more rarely, fragments of the older incantations, are mingled with the Heathen rites and Catholic liturgy.

In the third class, the ultimate transmutation of the old spells can best be understood by inspecting the two charms A 24 and B 3.<sup>2</sup> These are filled with ceremonial directions either perfectly free from the taint of the proscribed beliefs, or so faintly reminiscent of them as not to offend the orthodoxy of the most austere church exorcist. The formulas, which are of course phrased in Latin, are likewise devoid of reproach.

Charm A 24 is an exorcism of elf-hiccough; that is, hiccough caused by elf-possession. The introductory ritual comprises such harmless instructions to the exorcist as noting "whether the eyes are yellow when they should be red," observing the sex of the patient and marking whether the face be a dark yellow or a livid red. In the preparation of an herbal drink which is next prescribed, there is a relic of the older rites in the direction, "Write a cross three times with the oil of unction and say 'Pax Tibi.'" The crosses are first smeared on the stems of the three herbs, just as runes were formerly cut into the stalk; then, as in olden times, stems and markings are worked into the drink. The oil of unction

<sup>1</sup> Mannhardt, 158.

<sup>2</sup> B 3 is discussed on p. 128 and in the Notes referring to that charm.



is used, so that no doubt of the sanctity of the process may be entertained; but the origin of the observance can be detected, for all that. Four Latin exorcismal prayers are next introduced: they are first to be written down; then two are to be recited over the drink, and two over the patient. The principal spell implores the Almighty to severally and comprehensively eject the mischievous dune-elves from the patient's "head, tongue, palate, throat, jaws, teeth, eyes, nose, ears, hands, neck, arms, heart, soul, knees, hip-bones, feet, and from the whole bodily structure within and without." This chanted, one of the writings which calls for the expulsion of the Devil (and is duly signed with the sign of the cross) is immersed in the herbal drink and soon after taken out, so that with it the sign of the cross may be made on every limb of the patient's body. If the unfortunate man still survives, a blessing — "Signum crucis," etc. — is next recited over him; he is then required frequently to cross himself, and lastly to drink the concoction so laboriously prepared. The singularly elaborate charm closes with the comforting assurance that "this craft" is a remedy for every variety of tribulation which fiends may cause.

Scattered through the manuscripts containing Old English spells are a few curious Christian exorcisms which may be called Latin narrative charms. They appear to have originated in the substitution of biblical or religious stories for the epic passages in the old Germanic incantations; only, whereas these epic narrations served, as a rule, merely to introduce the Heathen spells, the substituted Latin narratives grew more and more detailed and extended, until at length they constituted the main body of the charm, while the formula was abbreviated and reduced to a minor place.<sup>1</sup> The six Latin narrative spells are: AA 4, for toothache; AA 10, for stitch; AA 11, for fever; DD 14, for child-birth; DD 19, for chills and fever; and DD 20, for pocks. They are not included in the printed collection of charms, because of their completely Christian character, and because, aside from the title in most of them and a single direction in one of them,<sup>2</sup> they are phrased entirely in medieval Latin. Some of them are, however, sufficiently noteworthy to deserve quotation here.

Although so few of the narrative charms have been discovered among Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, there is every reason to believe that the type which they represent was widespread in Germanic countries: for there are not only scores of modern English and German vernacu-

<sup>1</sup> The Latin narratives were presumably introduced by priestly transcribers. But see *Verwendung der Lateinischen Sprache* in M. Müller's *Über die Stilform der Zaubersprüche*, p. 13, where the contention is ably made that some (perhaps all) of these charms were merely Latin transcriptions of spells always recited in the vernacular.

<sup>2</sup> DD 14, last line.

lar spells containing the precise stories which these contain,<sup>1</sup> but numberless others with variations on the same themes. The toothache charm will serve as an illustration of this.

*"Contra dolorem dentium.* Christus super marmoreum sedebat; Petrus tristis ante eum stabat, manum ad maxillam tenebat; et interrogabat eum Dominus dicens, quare tristis es Petre? Respondit Petrus et dixit: 'Domine, dentes mei dolent.' Et Dominus dixit: 'Adiuro te migranea . . . ut non possit diabolus nocere ei nec in dentes nec in aures famulo dei . . . rex pax nax in Christofilio, Amen, Paternoster."

There are numerous modern variants of this charm. One of them, current in Cornwall, England, as late as 1870, follows:—

*Charm for Toothache.*

"Christ passed by his brother's door,  
Saw his brother lying on the floor:  
'What aileth thee, brother?'  
'Pain in the teeth.'  
'Thy teeth shall pain thee no more,  
In the name,' " etc.<sup>2</sup>

Similitude, or parallelism between the narrative simile and the result desired,<sup>3</sup> is the basis of each of these Latin narratives and of their modern descendants. The stories related in the several languages, though differing slightly, are frequently variants of the same themes, the most important of which are the following: (1) the raising of Lazarus; (2) the Longinus story; (3) Mary's conception; (4 *a*) the meeting of Christ and his mother, (4 *b*) the meeting of Christ and some disciple or saint; (5) the legend of the seven sleepers; (6) the intercession of a saint; (7) the crucifixion of Christ; (8) the birth of Jesus and the fame of Bethlehem; (9) the loss of the cross, and its recovery by St. Helena; (10) St. Veronica and the handkerchief; (11) the baptism of the Lord in the Jordan.<sup>4</sup>

A few of these types, particularly Nos. 7, 8, 9, and 10, occur in the introductions to some of the regular Anglo-Saxon charms, and have already been referred to. The toothache spell just quoted illustrates type 4 *b*. Type 11 is very common in ME. and MHG. charms; in AS. it appears but once, in AA 18. Types 1 and 3, found separately in many

<sup>1</sup> See *F. L. S.*, *passim*; Ebermann, *passim*; Grimm, iii, 492-508; J. H. Gallée, *Segensprüche*, in *Germ.* xxxii, 452; and *Germ. passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Hunt, R., *Popular Romances of the West of England* (London, 1896), p. 414. For other variants, see Black, 77.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 119.

<sup>4</sup> Ebermann's book deals with the different types and formulas of Germanic charms. The author finds fourteen of these types; but Nos. 13 and 14 of his grouping are not specific types at all, while Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 8 are really subdivisions of other types. Ebermann naturally gives only the themes which recur frequently. Many theme-parallels drawn from Bible narrative or nomenclature were used perhaps only once. Compare, for example, the *Abraham tibi* formula in A 15.

modern conjurations,<sup>1</sup> are curiously combined in DD 14. The Old English heading is, —

“*Wið wif bearn-ēacenu.*”<sup>2</sup> — ‘Maria virgo peperit Christum. Elisabet sterilis peperit Johannem Baptistam. Adiuro te infans si es masculus an femina per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum ut exeas, et non recedas; et ultra, ei non noceas neque insipientiam illi facias. Amen.

“Videns Dominus flentes sorores Lazari ad monumentum lacrimatus est coram Judeis, et clamabat: “Lazare, veni foras!” et prodiit, ligatus manibus et pedibus, qui fuerat quadriduanus mortuus.’

“*Writ þis on wexe ðe nāfre ne cōm tō nānen wyrce, and bind under hire swiðran fōt.*”

The Lazarus story was very popular with medieval magicians, and has been found in many variations. One of them is a conjuration for removing a bone sticking in the throat: “Look at the patient and say, ‘Come up, bone! whether bone of fruit or whatever else it is; as Jesus Christ raised Lazarus from the tomb.’”<sup>3</sup>

AA 10 illustrates the Longinus charm.

“*For a stitch.* — Write a cross of Christ, and sing thrice over the place these words and a Paternoster: “Longinus miles lancea ponxit dominum et restitit sanguis et recessit dolor.’”

This charm type is found in many medieval manuscripts<sup>5</sup> as well as in scores of modern variants. As a rule, however, it is used, not for a stitch, but for stanching blood.<sup>6</sup>

Type 5 is well illustrated by the fever charm AA 11. The legend of the seven sleepers of Ephesus is briefly narrated. Then the Lord is conjured to let his spirit come upon the suppliant, — as it did upon the seven sleepers, — thereby driving out the demon of disease.

In type 6 some saint, prophet, or patriarch — who is reported to have formerly contracted the illness for which a cure is desired — intercedes with the Lord for the cure of fellow-sufferers. Charm DD 20 is an example of this type.

“*For pocks.*”<sup>7</sup> — St. Nicasius had the small variola, and asked of God that whoever should carry his name written:

““Oh! St. Nicasius, bishop and martyr, pray for me, N., a sinner, and by thy intercession relieve me from this disease.””<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Grimm, iii, 492 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For pregnant women, i. e. to hasten childbirth.

<sup>3</sup> See *Eng. Med.* 132.

<sup>4</sup> Title and directions are in Anglo-Saxon.

<sup>5</sup> Also in Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium Medicinæ*, 44.

<sup>6</sup> See Ebermann, 42 ff.; and Grimm, iii, 501, xxxii.

<sup>7</sup> In Anglo-Saxon medicine, *pocks* is used as equivalent to *variola* (see *Eng. Med.* 130).

<sup>8</sup> All, except the title, in Latin. Old and modern versions of the other types can be found in Ebermann, 1-128; in *Denkm.* i, 15-19; *F. L. S. passim*; in Grimm, iii, 492-508; and in Heilig (*Alemannia*, xxv, 265 ff.; xxvi, 70 and 113 ff.). A MS. at Cambridge University (li, i, 10, p. 43) has a Latin ecclesiastical “spell” called *Lorica*, with an interlinear

## TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

[For greater convenience, the abbreviations are arranged in three sections: A, those for MSS. of charms in the text; B, those for editions; C, those for the general works on charm-lore and folk-lore.]

## A. MSS.

Corpus Christi. The Corpus Christi MSS. are from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

Corpus Christi 41. A MS. of the late tenth century. See Wanley, 114.

Corpus Christi 190. A MS. of the early eleventh century.

Corpus Christi 383. A MS. written A. D. 1125-30, described by Lieberman, i, xix.

Cotton. The Cotton MSS. are all from the British Museum.

Cotton Caligula A 7. A MS. of the beginning of the eleventh century.

Cotton Caligula A 15. A MS. of the tenth century.

Cotton Faustina A x. A MS. of the eleventh century.

Cotton Julius C. 2. A paper MS. of transcripts. See Cockayne, iii, 286.

Cotton Tiberius A 3. A MS. of the late eleventh century.

Cotton Vitellius C iii. A MS. of the late eleventh century. It contains the "Herbarium."

Cotton Vitellius E xviii. Written about A. D. 1030. See Wanley, 222.

Harley. The Harleian MSS. are from the British Museum.

Harley 438. An early seventeenth century transcript of Corpus Christi 190.

Harley 585. See p. 106.

Harley 6258 b. See p. 106.

Hatton 76. An Oxford Bodley MS. of the late eleventh century.

Junius 85. A one-page Oxford Bodley MS. See Wanley, 44.

Regius 12 D xvii. See p. 106.

Royal 4 A xiv. A MS. of the eleventh century.

St. John's 17. An Oxford MS. of the eleventh century.

Textus Roffensis. A MS. in Rochester Cathedral, date A. D. 1115-24. See F. Lieberman, *Archæologia Cantiana*, Berlin, 1898.

B. EDITIONS<sup>1</sup>

B. Bouterwek, *Cædmon*.

Be. Berberich, *Herbarium*.

Bi. Birch in *Transactions of Royal Soc.*, etc.

C. Cockayne (17).<sup>2</sup>

E. Ettmüller's *Scôpas*.

G. Grimm (29), 2d ed.

G<sup>4</sup>. Grimm (29), 4th ed.

H. Hoops (38).

K. Kemble, *The Saxons in England*.

Kl. Klipstein, *Anglo-Saxonica*.

L. Leonhardi, *Kleinere Ags. Denkm.*

Le. Leo (44).

Li. Lieberman, see G. A. (30).

M. McBryde in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180.

N. Nyerup in *Suhm's Symbolæ*.

R. Rieger, *Lesebuch*.

RT. Rask-Thorpe, *AS. Grammar*.

S. Sweet, *AS. Reader*.

Sch. Schlutter, in *Angl.* xxx and xxxi.

Sd. Schmid (63).

T. Thorpe, *Analecta*.

T<sup>2</sup>. Thorpe, *A. L.* (2).

W. Wülker, *Bibliothek*.

WA. Wülker, *Kleinere Ags. Dichtungen*.

Wan. Wanley, *Antiquæ Literaturæ*, etc.

Wr. Wright, *Reliquiæ*.

Z. Zupitza in *Angl.* i, 189.

Z<sup>2</sup>. Zupitza in *ZfdA.* xxxi, 45.

version in AS. There are 89 rhymed lines imploring protection for all parts of the body, which are enumerated in detail. It begins, —

"Suffragare, trinitatis unitas,  
unitatis suffragare trinitas,  
suffragare quæso mihi posito  
maris magni velut in periculo."

For complete text, see Leonhardi, 175 ff.

<sup>1</sup> The full titles of nearly all editions are given in the general survey, pp. 106-109.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers in parentheses refer to the complete titles in Part C of the Table of Abbreviations, p. 161.

C. GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

1. Aber. Abercromby, John. The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns. 2 vols. London, 1898.
2. A. L. Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, ed. B. Thorpe. 2 vols. London, 1840.
3. Angl. Anglia.
4. Archiv. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.
5. AS. Anglo-Saxon.
6. AV. Atharva-Veda Samhita. Trans. by W. D. Whitney, rev. and ed. by C. R. Lanman. 2 vols. (Harvard Oriental Series, vols. 7 and 8.) Cambridge, Mass., 1905.
7. Beda, Venerabilis. Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, ed. C. Plummer. Oxford, 1896.
8. Black, W. G. Folk Medicine. (Folk-Lore Society Publications, vol. 12.) London, 1892.
9. Bolton, Henry C. The Counting-out Rhymes of Children. London, 1888.
10. Bradley, Henry. The Song of the Nine Magic Herbs. Archiv, cxiii, 144.
11. Brand, J. Popular Antiquities of Great Britain, ed. W. C. Hazlitt. London, 1870.
12. Branky, F. Himmelsbriefe. (Archiv für Religionswis. v, 149.)
13. Brooke, Stopford A. History of Early English Literature. London, 1892.
14. B.-T. Bosworth-Toller. Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.
15. Chantepie. The Religion of the Teutons, by P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye. Trans. from the Dutch by B. J. Vos. Boston, 1902.
16. Charac. Characteristic; i.e. one of the ten characteristics (see pp. 110 ff.).
17. Cockayne, Thomas O. Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England. 3 vols. London, 1864-66.
18. Comparetti, Domenico. Il Kalewala o, La Poesie Tradizionale dei Finni. Nuova Antologia, vol. 147, 1896.
19. Confess. Ecg. Confessionale Ecgberti in A. L.
20. C. P. B. G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell. Corpus Poeticum Boreale. 2 vols. Oxford, 1883.
21. Crombie, J. E. Spitting as a Protective Charm. Internat. Folk-Lore Congress, 1891. Transactions, p. 249.
22. Denkm. Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem VIII-XII Jahrhundert, ed. K. Müllenhof und W. Scherer. Dritte Ausg. von E. Steinmeyer. 2 Bde. Berlin, 1892.
23. Ebermann, O. Blut- und Wundsegen. Palæstra, xxiv. Berlin, 1903.
24. Edd. Editors.
25. Edda, Sæmundar. Die Lieder der Edda. Hrsg. von K. Hildebrand. 2te Aufl. von H. Gering. Paderborn, 1904.
26. Eng. Med. English Medicine in the Anglo-Saxon Times, by Jos. F. Payne. Oxford, 1904.
27. Fischer, A. Aberglaube unter den Angelsachsen. Meiningen, 1891.
28. F. L. S. Publications of the Folk-Lore Society. London.
29. G. Grimm, J. Deutsche Mythologie, 4te. Ausg. von E. H. Meyer. Berlin.
30. G. A. Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, von F. Lieberman, 2 Bde. Halle a. S., 1903.
31. Games and Songs. Games and Songs of American Children, by W. W. Newell. New York, 1903.
32. Gering, H. Die Edda, übersetzt und erläutert. Leipzig, 1892.
33. Germ. Germania.
34. Grdr. Grundriss. H. Paul. Grundriss der germanischen Philologie. 2te. Aufl. 3 Bde. Strassburg, 1901-08.
35. Gum. Gummere, F. B. Germanic Origins. New York, 1892.
36. Henderson, Wm. Notes on the Folklore of the Northern Counties of England. (F. L. S. Publications, vol. 2.) London, 1879.
37. Holt. Holthausen, F. Medicinische Gedichte aus einer Stockholmer Hs. Anglia, xviii, 293-331.
38. Hoops, J. Über die altenglischen Pflanzennamen. Freiburg i. B., 1889.
39. Hope, Rob't. C. The Legendary Lore of the Holy Wells of England. London, 1893.
40. Kauc. Kāuṣṭika-Sūtra of the AV., ed. Maurice Bloomfield. Jour. Amer. Orien. Soc., vol. xiv. New Haven, Conn., 1843.
41. Kögel, Rudolph. Geschichte der

- deutschen Litteratur. Strassburg, 1894-97.
42. Kuhn, A. Indische und germanische Segensprüche. In *ZfvS.*, xiii, 49 ff. and 113 ff.
  43. Lan. Lore. J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, edd. Lancashire Folk-Lore. London, 1867.
  44. Le. Leo, H. *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*. Halle, 1842.
  45. Lieberman. See G. A.
  46. Mannhardt, W. *Der Baumkultus der Germanen*. Berlin, 1875. (In *Wald- und Feldkulte*, erster Teil.)
  47. Meyer, E. H. *Mythologie der Germanen*. Strassburg, 1903.
  48. M. L. N. *Modern Language Notes*.
  49. Müller, Martin. *Über die Stilform der altdeutschen Zaubersprüche bis 1300*. Gotha, 1901.
  50. Nord. Myth. P. Herman, *Nordische Mythologie*. Leipzig, 1903.
  51. OHG. Old High German.
  52. ON. Old Norse.
  53. OS. Old Saxon.
  54. P. B. B. Paul and Braune's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*.
  55. P. C. Tylor, E. B. *Primitive Culture*. 2 vols. New York, 1889.
  56. Pettigrew, T. J. *Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine*. London, 1844.
  57. Pfannenschmid, H. *Germanische Ernefteste im Leidnischen Kultus*. Hannover, 1868.
  58. Pœn. Ecg. *Pœnitentiale Ecgberti* in A. L.
  59. Pœn. Theo. *Theodori Liber Pœnitentialis* in A. L.
  60. Prin. of Soc. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*. 3 vols. London, 1885.
  61. RA. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Reichsalterthümer*. Hrsg. Andreas Heusler and Rudolph Hübner. 2 vols. Leipzig, 1899.
  62. Sal. and Sat. Salomon and Saturn, in *Wülker, Bibliothek*, iii, 58-82.
  63. Schmid, Reinhold. *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*. 2te Aufl. Leipzig, 1858.
  64. Ten Brink, B. *Geschichte der Englischen Literatur*. Hrsg. A. Brandl. Strassburg, 1899.
  65. Waitz, T. *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*. 6 vols. Leipzig, 1859.
  66. Waldbäume. J. Hoops, *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum*. Strassburg, 1905.
  67. WG. R. P. Wülker, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der angelsächsischen Literatur*. Leipzig, 1885.
  68. Wilken, E. *Die Prosaische Edda*. Paderborn, 1877.
  69. Wuttke, A. *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*. Dritte Bearbeitung von E. H. Meyer. Berlin, 1900.
  70. ZfdA. *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*.
  71. Zfvk. *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*.
  72. ZfvS. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*.

LIST OF CHARMS NOT IN THE TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>AA.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. To cure cattle. Sch. (<i>Anglia</i>, xxx, 240).</li> <li>2. For lung disease in cattle. C., i, 388.</li> <li>3. Against theft of cattle. C., i, 392.</li> <li>4. <i>Contra dolorum dentium</i>. L., 148, c.</li> <li>5. For black ulcers (ad carbunculum). L., 138, LIII.</li> <li>6. For erysipelas. L., 139, LVII.</li> <li>7. If a horse has been [elf] shot. L., 148, xcvi.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. For rheumatism. L., 148, xcix.</li> <li>9. Against barrenness. L., 148, xcvi.</li> <li>10. For a stitch. C., i, 393.</li> <li>11. <i>Contra febres</i>. C., iii, 294.</li> <li>12. For a fever. C., iii, 295.</li> <li>13. Against every strange evil. (Sē engel brohte . . .) C., iii, 288.</li> <li>14. For a fever. F. Holthausen in <i>Archiv</i>, xcix, 424.</li> <li>15. For a fever. A. Napier in <i>Archiv</i>, lxxxiv, 324.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

<sup>1</sup> This list includes all the AS. charms not printed in this article, but referred to in the introductory discussion. The latest text of each charm is given. For the editors, see Table of Abbreviations, B, p. 160.

16. Against a dwarf (i. e. against convulsion, see Group E, p. 137).

Archiv, lxxxiv, 323.

17. For nose-bleed. Archiv, lxxxiv, 323.

18. Against thieves. R. Priebsch in Academy (1896) No. 1255, p. 428 (a verse formula not included in the text owing to the late stage of the language).

BB.

1. For dysentery. L., 88, lines 17-25.

2. For a carbuncle. L., 109, LXXI.

3. Against elfin influence. L., 126, XI.

4. To make a holy salve.  
L., 131-134, XXIX-XXXIII.

5. The plucking of sea-holly.  
C., i, 318, CLXXXII.

6. For the dry-disease (inflamed swelling).  
L., 35, XLVII.

7. For insanity (Wið wēdenheorte).  
L., 42, lines 14-21.

8. Against sudden sicknesses (þonne is sē aþelesta lācedōm . . .).  
L., 89, lines 23-34.

9. For insanity. L., 108, LXVIII.

10. Against a worm or hemorrhoid.  
L., 137, XLVII.

11. Against hail and rough weather.  
C., i, 308, CLXXXVI.

12. For flux of blood. C., i, 330. 5.

13. For every evil (includes a remedy for knot). C., i, 326.2-330.4 inclusive.

14. For elf-disease (nightmare).  
L., 105, LXII.

15. For the "dry disease" (inflamed swelling).  
L., 108, LXVI.

16. For chills and fever.  
L., 41, lines 16-33.

CC.

1. For eye pain. C., i, 362. 4.

2. For a swelling. L., 32, lines 11-16.

DD.

1. Against loss of bees. C., i, 397.

2. For indigestion. L., 43, LXVII.

3. For a lunatic. C., i, 100. X. 2.

4. For insanity. C., i, 170. LXVI. 2.

5. To prevent being barked at.  
C., i, 170. LXVII. 2.

6. Against enchantment and fear.  
C., i, 174. LXXIII. 1 and 2.

7. For a fever. C., i, 362. 12.

8. Against stitch.  
L., 87, lines 34-35; and 88, lines 1-8.

9. To hasten child-birth. L., 100, XXXVII.

10. For an elf-shot horse. L., 141, LX.

11. If a woman turn dumb.  
L., 146, LXXXVIII.

12. For an elf-shot horse.  
L., 47, lines 18-21.

13. For an issue of blood in a woman.  
C., i, 322, 6 and 7.

14. To hasten childbirth. C., i, 392.

15. Against nocturnal demons. C., i, 70. 1.

16. Against robbers. C., i, 176, LXXIV.

17. Against snake-bite. C., i, 198. 14.

18. For speedy childbirth.  
C., i, 218, CIV. 2.

19. For chills and fever (*contra frigora*)  
C., iii, 294.

20. For pocks or variola. C., iii, 295.

EE.

1. For a maniac. L., 42, lines 1-14.

2. For idiocy. L., 43, LXVI.

3. For intestinal distention. L., 55, V.

4. For the half dead disease (i. e. hemiplegia, see *Eng. Med.* 43).  
L., 85, lines 29-36.

5. For sudden illness.  
L., 89, lines 16-18.

6. Against a poisonous drink.  
L., 103, XLIII.

7. For palsy. L., 103, lines 16-31.

8. Against nocturnal demons.  
L., 104, LIV.

9. Against elf-disease.  
L., 106, lines 8-19.

10. Against a devil. L., 107, LXIV.

11. For the devil-sick (i. e. the insane).  
L., 108, LXVII.

12. Against a pestilence among cattle.  
L., 144, LXXXVIII.

13. Against lung-disease among cattle.  
L., 144, LXXIX.

14. Against sudden pestilence among sheep.  
L., 145, LXXX.

15. For an adder bite and against [elf] shots.  
L., 34, lines 3-5.

16. For a snake-bite. L., 34, lines 15-36.

17. For an intestinal worm. L., 38, LIII.

18. For a headache. L., 7, lines 10-11.

19. For dropsy. C., i, 364, 18.

20. For epilepsy. L., 90, lines 3-7.

21. For ague. L., 41, lines 12-15.

<sup>1</sup> The numbers of the notes accompanying the text refer to the line numbers of the corresponding charms. Numbers in the right-hand margin refer to pages of the MSS.



CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF EDITIONS<sup>1</sup>

- |   |                        |  |
|---|------------------------|--|
| 1. Wanley, 1705.                          | 10. Ettmüller, 1850.   | 19. Wülker, A., 1882.                      |
| 2. Nyerup, 1787.                          | 11. Bouterwek, 1854.   | 20. Wülker, 1883.                          |
| 3. Thorpe, 1834.                          | 12. Schmid, 1858.      | 21. Zupitza, 1887 (abbr. Z <sup>2</sup> ). |
| 4. Thorpe, 1840. (abbr. T <sup>2</sup> ). | 13. Rieger, 1861.      | 22. Hoops, 1889.                           |
| 5. Wright, 1841.                          | 14. Cockayne, 1864.    | 23. Berberich, 1902.                       |
| 6. Leo, 1842.                             | 15. Rask-Thorpe, 1865. | 24. Leonhardi, 1905.                       |
| 7. Grimm, 1844. <sup>2</sup>              | 16. Sweet, 1876.       | 25. McBryde, 1906.                         |
| 8. Kemble, 1849.                          | 17. Zupitza, 1878.     | 26. Schlutter, 1908.                       |
| 9. Klipstein, 1849.                       | 18. Birch, 1878.       |  |

TRANSLATIONS<sup>3</sup>

## A 1. FOR A SUDDEN STITCH

[Take] feverfew<sup>4</sup> and the red nettle which grows through the house, and plantain; boil in butter.

Loud were they, O loud, when o'er the hill they rode;  
 Infuriate were they when o'er the land they rode.  
 Now shield thyself, that thou this onslaught mayst survive!  
 Out, little spear, if herein thou be!  
 'Neath linden I stood, a light shield beneath,  
 Where mighty dames their potent arts prepared  
 And sent their whizzing spears.  
 Another will I send them back:  
 A flying arrow right against them.  
 Out, little spear, if herein it be!  
 Sat the smith, forged his little knife,  
 . . . with iron [blows] sore wounded.<sup>5</sup>  
 Out, little spear, if herein it be!  
 Six smiths sat, war-spears they wrought.  
 Out, spear, not in, spear!  
 If herein be aught of iron,  
 Work of witches, it shall melt!  
 Wert thou shot in skin, or wert shot in flesh,  
 Or wert shot in blood, or wert shot in bone,  
 Or wert shot in limb, may ne'er thy life be scathed!  
 If it were shot of gods, or it were shot of elves,  
 Or it were shot of hags, now thee I'll help.  
 This for relief from shot of gods, this for relief from shot of elves,

K., E. flan; B., C., S. flane. — 12. G., K., E., B. *omit* hit. Wr. *omits* her. G., E. sie. — 13. C. *ends the line after* seax. — 14. S. iserne. B. vunde. — 15. G., E., B. sie. — 16. G., E. sex. — 17. B. nes. G., E., B., S. inn. — 18. Edd. *except* K., C., S., W. isernes. — 19. C. sceall. — 22. C. *pære for wære*. B. *lic for lið*. G., E. si. — 24. Wr. hefan; E. ic pin helpan ville.

<sup>1</sup> For full titles, see Table of Abbreviations, B, p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> But A 15, A 16, A 21, and B 2 first appeared in the fourth ed., 1875.

<sup>3</sup> Words supplied, or not literally translated from the Anglo-Saxon, appear in brackets.

<sup>4</sup> Also called "wild camomile."

<sup>5</sup> That is, beaten with hammers.

ðis ðē tō bōte hægtessan gescotes: ic ðin wille helpan.  
 Flēoh þær on fyrgen, [sco þā flāne sende]!  
 Hēafde hāl westu! Helpe ðin drihten!

Nim þonne þæt seax, ādō on wætan.

## A 2. WIÐ DWEORH

Man sceal niman VII lýtle oflætan, swylce man mid ofrað, 167a  
 and writtan þās naman on ælcra oflætan: Maximianus, Mal-  
 chus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Sera-  
 fion. Þænne eft þæt galdor þæt hēr æfter cweð, man sceal  
 5 singan, ærest on þæt wynstre ēare, þænne on þæt swīðre ēare,  
 þænne ufan þæs mannes moldan. And gā þænne ān mæden-  
 man tō, and hō hit on his swēoran and dō man swā þrȳ da-  
 gas: him bið sōna sēl.

Hēr cōm in gangan, in spīder wiht,  
 10 hæfde him his haman on handa.  
 Cwæð þæt þū his hængest wære.  
 Legeþ hē his tēage an swēoran.  
 Ongunnan him of þām lande līþan.  
 Sōna swā hȳ of þām lande cōman,  
 15 þā ongunnan him þā cōlian.  
 Þā cōm ingangan dēores sweostar.  
 Þā geændade hēo and āðas swōr:  
 ðæt nāfre þis ðām ādlegan derian ne mōste,  
 ne þām þe þis galdor begytan mihte,  
 20 oððe þe þis galdor ongalan cūþe.  
 Amen, fiat.

## A 3. WIÐ WENNUM

Wenne, wenne, wenchichenne, 23a  
 hēr ne scealt þū timbrien, ne nenne tūn habben  
 ac þū scealt north eonene tō þan nihgan berhge  
 þēr þū hauest ermig ēnne brōþer.  
 5 Hē þē sceal legge lēaf et hēafde  
 Under fōt wolues, under ueþer earnes,  
 under earnes clēa, ā þū geweornie.  
 Clinge þū alswā col on heorþe.  
 Scring þū alswā scearn āwāge,  
 10 and weorne alswā weter on ambre.  
 Swā litel þū gewurþe alswā līnsēlcorn,  
 and micclī lēsse alswā ānes handwurmes hupebān,  
 and alswā litel þū gewurþe þet þū nāwiht gewurþe.

A 1. — 26. E., R. ic pin helpan ville. — 27. MS., Wr. fled þr on fyrgen hæfde halwestu;  
 G., E. Fleo þær on fyrgen, seo þone flan sceat (sende)! K., C. Fled þor on fyrgen!  
 heafde (C. hæfde) halwes tu; B. Fleo þær on firgen, seo þa flane sende! oð heafde hal  
 vestu! R. Fleo þær on fyrgen . . . hæfde hal vestu; S. Fleo on fyrgenheafde; hal  
 wes-tu! W. Fleoh þær on fyrgen . . . hæfde hal westu. — 29. W. *erroneously quotes*:  
 K. wætere.

This for relief from shot of hags: thee will I help.  
Yonder to the mountain flee [hag, who sent the dart]!  
Be hale in head! Help thee the Lord!

Then take the knife, plunge it into the liquid.

A 2. AGAINST A DWARF

You must take seven little wafers, such as are used in worship, and write these names on each wafer: Maximianus, Malchus, Johannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Then again, you must sing the charm which is stated below, first into the left ear, then into the right ear, then over the man's head. And then let a virgin go to him, and hang it on his neck, and do this for three days. He will soon be well.

"Here came a spider wight a-walking in,  
He had his harness in his hand.  
Quoth that thou his blood-horse wert.  
He puts his traces on thy neck.  
They from the strand began to sail.  
As soon as from the land they came,  
They then began to cool.  
The sister of the beast then came a-walking in.  
Then she ceased and swore these oaths:  
That this should never scathe the sick,  
Nor him who might this charm acquire,  
Nor him who could this charm intone.  
Amen, *fiat*."

A 3. AGAINST WENS

Wen, wen, little wen,  
Here you shall not build, nor any dwelling have,  
But forth you must, even to the near-by hill,  
Where a poor wretch, a brother you have;  
He shall lay you a leaf at your head.  
Under the wolf's foot, under the eagle's wing,  
Under the eagle's claw — ever may you wither!  
Shrivel as the coal upon the hearth!  
Shrink as the muck in the stream,  
And dwindle even as water in a pail!  
May you become as little as a linseed grain,  
And much smaller, likewise, than a hand-worm's hip-bone!  
And even so small may you become, that you become as nought.

A 2. — C., W. weorh. — 6. MS., W. hufan. — 12. MS., C., W. lege þe his teagean. — 15. MS. *ðah* *interlined* after him; W. þa [ðah] colian; Sch. þa ongan an him þ. haþ acolian. — 17. W. *joins* þa g. heo to line 16, and and a. swor to line 18. — 21. MS., C. fiað.  
A 3. — 3. Bi. uorth. Bi. couene. — 6. MS., Z<sup>2</sup>. uolmes; Bi. uoluues. — 9. MS., Bi. scesne awage. — 10. Bi., Z<sup>2</sup>. anbren. — 13. Bi. wet for pet.

## A 4. WIÐ YMBE

Nim eorþan, oferweorþ mid þīnre swīþran handa under 202a  
þīnum swīþran fēt and cweð:

5 Fō ic under fōt; funde ic hit.  
Hwæt, eorðe mæg wið ealra wihta gehwilce,  
and wið andan and wið æminde,  
and wið þā micelan mannes tungan.

Forweorþ ofer grēot, þonne hī swirman, and cweð:

10 Sitte gē, sigewīf, sīgað tō eorþan,  
næfre gē wilde tō wudu flēogan!  
Bēo gē swā gemindige mīnes gōdes,  
swā bið manna gehwilc metes and ēþeles.

## A 5. WIÐ WYRME

Wið ðon þe mon oððe nȳten wurm gedrince, gyf hyt sȳ 136b  
wǣpnedcynnes, sing ðis lēoð in þæt swīðre ēare þe hēr æfter  
awriten is; gif hit sȳ wīfcynnes, sing in þæt wynstre ēare:

5 Gonomil orgomil marbumil,  
marbsairamum tofeð tengo,  
docuillo biran cuiðær,  
cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht,  
cuib duill marbsiramum.

10 Sing nygon|sīðan in þæt ēare þis galdor, and Paternoster 137a  
æne. Þis ylce galdor mæg mon singan wið smēogan wyrme;  
sing gelōme on þā dolh and mid ðīnan spātle smyre, and genim  
grēne curmeallan, cnuca, lege on þæt dolh and beðe mid hāttre  
cūmicgan.

## A 6. WIÐ ÞĒOFENTUM

Wið þēofentum:

Luben luben niga 178a  
| efið efið niga 178b  
5 fel ceid fel,  
delf cumer fel  
orcgaei ceufor dard,  
giug farig fidig  
delou delupih.

A 4. — G. cwið ymbe. — 1. G. þīne. — 2. G., C., Z. cwet. — 3. G. fet. — 7. MS., Edd. except S., Z. and wið on forweorþ; Z. and wiððon (wiðon) forweorþ. G. his virman. — 9. C. næfra. G. ville. C. tu. G., K., R., C., S. wuda. K. fleogen.

A 5. — 4. MS., C., L. print lines 4-8 in prose form.

A 4. AGAINST A SWARM OF BEES <sup>1</sup>

Take earth, with your right hand throw it under your right foot, and say, —

“I take under foot; I have located it.  
Lo, earth is potent against every sort of creature,  
And against hatred and against forgetfulness,  
And against the mighty spell <sup>2</sup> of man.”

Throw gravel over them when they swarm, and say, —

“Alight, victory-dames, sink to the ground!  
Never fly wild to the woodland!  
Be as mindful of my profit  
As is every man of food and home.”

A 5. FOR A WORM

In case a person or a beast drink up a worm, if it be of the male sex, sing the spell, which is hereinafter written, in the [victim's] right ear; if it be of the female sex, sing it in the left ear: —

“Gonomil orgomil marbumil,  
marbsairamum tofeð tengo,  
docuillo biran cuiðær,  
cæfmiil scuiht cuillo scuiht,  
cuib duill marbsirumum.”

Sing this charm nine times in the ear, and the Paternoster once. This same charm may be sung against an intestinal worm; sing it frequently on the wound, and smear the latter with your spittle, and take green centaury, pound it, lay it on the wound, and bathe with hot cow's urine.

A 6. AGAINST THEFTS

Against thefts: —

“Luben luben niga  
efið efið niga  
fel ceid fel,  
delf cumer fel  
orcgæi ceufor dard,  
giug farig fidig  
delou delupih.”

A 6. — 2. Lines 2-8 are printed in prose form by C., L. — 3. C., L. efið niga efið. — 7. MS., C. pidig; L. widig.

<sup>1</sup> That is, to stop bees from swarming.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, the tongue.

## A 7. WIÐ CORN

þis mæg horse wið þon þe him bið corn on þā fēt: 182a

| Geneon genetron genitul 182b  
catalon care trist pābist  
etmic forrune, naht ic forrune  
nequis annua maris  
scāna nequetando.

5

## A 8. WIÐ ŪTSIHT

Dis man sceal singan nigon sýþon wiþ ūtsiht on ān hrēren- 116a  
brāeden æg, þrý dagas:

+ Ecce dolgola nedit dudum  
bethecunda bræthecunda  
elecunda eleuahge  
macte me erenum  
ortha fueþa  
lata uis leti unda  
noeuis terræ dulgedoþ.

5

10 Paternoster oþ ende; and cweþ symle æt þām drore huic ðis.

## A 9. WIÐ CYRNEL

Neogone wāran Noðþæs sweoster; 182a

þā wurdon þā nygone tō VIII

and þā VIII tō VII

and þā VII tō VI

5

and þā VI tō V

and þā V tō IIII

and þā IIII tō III

and þā III tō II

and þā II tō I

10

and þā I tō nānum.

þis þe lib bē cyrneles and scrōfelles and weormes and æg-  
hwylces yfeles. Sing benedicite nygon sīþum.

## A 10. WIÐ TŌÐECE

Sing ðis wið tōðece, syððan sunne bēo on setle, swīðe oft: 135b

“Caio laio quaque, uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wyrn.”

Nemne hēr þone man and his fæder, cweð þonne: “Lilumenne,  
æceð þæt ofer eall þonne ālið; cōliað, þonne hit on eorðan

5 hātost byrneð; finit, amen.”

A 7. — 2. MS., C., L. *print lines 2-6 in prose.*

A 8. — 3. MS., C. *writes lines 3-9 in prose form.* — 6. C. *eienum.*

A 9. — 1. MS., Edd. *all print this charm in prose.* — 6. L. IV, *likewise in line 7.* —

11. K. libbe cyrneles and scrofellef. MS., C. *weormeþ; C. emends wyrmes.*

A 7. FOR CORNS

This will cure a horse if it should have corns on its feet:—

“Geneon genetron genitul  
catalon care trist pābist  
etmic forrune, naht ic forrune  
nequis annua maris  
scāna nequetando.”

A 8. FOR DIARRHŒA

For diarrhœa this is to be sung on a soft-boiled egg nine times for three days:—

“Ecce dolgola nedit dudum  
bethecunda bræthecunda  
elecunda eleuahge  
macte me erenum  
ortha fueþa  
lata uis leti unda  
noeuis terræ dulgedoþ.”

*Paternoster* to the end; and repeatedly say this three times near the blood.

A 9. FOR A KERNEL<sup>1</sup>

Nine were Noththe's sisters;  
then the nine came to be VIII  
and the VIII to VII  
and the VII to VI  
and the VI to V  
and the V to IV  
and the IV to III  
and the III to II  
and the II to I  
and the I to nothing.

This will free you from kernel and scrofula and worm and misery of every kind. Sing *Benedicite* nine times.

A 10. FOR TOOTHACHE

For toothache, sing the following very often after sunset: “Caio laio quaque, uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wurm.” Then name the man and his father, next say: “*Lilumenne*, it aches beyond telling when he lies down; it cools when on earth it burns most fiercely; *finit*, amen.”

A 10. — 1. C. wwiðe for swiðe. — 3. MS. fæd. — 5. MS. fintamen.

<sup>1</sup> That is, a swelling, or a scrofulous gland. See *Eng. Med.* 136.

## A 11. WIÐ HORS ÔMAN

Wið hors ôman and mannes, sing þis þriwa nygan sīðan, on 186a  
 æfen and on morgen, on þæs mannes hēafod ufan and horse  
 on þæt wynstre ēare on yrnendum wætere, and wend þæt  
 hēafod ongēan strēam:

- 5 In domo mamosin inchorna meoti. otimimeoti quoddealde  
 otuuotiua et marethin. Crux mihi uita et tibi mors|inimico; 186b  
 alfa et o, initium et finis, dicit dominus.

## A 12. WIÐ ÔMAN

Genim āne grēne gyrde and læt sittan þone man onmiddan 186b  
 hūses flōre and bestric hine ymbūtan and cweð:

O pars et o rillia pars et pars iniopia est alfa et o initium.

## A 13. ÆCER-BÔT

Hēr ys sēo bôt, hū ðū meaht þīne æceras bētan, gif hī nellaþ 171a  
 wel wexan oþþe þær hwilc ungedēfe þing ungedōn bið, on dry  
 oððe on lyblāce.

- Genim þonne on niht, ær hyt dagige, fēower tyrf on fēower  
 5 healfa þæs landes and gemearca, hū hy ær stōdon. Nim þonne  
 ele and hunig and beorman and ælces fēos meolc, þe on þæm  
 lande sý, and ælces trēowcynnes dæl, þe on þæm lande sý  
 gewexen, būtan heardan bēaman, and ælcra namcūpre wyrte  
 dæl, būtan glappan ānon; and dō þonne hālig-wæter ðæron,  
 10 and drype þonne þriwa on þone staðol þāra turfa and cwepe  
 þonne ðās word: "*Crescite, wexe, et multiplicamini*, and gemæ-  
 nigfealda, *et replete*, and gefylle, *terram*, þās eorðan. *In*  
*nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis bene|dicti.*" And 171b  
 Paternoster swā oft swā þæt oðer.

- 15 And bere siþþan ðā turf tō circean, and mæsseprēost āsinge  
 fēower mæssan ofer þan turf on, and wende man þæt grēne to  
 ðan wēofode, and siþþan gebringe man þā turf þær hī ær  
 wæron ær sunnan setlgange. And hæbbe him gæworht, of  
 cwicbēame, fēower Crīstes-mælo and āwrite on ælcon ende,  
 20 Mattheus and Marcus, Lucas and Johannes. Lege þæt  
 Crīstes-mæl on þone pyt neoþeweardne, cweðe ðonne: "*Crux*  
*Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Johannes.*"  
 Nim ðonne þā turf and sete ðær ufon on and cweðe ðonne  
 nigon siþon þās word: *Crescite*, and swā oft *Paternoster*, and

A 11. — 6. K. el marethin. K. e tibi. MS., K., C., L. inimici.

A 12. — 2. L. cweðo. — 3. K. rilli A. K. ē for est.



A 11. FOR ERYSIPELAS

For erysipelas on horse and man, sing the following, thrice nine times, evenings and mornings, on top of the man's head and in the horse's left ear, in running water, and turn his head against the stream:—

“In domo mamosin inchora meoti. otimimeoti quoddealde otuuotia et marethin. Crux mihi uita et tibi mors inimico; alfa et o, initium et finis, dicit dominus.”

A 12. FOR ERYSIPELAS

Take a green stick and have the man sit in the middle of the floor of the house, and make a stroke around him, and say, —

“O pars et o rillia pars et pars iniopia est alfa et o initium.”

A 13. LAND-REMEDY

Here is the remedy with which you can amend your fields, if they are not sufficiently fruitful, or if, through sorcery or witchcraft, they suffer any harm.<sup>1</sup>

At night, before daybreak, take four sods from four sides of the land, and note how they previously stood. Then take oil and honey and barm, and milk of all cattle on the land, and part of every kind of tree growing on the land, except hard trees, and part of every known herb except burdock alone; and put holy water thereon, and then sprinkle [holy water] thrice on the bottom of the sods, and then say these words: “*Crescite*, grow, *et multiplicamini*, and multiply, *et replete*, and replenish, *terram*, the earth. *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti sitis benedicti.*” And *Paternoster* as often as the other.

And then take the sods to church, and have a mass-priest sing four masses over the sods, and have the green part turned towards the altar; and thereafter, before sunset, take the sods where they were at first. And let [the land-owner] have made for him four crosses of aspen-wood, and write on each end, *Matthew* and *Mark*, *Luke* and *John*. Lay the cross on the bottom of the hole, then say: “Crux Mattheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux sanctus Johannes.” Next take the sods and put them down upon [the crosses], and then say these words nine times: “*Crescite*,”

A 13. — 2. G., E. veaxan. — 6. E. þam. — 7. E. þam. — 8. G., E. geveaxen. E. beamon. — 11. G., E. veaxe; K. waxe. Edd. *except* C., W. gemænigfealde. — 12. MS., K., C. terre. — 13. MS., K., C., RT. sit; G., E., R. *omit* sitis; W. sint (*or* sitis). — 15. G. messepreost. — 16. G. messan. G., E. þam. — 17. G., K., E. þam. — 18. G., K., E., R., RT. geworht. — 20. MS., K., W. Matheus; *the same in line* 22. — 22. G., E., R. *omit* sanctus. — 23. G., K. sette; R. sæte.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, or if any evil thing is done [to them] by sorcery or witchcraft.

- 25 wende þē þonne ēastweard and onlūt nigon sīðon ēadmōdlice  
and cweð ðonne þās word:

- Ēastweard ic stande, ārena ic mē bidde,  
    bidde ic ðone mæran domine, bidde ðone miclan drihten,  
    | bidde ic ðone hālgan heofonrices weard, 172a  
30 eorðan ic bidde and ūpheofon,  
    and ðā sōþan sancta Marian,  
    and heofones meaht and hēahreced  
    þæt ic mōte þis gealdor mid gife drihtnes  
    tōðum ontȳnan; þurh trumne geþanc  
35 āweccan þās wæstmas ūs tō woruldnytte,  
    gefyllan þās foldan mid fæste geleafan,  
    wlitigian þās wancgturf; swā sē witega cwæð  
    þæt sē hæfde āre on eorþrice, sē þe ælmyssan  
    dælde dōmlice, drihtnes þances.

- 40 Wende þē þonne III sunganges, āstrece þē þonne on andlang  
    and ārim þær lētanias; and cweð þonne: *Sanctus, sanctus,*  
    *sanctus,* oþ ende. Sing þonne *Benedicite* āþenedon earmon  
    and *Magnificat* and *Paternoster* III, and bebēod hit Crīste and  
    sancta Marian and þære hālgan rōde tō lofe and tō weorþinga  
45 and þām tō āre þe þæt land āge, and eallon | þām þe him under- 172b  
    ðeodde synt. Ðonne þæt eall sie gedōn, þonne nime man uncūþ  
    sæd æt ælmesmannum, and selle him twā swylc, swylce man  
    æt him nime. And gegaderie ealle his sulhgetēogo tōgædere;  
    borige þonne on þām bēame stōr and finol and gehālgode  
50 sāpan and gehālgod sealt. Nim þonne þæt sæd, sete on þæs  
    sūles bodig, cweð þonne:

- Erce, Erce, Erce, eorþan mōdor,  
    geunne þē sē alwalda, ēce drihten  
    æcera wexendra and wrīdendra,  
55 æcniendra and elniendra,  
    sceafta scīra hersewæstma,  
    and þære brādan berewæstma,  
    and þære hwītan hwætewæstma,  
    and ealra eorþan wæstma.  
60 Geunne him ēce drihten  
    and his hālige, þe on heofonum synt,  
    þæt hys yrþ sī gefriþod wið ealra fēonda gewæne,  
    and hēo sī geborgen wið ealra bealwa gehwylc,  
    þāra lyblāca geond land sāwen.

A. 13. — 25. E., R. eaðmodlice. — 28. G., E., R. dryhten for domine, and ic after the second bidde. — 32. G. heofenes. — 36. MS., K., C., RT. gefylle. — 37. G., E., R., RT. wlitigian. G., E., R. wangturf; K. wangcturf. — 38. K. eorðan. — 40. MS., C. omits the second þe. G., K. astrece (ðe). — 43. R. omits III. — 45. MS., C. omits tō; W. and are þam, þe. — 46. G. si. — 47. K. omits and selle . . . nime. — 49. R. bærne for borige. R. þan. — 51. G., K. sulhes. — 54. G., E. wexendra. G., E., R., RT. wrīdendra. — 56. MS., K., RT. hen se scire wæstma; G. sceaf tæce se scira wæstma; E.

and as often a *Paternoster*; and thereupon turn to the east and bow reverently nine times, and then say these words:—

“Eastward I stand, for blessings I pray,  
I pray the mighty Lord, I pray the potent Prince,  
I pray the holy Guardian of the celestial realm,  
Earth I pray, and Heaven above,  
And the just and saintly Mary,  
And Heaven’s power and Temple high,  
That I, by grace of God, this spell  
May with my teeth dissolve; with steadfast will  
[May] raise up harvests for our earthly need,  
Fill these meadows by a constant faith,  
Beautify these farm-turfs; as the prophet said  
That he on earth had favor who his alms  
Apportioned wisely, obedient to God’s will.”

Then turn thrice with the course of the sun, prostrate yourself completely, and say then the litanies; and thereafter say, “*Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*,” to the end. With arms outstretched then sing the *Benedicite* and *Magnificat* and *Paternoster* thrice, and commend it<sup>1</sup> to the praise and glory of Christ and Saint Mary and the Holy Rood, and to the benefit of him who owns the land, and of all those who are under him. When all this is done, let unknown seed be taken from beggars, and let twice as much be given to these as was taken from them. And let [the land-owner] gather all his ploughing-implements together, then bore a hole in the beam, [and place therein] incense and fennel and hallowed soap and hallowed salt. Next take the seed, put it on the body of the plough, then say, —

“Erce, erce, erce, mother of Earth,  
May the Almighty, the eternal Lord, grant you  
Fields flourishing and bountiful,  
Fruitful and sustaining,  
Abundance of bright millet-harvests,  
And of broad barley-harvests,  
And of white wheat-harvests,  
And all the harvests of the earth!  
Grant him, O Eternal Lord,  
And his saints in Heaven that be,  
That his farm be kept from every foe,  
And guarded from each harmful thing  
Of witchcrafts sown throughout the land.

sceaf tahne se scira; R. scefta heara scire; C. pisse for hen se; W. scefta heries, scire. — 59. R. suggests interpolating arena after eorpan. — 60. R. supplies se alvalda after him. — 61. MS. efonum. — 62. K. 8is yrð. — 63. R. heom. K. gehuylc. — 64. R., C. insert ƿe after para. R. lyblacan.

<sup>1</sup> The prayer, “Eastward I stand,” etc.

- 65 | Nū ic bidde ðone waldend sē ðe ðās woruld gescēop, 173a  
 þæt ne sý nān tō þæs cwidol wif ne tō þæs cræftig man,  
 þæt āwendan ne mæge word þus gecwedene.

þonne man þā sulh forð drife and þā forman furh onscēote.  
 Cweð þonne:

- 70 Hāl wes þū, folde, fira mōdor,  
 bēo þū grōwende on godes fæþme,  
 fōdre gefyllled firum tō nytte.

- Nim þonne ælces cynnes melo, and ābacæ man innewerdre  
 handa brādnæ hlāf, and gecned hine mid meolce and mid  
 75 hāligwætere, and lecge under þā forman furh. Cweþe þonne:

- Ful æcer fōdres fira cinne,  
 beorht-blōwende, þū geblētsod weorþ  
 þæs hāligan noman, þe ðās heofon gescēop  
 and ðās eorþan, þe wē on lifiaþ.  
 80 Sē god, sē þās grundas geworhte, geunne ūs grōwende gife,  
 þæt ūs corna gehwylc cume tō nytte.

Cweð þonne III: *Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti.*  
*Amen and Paternoster priwa.*

#### A 14. SĪÐGALDOR

- Ic mē on þisse gyrde belūce, and on godes helde bebōode 350  
 wið þane sāra stice, wið þane sāra slege,  
 wið ðane grymman gryre,  
 wið ðane micelan egsan, þe bið ēghwām lāð,  
 5 and wið eal þæt lāð, þe intō land fare.  
 Sygegealdor ic begale, sigegyrd ic mē wege,  
 wordsige and worcsige. Sē mē dēge:  
 ne mē merra gemyrre, ne mē maga ne geswence,  
 ne mē nāfre mīnum fēore forht ne gewurþe;  
 10 ac gehæle mē ælmihtig and sunu and frōfregāst,  
 ealles wuldres wyrdig dryhten,  
 |swā swā ic gehyrde, heofna scyppende. 351  
 Abrame and Isace, Iacob and Iosep  
 and swilce men, Moyses and Dauit,  
 15 and Evan and Annan and Elizabet,  
 Saharie and ēc Marie, mōdur Cristes,  
 and ēac þā gebrōðru, Petrus and Paulus,

A 13. — 65. G., E., R., RT. bidde ic. RT. þæne. G. vealdend. G., K. veoruld. — 66. R. omits nan. — 67. MS., K. worud. — 73. Edd. *except* K., C. abace. MS., K., C. inne-  
 werdne; G., E. inneveardre. — 74. G., K., E. bradne. — 75. Edd. *except* K., C., W.  
 cweð. — 78. G. naman. — 80. E. þe þas. G. geveorhte. R. grovendre. — 82. MS., K.,  
 C., RT. sit; G., E., R. omit sitis; W. sint (sitis?).

A 14. — 2. C. wiþp . . . sice; W. *erroneously gives* MS. wiþp. MS., Wan., G., C. sice.  
 E. searostice . . . sarslege. — 3. MS., Wan., G., C. grymma; E. grimman. — 4. G., E.  
 æghwam MS., Wan., G., C. micela egsa; E. miclan. — 5. G., E. lande. — 6. G., E.

Now I pray the Prince who shaped this world,  
That no witch so artful, nor seer so cunning be  
[That e'er] may overturn the words hereto pronounced."

Then drive forth the plough and make the first furrow. Then say, —

"All hail, Earth, mother of men!  
Be fruitful in God's embracing arm,  
Filled with food for the needs of men."

Then take meal of every kind, and have a loaf baked as big as will lie in the hand, and knead it with milk and with holy water, and lay it under the first furrow. Say then, —

"Full field of food for the race of man,  
Brightly blooming, be you blessed  
In the holy name of Him who shaped  
Heaven, and earth whereon we dwell.  
May God, who made these grounds, grant growing gifts,  
That all our grain may come to use!"

Then say thrice, "*Crescite, in nomine patris, sitis benedicti. Amen*," and *Paternoster* thrice.

#### A 14. A JOURNEY SPELL

I protect myself with this rod,<sup>1</sup> and commend myself to the grace of God,  
Against the grievous stitch, against the dire stroke of disease,  
Against the grewsome horror,  
Against the frightful terror loathsome to all men,  
Against all evil, too, that may invade this land.  
A victory-charm I chant, a victory-rod I bear:  
Word victory and work victory. May they potent be:  
That no nightmare demon vex me nor belly fiend afflict me,  
Nor ever for my life fear come upon me.  
But may the Almighty guard me, and the Son and Holy Ghost,  
The Sovereign worthy of completest splendor,  
And, as I heard, Creator of the skies.  
Abraham and Isaac, Jacob and Joseph  
And such men, Moses and David,  
And Eve and Hannah and Elizabeth,  
Sarah and Mary, Christ's mother, too,  
And the brothers, likewise, Peter and Paul,

sige-gealdor. — 7. G., E. veorcsige. E. me vel dege. — 8. MS., Wan., G., C. ne me merne. — 9. Wan. forth. — 10. Wan. gehele. MS., Wan., C. ælmihtigi; E. se ælmihtiga. MS., Wan., G., E., C. omit and after sunu; E. his sunu. — 11. Wan. wuldre. E. wyrðig. — 13. MS., Edd. Abrame and isace and swilce men moyses and iacob and dauit and iosep; G., E. Abrahame; E. Moises; E., W. make three lines out of the passage: line 1 ends Isace; line 2, Iacob; line 3, Iosep. — 16. E. ec. — 17. C. omits this line. Wan., G. pæ.

<sup>1</sup> A cross?

- and ēac þūsend þira engla  
 clipige ic mē tō āre wið eallum fēondum.  
 20 Hī mē ferion and friþion and mīne fore nerion,  
 eal mē gehealdon, mē gewældon,  
 worces stīrende; sī mē wuldres hyht,  
 hand ofer hēafod, hāligra rōf,  
 sigerōfra | scēote, sōðfæstra engla. 352  
 25 Biddu ealle bliðum mōde, þæt mē bēo Matheus helm,  
 Marcus byrne, leoht-līfes rōf,  
 Lucas mīn swurd, scearp and scīrecg,  
 scyld Iohannes, wuldre gewlītegod wega Serafhin.  
 Forð ic gefare, frīnd ic gemēte,  
 30 eall engla blāð, ēadiges lāre.  
 Bidde ic nū sīgeres god, godes miltse,  
 sīðfæt gōdne, smyltne and lihtne  
 wind weropum. Windas gefrān,  
 circinde wæter. Simble gehælede  
 35 wið eallum | fēondum. Frēond ic gemēte wið, 353  
 þæt ic on þæs ælmihtian, on his frið wunian mōte,  
 belocen wiþ þām lāþan, sē mē līfes ēht,  
 on engla blāð gestaþelod,  
 and innan hāle hand heofna rīces blāð,  
 40 þa hwile þe ic on þis life wunian mōte. Amen.

## A 15. WIÐ FĒOS LYRE

## I

Gif feoh sý underfangen, gif hit hors sý, sing on his fetcran 103  
 oþþe on his brīdele. Gif hit sý oðer feoh, sing on þæt fōtspor  
 and ontend þrēo candela and dryp on þæt hofræc þæt wex  
 þriwa. Ne mæg hit þē nān mann forhelan. Gif hit sý innorf,  
 5 sing þonne on fēower healfe þæs hūses and æne on middan :

“Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa  
 est. Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes, concludat; Job et flu-  
 mina; [Jacob te] ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. Jūdēas Chrīst  
 ahēngon; þæt heom cōm tō wīte swā strangum. Gedydon heom  
 10 dāda þā wirrestan; hý þæt drōfe onguldon. Hāelan hit heom  
 tō hearme micclum: for þām hī hit forhelan ne mihtan.”

A 14. — 18. C. ðusenð; W. *erroneously gives* MS. ðusenð. E. þyrra. MS. þiraenglaclipige.  
 — 20. E. me frīðjan and ferjan. Wan., G. fere nerion; E. fere nerjan. — 21. MS., Wan.,  
 G., E. men gewældon; C. *changes men to meh.* — 22. Wan., C. warces; C. storende;  
 E. weorces styrende; W. *erroneously has:* MS. warces storende. — 23. E. reaf? — 25.  
 MS. and Edd. *except* E. hand ofer heafod *after* beo. MS., Wan., G., E., C. bliðu; W.  
 bliðe? C. matheus. — 27. MS. lucos; C. locos; W. Locas. MS. scer<sup>a</sup>p. — 28. G., E.  
 Seraphin. — 29. E. frynd. — 31. MS., Wan., G., C. nu sigere godes miltse god; E. nu  
 god sigores, godes miltse; W. *same as E. except* sīgeres. — 32. MS., Wan., G., C. smylte  
 and lihte; E. smilte and lyhte; W. *erroneously has* MS. swylte. — 33. MS., Wan., G., E.,  
 C. werepum; W. wederum. — 34. W. cyrrende? MS., Wan. simbli gehalepe; G., E. sim-  
 blige hæledhe; C. simble gehalepe; W. simblege halepe. — 35. G., E., feordum. —

And also thousands of the angels  
I invoke to succor me against all fiends.  
May they strengthen me and cherish me and preserve me in life's course,  
Wholly protect and control me,  
Guiding my actions; may I have hope of glory,  
Hand over head, [and reach the] choir of saints,  
Realm of the triumphant, of the faithful angels.  
Blithe of mood, I pray that Matthew be my helmet,  
Mark be my hauberk, a bright life's covering,  
Luke be my sword, sharp and keen-edged,  
My shield be John, transfigured with glory, the Seraph of journeys.<sup>1</sup>

Forth I wander, friends I shall find,  
All the encouragement of angels through the teaching of the blessed.  
Victory's God I now beseech, and the favor of the Lord  
For a happy journey, for a mild and gentle  
Wafting<sup>2</sup> from these shores: since the [savage] winds, I know, [beget]  
The whirling waters. Then, ever preserved  
Against all fiends, may I meet with friends,  
That I may dwell in the Almighty's sheltering care,  
Guarded from the loathsome fiend who seeks my life,  
Established in the glory of the angels,  
And in the bliss of the kingdom of Heaven  
The while I am permitted upon this earth to dwell. Amen.

A 15. FOR LOSS OF CATTLE

I

If live stock be stolen: if it be a horse, sing [the charm] on his fetters or on his bridle. If it be other live stock, sing [it] on the footprints and light three candles and thrice dip the wax on the hoof-mark. No man shall be able to conceal the theft. If it be household stuff, then sing [the charm] on the four sides of the house and once in the middle:—

“Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi per furtum periit, inventa est. Abraham tibi semitas, vias, montes, concludat; Job et flumina; [Jacob te] ad iudicium ligatum perducatur. The Jews hanged Christ; that brought upon them a punishment equally severe. They did the worst of deeds to him; they paid the penalty with their expulsion. They concealed it to their great injury: seeing that conceal it they could not.”

36. MS., Wan., G. *pis ælmihgian*; E. *pæs ælmihgtigan*. G., E. *omit* on his *frið wunian*; E. are mote. — 37. Wan., G., C., W. *belocun*. MS., Wan., G., E. *pa. E. si me lifes æht*; G. *lifes*. — 38. MS., Wan., G., E. *bla blæd*. — 39. MS., Wan., G., C. *inna*. *All except* E., W. *hofna*. C. *suggests excision of blæd*. — 40. Wan., C., W. *omit pis*; E. *pys*.  
A 15. — 1. Rof. *undernumen*. M. *gif hit sy hors*. — 2. Rof. *bridels*. — 3. M. III. *for preo*. Rof., M. *hofrec*. Rof. *omits pæt before wex*. — 4. Rof. *omits nan*. Rof. *manna*; M. *man*. Rof. *inorf*, and *omits ponne*. — 5. *All except* Rof., G. *omit Jacob te*. — 6. M. *ahengan*. Tib. *witene*. Tib. *irangan*; M. *strangan*. M. *gedydan*. Rof. *him*. — 7. Jul. *wirstan*; M. *wyrrestan*. Rof. *forguldon*. Rof., M. *hælon*. Rof. *him*; M. *omits heom*. — 8. C. *pam [pe] hi*. Jul., Rof. and *heo hit na forbelan ne mihton*.

<sup>1</sup> That is, of those who journey.

<sup>2</sup> Wind.

## II

- Hit becwæð and becwæl sē ðe hit āhte  
 mid fullan folcrihte, swā swā hit his yldran  
 mid fēo and mid fēore rihte begēaton.  
 15 And lētan and lāfdan ðām tō gewealde  
 ðe hȳ wel ūðan. And swā ic hit hæbbe  
 swā hit sē sealde ðe tō syllanne āhte  
 unbrȳde and unforboden. And ic āgnian wille  
 tō āgenre āhte ðæt ðæt ic hæbbe  
 20 and nāfre ðē myntan: ne plot ne plōh,  
 ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fōtmæl,  
 ne land ne lāsse, ne fersc ne mersc,  
 ne rūh ne rūm, wudes ne feldes,  
 landes ne strandes, wealtes ne wāteres;  
 25 būtan ðæt lāste ðe hwile ðe ic libbe.  
 Forðām nis æni man on life  
 ðe āfre gehyrde ðæt man cwydde oððon crafode  
 hine on hundrede, oððon āhwār on gemōte,  
 on cēapstōwe oþþe on cyricware ðā hwile þe hē lifede.  
 30 Unsac hē wæs on life, bēo on legere, swā swā hē mōte.  
 Dō swā ic lāre: bēo ðū be ðinum,  
 and lāet mē be mīnum; ne gyrne ic ðīnes,  
 ne lāðes ne landes, ne sace ne sōcne,  
 ne ðū mīnes ne ðearft, ne mynte ic ðē nān þing.

## A 16. WIÐ FĒOS NIMUNGE

- Ne forstolen ne forholen nānuht, þæs ðe ic āge, þe mā ðe 226  
 mihte Herod ūrne drihten. Ic geþōhte sancte Eadelenan and ic  
 geþōhte Crīst on rōde āhangen; swā ic þence ðis feoh tō fin-  
 danne næs tō oþfeorrganne, and tō witanne næs tō oðwyrceanne,  
 5 and tō lufianne næs tō oðlāðanne.

- Garmund, godes ðegen,  
 find þæt feoh and fere þæt feoh,  
 and hafa þæt feoh and heald þæt feoh,  
 and fere hām þæt feoh,  
 10 þæt hē nāfre nabbe landes, þæt hē hit oðlāde,  
 ne foldan, þæt hē hit oðferie,  
 ne hūsa, þæt hē hit oðhealde.

- A 15. — 12. Edd. *except* Leo and M. *print Part II. in prose.* — 13. Jul. folcriht. —  
 14. C., M. begēatan. — 15. C., M. lētan. — 16. Roƿ. vƿan. — 18. Roƿ. wylle. —  
 19. C., M. ahte. — 20. Roƿ., C., M. ðæt yntan *for* ðe myntan. — 22. Roƿ., C., M.  
 lāse. — 23. Jul. wuherum. — 24. C., M. sandes *for* landes. — 25. Roƿ. ðæhwile; Jul.,  
 C., M. ða. — 26. B. nis æt tinan; Roƿ., Jul. inse tman; C., M. forðam [ðe] [n] is se  
 man. — 27. C. cwidde; M. cwiððe. — 28. B., Sd. hundræde. — 29. Jul., C., M. omī  
 þe. C., M. lifde; Leo, lifede. — 31. B., Roƿ., Leo, Sd. ðe *for* ðu. — 32. Roƿ. ine forme.  
 Leo, girne. — 34. Jul., C., M. ðærft; Sd. ƿearfst.



II

He bequeathed it and died who possessed [the land]  
 With full legal title,<sup>1</sup> as his forefathers  
 With money and with services lawfully acquired it,  
 And surrendered and bequeathed it to his control  
 To whom they freely gave it. And so I hold it  
 As he disposed of it — who had the right to give —  
 Unopposed and unforbidden. And I shall claim  
 As rightful property whate'er I have,  
 And never for you design: nor plot nor plow,  
 Nor sod nor homestead, nor furrow nor foot-mark,  
 Nor land nor leasow, nor fresh water nor marsh,  
 Nor uncleared nor cleared ground, of forest nor of field,  
 Of land nor of strand, of wold nor of water;  
 But this stay mine the while I live.  
 For there is no man living  
 Who ever heard that any one made claim or summoned  
 Him<sup>2</sup> before the hundred court, or anywhere to council  
 In market place or in church congregation while he lived:  
 As he, in life, was guiltless, so let him be in death, even as he should.  
 Act as I admonish: stay with yours  
 And leave me with mine; nothing of yours do I desire:  
 Neither lea nor land, nor privilege nor right;  
 Neither you need mine, nor do I design anything for you.

A 16. FOR THEFT OF CATTLE

May nothing I own be stolen or hidden any more than Herod could  
 [steal or hide] our Lord. I thought of St. Helena and I thought of Christ  
 suspended on the cross; so I hope to find my cattle, and not have them  
 borne off, and be informed [of their whereabouts], and not have them  
 injured and have kindness shown to them, and not have them led astray.

Garmund, servitor of God,  
 Find those kine, and fetch those kine,  
 And have those kine and hold those kine,  
 And bring home those kine,  
 That he never may have land to lead them to,  
 Nor fields to fetch them to,  
 Nor houses to confine them in.

A 16. — 1. Wan. ageþenape; G. *ne for þe, after age*. — 2. MS., C. drihen. G. Ead Elenan.  
 — 4. Wan. oþfeorr ganne; G. othfeorganne; C. oþ feorr ganne. — 6. Wan. ðegend. —  
 8. Wan. hufa. — 10. Wan., G. n'æbbe. Wan. hitað læde. — 11. MS., Wan., C. þ. hit  
 oðferie; G. *omits* he hit. — 12. MS., Wan. hit oð hit healde; G., C., W. *omit the second*  
 hit.

<sup>1</sup> Literally, full right according to common law.

<sup>2</sup> The protester.

- Gyf hyt hwā gedō, ne gedīge hit him nāfre!  
 Binnan þrȳm nihtum cunne ic his mihta,  
 15 his mægen and his mundcræftas.  
 Eall hē weornige, swā fȳer wudu weornie,  
 swā breðel þeo, swā þystel,  
 sē ðe þis feoh oðfergean þence  
 oððe ðis orf oððehtian ðence! Amen.

## A 17. WIÐ ÐĀ BLACAN BLĒGENE

Sing ðis gebed on ðā blacan blēgene VIIII sȳþan; ærest Pater- 136a  
 noster:

- Tigað tigað tigað  
 calicet aclu,  
 5 cluel sedes adlocles  
 acre earcre arnem;  
 nonabiuð ær ærnem,  
 niðren arcum cunað arcum,  
 arctua fligara uflen  
 10 binchi cutern nicuparam,  
 raf afð egal uflen  
 arta arta arta  
 trauncula trauncula.

- Querite et inuenietis. Adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiri-  
 15 tum sanctum. Non amplius | crescas sed arescas super aspidem 136b  
 et basilliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem.  
 Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes.

## A 18. WIÐ LENCTENĀDLE

- Eft, drenc wið lenctenādle: fēferfūge, hramgealla, finul, 53a  
 wegbrāde; gesinge mon fela mæssan ofer þære wyrta, ofgēot  
 mid ealað, dō hāligwæter on, wyl swīpe wel. Drince þonne,  
 swā hē hātost mæge micelne scenc fulne, ær þon sio ādl tō  
 5 wille. Fēower godspellara naman and gealdor and gebed:

+++	Matheus	++	Marcus	++	Lucas
+++		+++		+++	
+++	Johannes	+	+		
+++		++++	intercedite pro me. Tiecon, Le-		

leloth, patron, adiuro uos.

Eft godcund gebed:

- 10 In nomine domini sit benedictum, Beronice, Beronice. Et  
 habet in uestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et  
 dominus dominantium.

A. 16. — 13. G. gif hit. Wan. gedon, egedige. G. has no punctuation after nāfre. —  
 15. MS., Wan., G., C., W. mægen [and his mihta] and his m. — 16. MS. syer; Wan.  
 syen wudu weorme; G. sva er vudu; C. fyer (or fyr). — 18. G. his.

Should any man so act, may he thereby never prosper!  
 Within three days his powers I'll know,  
 His skill and his protecting crafts!  
 May he be quite destroyed, as fire destroyeth wood,  
 As bramble or as thistle injures thigh,  
 He who may be planning to bear away these cattle  
 Or purposing to drive away these kine.

A 17. FOR BLACK ULCERS

Sing the following prayer nine times on black ulcers; first [saying] a Paternoster:—

“Tigað tigað tigað  
 calicet aclu,  
 cluel sedes adcloces  
 acre earcre arnem;  
 nonabiuð ær ærnem,  
 niðren arcum cunað arcum,  
 arctua fligara uflen  
 binchi cutern nicuparam,  
 raf afð egal uflen  
 arta arta arta  
 trauncula trauncula.”

“Querite et inuenietis. Adiuro te per patrem et filium et spiritum sanctum. Non amplius crescas sed arescas super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis et conculcabis leonem et draconem. Crux Matheus, crux Marcus, crux Lucas, crux Johannes.”

A 18. AGAINST AGUE

Again, a drink against ague: feverfew, ram-gall, fennel, plaintain; have many masses sung over the herbs, moisten them with ale, add holy water, boil very thoroughly. Then let [the patient] drink a great cup full, as hot as he can, before the illness come upon him. [Recite] the names of the four gospels and a charm and a prayer:—

“+++ Matheus      ++ Marcus      ++ Lucas  
 +++ Johannes      + + intercedite pro me. Tiecon, Leleloth,  
 +++ patron, adiuro uos.”

Then a holy prayer:—

“In nomine domini sit benedictum, Beronice, Beronice. Et habet in uestimento et in femore suo scriptum rex regum et dominus dominantium.”

A 17. — 1. L. IX. MS., L. syððan; C. siðan (or siþum). — 3. MS., C., L. print lines 3 to 13 in prose. — 5. L. adcloces. — 12. L. omits the third arta.

A 18. — 2. MS., C., L. wyrt. — 6. MS., C. L. MarcuS. MS., C. LucaS.— 10. C. Jn.

Eft godcund gebed:

In nomine domini summi sit benedictum. ✠MMRMþ.

15 NandþTX✠ MREwNandþTX.

A 19. WIÐ HORS-WRECCUNGE

Gif hors bið gewræht, þonne scealt þū cweþan þās word: 181b  
 |“Naborrede, unde uenisti,” tribus uicibus; “credidi prop- 182a  
 ter,” tribus uicibus. “Alpha et o, initium et finis, crux mihi uita  
 est et tibi mors inimico;” Paternoster.

A 20. WIÐ LIÐWÆRCE

Wið liðwærce, sing VIII sīþum þis gealdor þær on and þin 116a  
 spātl spīw on:

Malignus obligauit, angelus curauit, dominus saluauit.

Him biþ sōna sēl.

A 21. WIÐ CĒAPES þĒOFENDE

Dis man sceal cweðan, ðonne his cēapa hwilcne man forsto- 216  
 lenne. Cwyð ær þū ænyg oþer word cweðe:

Bethlem hāttæ sēo burh, ðe Crīst on geboren wes;  
 sēo is gemærsod ofer ealne middangeard.

5 Swā ðeos dæd wyrþe for mannum mære,

per crucem Christi. And gebede þē þonne þriwa ēast and cweð  
 þriwa: +Christi ab oriente reducat; and III. west and cweð:  
 Crux Christi ab occidente reducat; and III. sūþ and cweð  
 þriwa: Crux Christi a meridie reducat; and III. norð and cweð:  
 10 Crux Christi abscondita est et inuenta est. Jūdēas Crīst āhen-  
 gon; gedidon him dæda þā wyrstan; hǣlon, þæt hī forhelan ne  
 mihton. Swā næfre ðeos dæd forholen ne wyrþe, per crucem  
 Christi.

A 22. WIÐ CĒAPES LYRE

þonne þē mon ærest secge, þæt þin cēap sý losod, þonne cweð 180b  
 þū ærest, ær þū elles hwæt cweþe:

Bæðleem hātte sēo buruh,  
 þe Crīst on ācenned wæs.

5 Sēo is gemærsad geond ealne middangeard.  
 Swā þyos dæd for monnum mære gewurþe  
 þurh þā hālīgan Crīstes rōde! Amen.

A 18. — 15. C. ✠MMRMþ · Nj · þTX · ✠MRMþ · Nj · þTX.

A 19. — 4. MS., C., L. mor inimici; C. *emends* mors inimice? inimico?

A 20. — 1. L. IX.

A 21. — 1. Wan. forstelenne; G. fosrtelenne. — 2. MS., Wan., G. cyð. MS., Wan. he

Once more a holy prayer: —

“In nomine domini summi sit benedictum. ✠MMRMþ. Nandþ-TX✠ MREwNandþTX.”

A 19. FOR A HORSE'S SPRAIN

If a horse is foundered, then you must say these words: —

“Naborrede, unde uenisti,” tribus uicibus; “credidi propter,” tribus uicibus. “Alpha et o, initium et finis, crux mihi uita est et tibi mors inimico;” Paternoster.

A 20. FOR PAIN IN THE LIMBS

For pain in the limbs sing nine times the following charm thereon, and spit your spittle on [the place affected]: —

“Malignus obligauit, angelus curauit, dominus saluauit.”

He will soon be well.

A 21. FOR THEFT OF CATTLE

The following is to be sung by a person when some one has stolen any of his cattle. Before you utter any other word, say, —

“Bethlehem was called the town wherein Christ was born;  
Renowned it is through all the world.  
So may this act among men become well-known,

*per crucem Christi.*” Then pray three times toward the east and say thrice: “*Crux Christi ab oriente reducat;*” and three times west, and say: “*Crux Christi ab occidente reducat;*” and three times south, and say thrice: “*Crux Christi a meridie reducat;*” and three times north, and say: “*Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est.* The Jews crucified Christ, they did the worst of deeds to him; they hid what they could not hide. So may this deed never be hidden, *per crucem Christi.*”

A 22. FOR LOSS OF CATTLE

As soon as any one tells you that your cattle are lost, then, before you say anything else, say first, —

“Bethlehem was named the town  
Wherein Christ was born.  
Renowned it is through all the world.  
So may this act among men grow famed  
Through the Holy Rood of Christ. Amen.”

*for þu.* — 3. Wan., G. væs. — 6. Wan., G. gebide. — 9. Wan., C., W. in *for III in lines* 7, 8, 9. — 9. MS., Wan. *reducant.* — 10. MS., Wan., G. *sunt for est.* — 11. Wan. *places a period after hælon.* — 12. Wan. *peas.* Wan. *forholenne.*

A 22. — 1. W. *sege (or sæge).*

Gebide þē þonne þriwa ēast and cweþ þonne þriwa: Crux  
 Christi ab oriente reducat; gebide þē þonne þriwa west and  
 10 cweð þonne þriwa: Crux Christi ab occidente reducat; gebide  
 þē þonne þriwa sūð and cweð þriwa: Crux Christi ab austro  
 |reducat; gebide þē þonne þriwa norð and cweð þriwa: Crux 181a  
 Christi ab aquilone reducat, Crux Christi abscondita est et  
 inuenta est. Jūdēas Crīst āhengon; dydon dāda þā wyrrestan;  
 15 hālon þæt hȳ forhelan ne mihtan. Swā þeos dæd nānige þinga  
 forholen ne wurþe, þurh þā hāligan Crīstes rōde. Amen.

## A 23. WIÐ UNCŪÐUM SWYLE

Sing on ȝīne læcefinger III Paternoster, and wrīt ymb þæt 17  
 sāre and cweð:

Fuge, diabolus, Christus te sequitur. Quando natus est Chris-  
 tus, fugit dolor.

5 And eft III Paternoster, and III Fuge diabolus.

## A 24. WIÐ ÆLFSOGOÞAN

Gif him biþ ælsogopa, him bēoþ þā ēagan geolwe, þær hī 124b  
 rēade bēon sceoldon. Gif þū þone mon lācnian wille, þanc his  
 gebæra and wite hwilces hādes hē sīe. Gif hit biþ wæpned man  
 and lōcað ūp, þonne þū hine ærest scēawast, and sē andwlita  
 5 biþ geolwe blac, þone mon þū meaht gelācnian æltæwlice, gif hē  
 ne biþ þær on tō lange. Gif hit biþ wif and lōcað niþer þonne þū  
 hit ærest scēawast, and hire andwlita biþ rēade wan, þæt þū  
 miht ēac gelācnian. Gif hit bið dægþerne leng on þonne XII  
 mōnaþ, and sīo onsȳn biþ þyslicu, þonne meaht þū hine gebētan  
 10 tō hwile and ne meaht hwæþere æltæwlice gelācnian. Wrīt þis  
 gewrit:

Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium . Byrnice .  
 Beronice . Iurlure . iehe . aius . aius . aius . Sanctus . Sanctus .  
 Sanctus . dominus deus Sabaoth . amen . alleluiah.

15 Sing þis ofer þām drence and þām gewrite:

Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per  
 Inpositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen.  
 Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de | cerebro, 125a  
 de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de  
 20 dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo,  
 de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedi-  
 bus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris,  
 amen.

A 22. — 9. MS., C. reducað. — 12. MS., C., W. omit þe. — 13. MS., C. reducð.

A 23. — 1. C. in Pater. — 5. C. eftur for eft III.

Then pray three times toward the east, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab oriente reducat*;" then pray three times west, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab occidente reducat*;" then pray three times south, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab austro reducat*;" then pray three times north, and say thrice: "*Crux Christi ab aquilone reducat, Crux Christi abscondita est et inventa est*. The Jews crucified Christ; they did the worst of deeds to him; they hid what they could not hide. So may this deed in no wise be hidden, through the Holy Rood of Christ. Amen."

A 23. FOR A STRANGE SWELLING

Sing the *Paternoster* three times on your little finger, and draw a line around the sore, and say, —

"Fuge, diabolus, Christus te sequitur. Quando natus est Christus, fugit dolor."

And once more [say] the *Paternoster* three times and *Fuge diabolus* three times.

A 24. FOR ELF HICCUP

If a person has elf hiccup, his eyes will be yellow where they should be red. If you purpose to heal the patient, observe his carriage and notice of what sex he is. If it is a man, and, when you first see him, he gazes upwards and his face is yellowish black, you may cure him completely, provided he has not been afflicted too long. If it is a woman, and, when you first see her, she looks downwards and her face is a sickly red, you may also cure her. If the disease has lasted longer than a year and a day, and the face shows evidence thereof, you may ameliorate [the patient's] condition for a while, but nevertheless may not altogether cure it. Write this writing: —

"Scriptum est, rex regum et dominus dominantium . Byrnice . Bero-nice . Iurlure . iche . aius . aius . aius . Sanctus . Sanctus . Sanctus . dominus deus Sabaoth . Amen . Alleluiah."

Sing this over the drink, and recite the following writing: —

"Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per Inpositionem huius scriptura expelle a famulo tuo, Nomen. Omnem Impetum castalidum de capite, de capillis, de cerebro, de fronte, de lingua, de sublingua, de guttore, de faucibus, de dentibus, de oculis, de naribus, de auribus, de manibus, de collo, de brachiis, de corde, de anima, de genibus, de coxis, de pedibus, de compaginibus omnium membrorum intus et foris, amen."

A 24. — 9. C. betan. — 12. MS., C., L. eSt. — *Punctuation in lines 13 and 14 as in MS.* — 17. MS. N. for nomen. — 18. MS. impetuū. — 22. MS., L. compaginibus.

Wyrc þonne drenc: fontwæter, rūdan, sāluian, cassuc, drā-  
 25 conzan, þā smēþan wegbrædan niþewearde, fēferfūgian, diles  
 crop, gārlēaces. III clufe, finul, wermōd, lufestice, elehtre,  
 ealra emfela; wrīt III crucem mid oleum infirmorum and cweð:  
*pax tibi.* Nim þonne þæt gewrit, wrīt crucem mid ofer þām  
 drince and sing þis þær ofer:

30 Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per in-  
 positionem huius scripturae et per gustum huius, expelle dia-  
 bolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster.

Wæt þæt gewrit on þām drence and wrīt crucem mid him on  
 ælcum lime, and cweð:

35 Signum crucis Christi conservate. In vitam eternam, amen.

Gif þē ne lyste, hāt hine selfne, oþþe swā gesubne swā hē  
 gesibbost hæbbe; and sēnige, swā hē sēlost cunne. Þēs cræft  
 mæg wiþ ælcra fēondes costunge.

#### B 1. WIÐ DĒOFOLSĒOCNESSE

Dēos wyr, þe man priapisci and ððrum naman vica pervica 68a  
 nemneð, tō manegum þingon wel fremað: þæt ys þonne ærest  
 ongēan dēofol sēocnyssa, and wið nædran, and wið wildēor, and  
 wið āttru, and wið gehwylce behātu, and wið andan, and wið  
 15 ðgan, and þæt ðū gife hæbbe. And gif ðū þās wyrte mid þē  
 hafast ðū bist gesælig and symle gecwēme. Ðās wyrte þū  
 scealt niman þus cweþende:

Te precor, vica pervica, multis utilitatibus habenda ut  
 venias ad me hilaris florens, cum tuis virtutibus, ut ea mihi  
 10 prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a venenis et ab iracundia  
 inlesus.

Þæt ys þonne on ūre geþēode:

1c bidde þē, vica pervica, manegum nytlicnyssum tō hæbenne  
 þæt ðū glæd tō mē cume midþinum mægenum blōwende, þæt  
 15 ðū mē gegearwie þæt ic sý gescyld and symle gesælig and un-  
 gedered fram āttrum and fram yrsunge.

Ðonne ðū þās wyrte niman wylt, ðū scealt bēon clāne wið  
 æghwylce unclāennysse; and ðū hý scealt niman þonne sē  
 mōna bið nigon nihta eald, and endlyfon nihta, and ðrēottýne  
 20 nyhta, and ðrittig nihta, and ðonne hē byð ānre nihte eald.

A 24. — 31. MS. scriptura. — 32. MS. N̄.

B 1. — MSS. = V., O., B., H. Edd. = C., Be. Be. heading is priapissi. uica peruica.  
 — 1. O. þat. O. priapissi. — 2. H. manegan. O. þinge. H. framað; O. fremed. þat  
 is. O. þanne. Be. aerest. — 3. O. deofel. O., B. seocnessa. O. nadran. O. wyldeor.  
 — 4. H. hwylce for gehwylce. — 5. O. þat. O. gyfe. O. and gif þu mid þe þeos wyrte  
 hæbbe. — 6. O. byst. O. simble gecweman; H. gecwæme. H. þa for ðas. O. wyr. —  
 7. O. scelt. — 8. MSS. C., Be. uica peruica; thus throughout the charm. — 12. O. omits



Then concoct a drink as follows: spring water, rue, sage, hassock, dragonwort, the nethermost part of the smooth plantain, feverfew, a bunch of dill, three head of garlic, fennel, wormwood, lovage, lupine — just so many of all; write a cross three times with oil of unction and say, "*Pax tibi.*" Then take the writing [which was previously recited], mark a cross with it over the drink, and sing the following over the latter: —

"Deus omnipotens, pater domini nostri Jesu Cristi, per inpositionem huius scripturæ et per gustum huius, expelle diabolum a famulo tuo, Nomen. And Credo and Paternoster."

Moisten the writing in the drink and mark a cross with it on every limb, and say, —

"Signum crucis Christi conserve. In vitam eternam, amen."

If you do not wish to do this, let the man himself, or that relative who is nearest akin to him, do it; and let him cross himself as best he can. This artifice will prevail against every temptation of the fiend.

#### B I. AGAINST DEMONIAL POSSESSION

This herb, which is called *priapiscus*, and by another name, *vinca pervinca*, does good service in many ways: that is, for example, first against demoniacal possession, and against snakes, and against wild beasts, and against poisons, and against all threats, and against envy, and against fear; and that you may have grace. And if you have this herb with you, you shall be prosperous and always agreeable. You must pluck the herb, saying as follows: —

"Te precor, vica pervica, multis utilitatibus habenda ut venias ad me hilaris florens, cum tuis virtutibus, ut ea mihi prestes, ut tutus et felix sim semper a venenis et ab iracundia inlesus."

That is to say, in our tongue, —

"I pray you, *vinca pervinca* — to be had for your many advantages — that you come to me joyously, blooming with your virtues, that you endow me with such qualities that I shall be shielded and ever prosperous and unharmed by poisons and by rage."

When you mean to pluck this herb, you must be free from every defilement; and you must gather it when the moon is nine nights old, and eleven nights, and thirteen nights, and thirty nights, and when it is one night old.

ponne. — 13. O. hæbbene. — 14. O. þæt. ſug. B. mægnum. — 15. B., H. gegearwige; O. gearwie. O. þ. hic. for þæt ic. O. symble. O. toſælig. O. ungederod. — 16. Be. attru. Be. fran. — 17. O. þāne. O. þeos. O. nime wult. O. clane. — 18. O. æghwile unclanasse. O. þu ſcealt hi niman, þonne þe; B. hig. ſcealt. — 19. O. byð neoga. V. omits nihta eald and endlyfon. H. ænlufon. O. enlufon nihta eald and þanne he byð anre niht eald; Be. the same, but byd. preottene. — 20. H. þon.

## B 2. WIÐ MICLUM GONGE

Wiþ miclum gonge ofer land, þylæs hē tēorige: mucgwyrt 57a  
 nime him on hand, oþþe dō on his scō, þylæs hē mēþige; and  
 þonne hē niman wille ær sunnan ūpgange, cweþe þās word  
 ærest:

5 Tollam te artemesia, | ne lassus sim in via. 57b

Gesēna hīe, þonne þū ūptēo.

## B 3. WIÐ ÆLFADLE

Gang on þunresæfen, þonne sunne on setle sīe, þær þū wite 123b  
 elenan standan; sing þonne *Benedicite* and *Paternoster* and  
 lētanian, and sting þin seax on þā wyrte; læt stician þær on, gang  
 þē āweg. Gang eft tō þonne dæg and niht furþum scāde. On  
 5 þām ilcan ūhte, gang ærest tō ciricean and þē gesēna and gode  
 þē bebēod. Gang þonne swīgende and þeah þē hwæthwega  
 egeslices | ongēan cume oþþe man, ne cweþ þū him ænig word tō, 124a  
 ær þū cume tō þære wyrte þe þū on æfen ær gemearcdest. Sing  
 þonne *Benedicite* and *Paternoster* and lētanīa, ādelf þā wyrte, læt  
 10 stician þæt seax þær on. Gang eft swā þū raþost mæge tō ciricean  
 and lege under wēofod mid þām seaxe; læt licgean, oþþæt  
 sunne uppe sīe. Āwæsc siþþan, dō tō drence and bisceopwyrt  
 and crīstes-mæles ragu; āwyl þriwa on meolcum, gēot þriwa  
 hāligwæter on, sing on *Paternoster* and Crēdan and *Gloria in ex-*  
 15 *celsis deo*, and sing on hine lētanīa; and hine ēac ymbwrīt mid  
 sweorde on IIII healfa on cruce and drince þone drence siþþan.  
 Him biþ sōna sēl.

## B 4. NIGON WYRTA GALDOR

Gemyne ðū, Mucgyrt, hwæt þū āmeldodest, 160a  
 hwæt þū rēnadest æt Regenmelde.  
 Una þū hāttest, yldost wyrta.  
 5 Ðū miht wið III and wið XXX,  
 þū miht wið āttre and wið onflyge,  
 þū miht wiþ þām lāþan, ðe geond lond færð.

Ond þū, Wegbrāde, wyrta mōdor,  
 ēastan openo, innan mihtigu.  
 10 Ofer ðē cræto curran, ofer ðē cwēne reodan,  
 ofer ðē brýde bryo | dedon, ofer þē fearras fnærdon. 160b  
 Eallum þū þon wiðstōde and wiðstunedest;

B 2. — 1. Kl. gange. Kl., C., H. þy læs; likewise in line 2. Kl. mug-wyrte. 2. Kl. sceo.

G. medige. — 5. MS. tellam. G. artemisia. MS., L. sum. — 6. G. gesegna.

B 3. — 3. H. litanian. — 16. L. IV. H. drence; siþpanhim.

B 2. FOR MUCH TRAVELLING

For much travelling on land, lest a person tire: let him take mugwort in his hand or put it in his shoe, lest he grow weary; and if he would pluck it before sunrise let him first say these words:—

“Tollam te artemesia, ne lassus sim in via.”

Sign it with the sign of the cross when you pull it up.

B 3. FOR ELF-DISEASE

On Thursday evening when the sun is set, go where you know that elecampane stands; then sing the *Benedicite* and a *Paternoster* and a litany, and stick your knife into the herb; let it stick fast therein and go away. Go again thither, just as day and night divide. During this same daybreak go first to church and cross yourself and commend yourself to God. Then go in silence, and, though something of a fearful kind or a man should come upon you, say not a single word to it until you reach the herb you marked the night before. Then sing the *Benedicite* and a *Paternoster* and a litany, delve up the herb, letting the knife stick fast in it. As quickly as you can, go to church and place it with the knife under the altar; let it lie until the sun has risen. Afterwards wash it and make it and bishop's-wort and lichen off a crucifix into a drink; boil the drink three times in milk, pour holy water into it three times, sing over it a *Paternoster* and a *Credo* and a *Gloria in excelsis deo*, and sing a litany over it; and also, with a sword, inscribe a cross round it on four sides, and after that let the patient drink the draught. He will soon be well.

B 4. NINE HERBS CHARM

Remember, Mugwort, what you revealed,  
What you prepared at Regenmeld.  
Una, you are called, eldest of herbs.  
You avail against three and against thirty,  
You avail against poison and against infectious sickness,  
You avail against the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

And you, Plantain, mother of herbs,  
Open from the east, mighty from within.  
Over you carts creaked, over you queens rode,  
Brides exclaimed over you, over you bulls gnashed their teeth.  
Yet all these you withstood and fought against:

B. 4. — 4. W., H. ond *for* and *throughout* the charm. — 6. C., W., L. *pa.* — 8. MS., C. opone. — 9. MS., C. *ſy*, *four times in lines 9 and 10.* MS., C. *cræte*; W. *crætu*.

- 12 swā ðū wiðstonde āttre and onflyge,  
and þæm lāðan, þe geond lond fereð.
- Stīme hǣtte þēos wyr̥t; hēo on stāne gewēox.  
15 Stond hēo wið āttre, stunað hēo wærce.  
Stūðe hēo hǣtte, wiðstunað hēo āttre,  
wreceð hēo wrāðan, weorpeð ūt āttor.  
Þis is sēo wyr̥t, sēo wið wyr̥m gefeaht;  
þēos mæg wið āttre, hēo mæg wið onflyge,  
20 hēo mæg wið ðām lāþan, ðe geond | lond fereþ. 161a
- Flēoh þū nū, Āttorlāðe, sēo lāsse ðā mǣran,  
sēo mǣre þā lāssan, oððæt him bēigra bōt sȳ.
- Gemyne þū, Mægðe, hwæt þū āmeldodest  
hwæt ðū geændadest æt Alorforda:  
25 þæt nǣfre for gefloge feorh ne gesealde,  
syþðan him mon mægðan tō mete gegyrede.
- Þis is sēo wyr̥t, ðe Wergulu hǣtte.  
Ðās onsænde seolh ofer sās hrygc  
ondan āttres oþres tō bōte.
- 30 Ðās VIII ongan wið nigon āttrum.
- Wyr̥m cōm | snīcan, tōslāt hē man. 161b  
Ðā genam Wōden VIII wuldortānas,  
slōh ðā þā næddran, þæt hēo on VIII tōflēah.  
þær geandade æppel nǣdran āttor,  
35 þæt hēo nǣfre ne wolde on hūs būgan.
- Fille and Finule, fela mihtigu twā,  
þā wyr̥te gescēop wītig drihten,  
hālig on heofonum, þā hē hongode.  
Sette and sænde on VII worulde  
40 | earmum and ēadigum eallum tō bōte. 162a
- Stond hēo wið wærce, stunað hēo wið āttre,  
sēo mæg wið III and wið XXX,  
wið fēondes hond and wið fār-bregde,  
wið malscrunge minra wihta.
- 45 Nū magon þās VIII wyr̥ta wið nygon wuldorgeflogenum,  
wið VIII āttrum and wið nygon onflygnum,  
wið ðȳ rēadan āttre, wið ðȳ runlan āttre,  
wið ðȳ hwītan āttre, wið ðȳ wēdenan āttre,  
wið ðȳ geolwan āttre, wið ðȳ grēnan | āttre, 162b  
50 wið ðȳ wonnan āttre, wið ðȳ wēdenan āttre,  
wið ðȳ brūnan āttre, wið ðȳ basewan āttre;  
wið wyr̥mgeblǣd, wið wætergeblǣd,

B 4. — 14. MS. *illegible*, stune or stīme; C. stīme (stune). 20. C., W., L. ðā. — 31. MS. henan. — 34. MS. and Edd. æppel and attor. — 38. C. adds sette to this line. —

So may you poison and infectious sicknesses resist  
And the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

Stime this herb is named; on stone it grew.  
It stands against poison, it combats pain.  
Fierce it is called, it fights against venom,  
It expels malicious [demons], it casts out venom.  
This is the herb that fought against the snake,  
This avails against venom, it avails against infectious illnesses,  
It avails against the loathsome fiend that wanders through the land.

Fly now, Betonica, the less from the greater,  
The greater from the less, until there be a remedy for both.

Remember, Camomile, what you revealed,  
What you brought about at Alorford:  
That he nevermore gave up the ghost because of ills infectious,  
Since Camomile into a drug for him was made.

This is the herb called Wergulu.  
The seal sent this over the ocean's ridge  
To heal the horror of other poison.

These nine fought against nine poisons:

A snake came sneaking, it slew a man.  
Then Woden took nine thunderbolts  
And struck the serpent so that in nine parts it flew.  
There apple destroyed the serpent's poison:  
That it nevermore in house would dwell.

Thyme and Fennel, an exceeding mighty two,  
These herbs the wise Lord created,  
Holy in heaven, while hanging [on the cross].  
He laid and placed them in the seven worlds,  
As a help for the poor and the rich alike.

It stands against pain, it fights against poison,  
It is potent against three and against thirty,  
Against a demon's hand, and against sudden guile,  
Against enchantment by vile creatures.

Now these nine herbs avail against nine accursed spirits,  
Against nine poisons and against nine infectious ills,  
Against the red poison, against the running poison,  
Against the white poison, against the blue poison,  
Against the yellow poison, against the green poison,  
Against the black poison, *against the blue poison*,  
Against the brown poison, against the scarlet poison,  
Against worm-blister, against water-blister,

43. MS., C., H. feondes hond and wið þæs hond wið frea begde; W. hond and wið þæs fagan hond. — 47. MS. ʒa runlan.

- wið þorngelbæd, wið þystelgelbæd,  
 wið ýsgeblæd, wið ättorgeblæd;  
 55 gif ænig ättor cume ēastan flēogan oððe ænig norðan cume  
 oððe ænig westan ofer werðeode.

- Crīst stōð ofer ādle ængan cundes.  
 Ic āna wāt ēa rinnende and þā nygon nēdran behealdað;  
 mōtan ealle wēoda nū wrytum | āspringan,  
 60 sæs tōslūpan, eal sealt wæter,  
 ðonne ic þis ättor of ðe geblāwe. 163a

- Mugcwyr̥t, wegbrāde þe ēastan open sȳ, lombescyr̥se, ättor-  
 lāðan, mageðan, netelan, wudusūr æppel, fille and finul, ealde  
 sāpan; gewyr̥c ðā wyr̥ta tō dūste, mænge wiþ þā sāpan and wiþ  
 65 þæs æpples gor. Wyr̥c slypan of wætere and of axsan, genim  
 finol, wyl on þære slyppan and beþe mid æggemang, þonne hē  
 þā sealfe | on dō, ge ær ge æfter. Sing þæt galdor on ælc̥re þāra 163b  
 wȳr̥ta : III ær hē hȳwyr̥ce, and on þone æppel eal swā; ond singe  
 þon men in þone mūð and in þā ēaran būta and on ðā wunde  
 70 þæt ilce gealdor, ær hē þā sealfe ondō.

## B 5. WIÐ WÆTERÆLFÄDLE

- Gif mon biþ on wæterælfädle, þonne bēoþ him þā handnæ- 125a  
 glas wonne and þā ēagan tēarige and wile lōcian niþer. | Dō 125b  
 him þis tō lācedōme: eoforþrote, cassuc, fone niopowearð,  
 ēowberge, elehtre, eolone, merscmealwan crop, fenminte, dile,  
 5 lilie, ättorlāþe, pollēie, mārūbie, docce, ellen, felterre, wermōd,  
 strēawbergēan lēaf, consolde; ofgēot mid ealap, dō hāligwæter  
 tō, sing þis gealdor ofer þriwa :

- Ic benne awrāt betest beadowræda,  
 swā benne ne burnon, ne burston,  
 10 ne fundian, ne feologan,  
 ne hoppettan, ne wund wāco sīan,  
 ne dolh diopian; ac him self healde hālewæge,  
 ne ace þē þon mā, þe eorþan on ēare ace.

- Sing þis manegum sīpum : “Eorþe þē onbere callum hire  
 15 mihtum and mægenum.” Þās galdor mon mæg singan on  
 wunde.

## B 6. WIÐ CYRNLA

- Ecce dolgula medit dudum,  
 beðegunda breðegunda 186a

B 4. — 53. MS., W. þysgeblæd. — 57. MS. alde. 64. C. mængc. — 66. MS., L. aage-  
 mogc; C. æggemangc. — 67. MS., L. on de. — 68. C. omits hy. — 70. MS., L. onde.

Against thorn-blister, against thistle-blister,  
Against ice-blister, against poison-blister,  
If any infection come flying from the east, or any come from the north,  
Or any come from the west upon the people.

Christ stood over poison of every kind.  
I alone know [the use of] running water, and the nine serpents take heed [of it].  
All pastures now may spring up with herbs,  
The seas, all salt water, vanish,  
When I blow this poison from you.

Mugwort, plantain which is open eastward, lamb's cress, betony, camomile, nettle, crab-apple, thyme and fennel, [and] old soap; reduce the herbs to a powder, mix [this] with the soap and with the juice of the apple. Make a paste of water and of ashes; take fennel, boil it in the paste and bathe with egg-mixture, either before or after the patient applies the salve. Sing the charm on each of the herbs: three times before he brews them, and on the apple likewise; and before he applies the salve, sing the charm into the patient's mouth and into both his ears and into the wound.

#### B 5. FOR THE WATER-ELF DISEASE

If a person has the water-elf disease, his finger nails will be livid and his eyes tearful and he will look downwards. Do this for him by way of medical treatment: [take] carline, hassock, the netherward part of iris, yew-berry, lupine, elecampane, a head of marshmallow, water-mint, dill, lily, betony, pennyroyal, horehound, dock, elder-wood, earth-gall, wormwood, strawberry leaves, comfrey; steep them in ale, add holy water, sing this charm over them three times:—

“Round the wounds I have wreathed the best of healing amulets,  
That the wounds may neither burn nor burst,  
Nor grow worse nor putrefy,  
Nor throb, nor be filthy wounds,  
Nor cut in deeply; but let him keep the sacred water for himself,  
Then it will pain you no more than it pains the land by the sea.”

Sing this many times: “May Earth remove you with all her might and main.” This charm may be sung on the wound.

#### B 6. FOR KERNELS

“Ecce dolgula medit dudum,  
beðegunda breðegunda

B 5.—3. G. *omits* fone and niopowearð. — 5. G. marrubie. — 6. G. strawbergean. — 8. C., L. *lines* 8–13 in *prose*. C., L. binne. G. wræða. — 11. C. hoppetan. G. wund waxian. — 14. G. eoðe. G. mid eallum. — 15. G. gealdor.

5           elecunda eleuachia,  
             mottem mee renum  
             orþa fueþa  
             leta ues noe ues  
             terre dolge drore uhic  
             alleluiah.

Singe man þis gebed on þæt sē man drincan wille nygan  
 10 sīþan, and Paternoster nigan sīþan.

                        Arcus supeð  
 assedit uirgo cana bið  
 lux et ure cana bið."

Sing ðis nigon sīþan and Paternoster VIII on ānum bere-  
 15 nan hlāfe, and syle þān horse etan.

#### B 7. WIÐ FLĒOGENDUM ĀTTRE

Wip flēogendum āttre and ælcum ætērnum swile : on frīgedæge 43a  
 āþwer buteran, þe sīe gemolcen of ānes blēos nýtne oððe hinde,  
 and ne sīe wiþ wætre gemenged. Āsing ofer nigon sīþum lē-  
 tanīa and nigon sīþum Paternoster and nigon sīþum þis gealdor:  
 5    " Acrae . æcræ . ærnem . nadre . ærcuna hel . ærnem . niþærn .  
       ær . asan . buiþine . adrice . ærnem . meodre . ærnem . æþern .  
       ærnem . allū . honor . ucus . idar . adcert . cunolari raticamo .  
       helæ . icas x̅pita . hæle . tobært tera . fueli . cui . robater .  
       plana . uili ."  
 10    þæt dēah tō ælcum and hūru tō dēopum dolgum.

#### C 1. WIÐ BLÆCE

Genim gōse smero and niþewearde elenan and haran sprecel, 28b  
 bisceopwyr and hegrifan; þā fēower wyrta cnuwa tōsomne  
 wel, āwring, dō þāron ealdre sāpan cucler fulne; gif þū hæbbe  
 lýtēl eles, meng wiþ swīþe and on niht ālyþre. Scearpa þone  
 5 swēoran ofer sunnan setlgange, gēot swīgēnde þæt blōd on  
 yrnēnde wæter, spīw þriwa æfter, cweþ þonne:  
       Hafe þū þās unhæle, and gewīt āweg mid.  
       Gange eft on clænne weg tō hūse and gehwæþerne gang  
       swīgēnde.

B 7. — 5. *The punctuation is that of the MS.*



elecunda eleuachia,  
mottem mee renum  
orþa fueþa  
leta ues noe ues  
terre dolge drore uhic  
alleluiah."

Have this prayer sung nine times and the *Paternoster* nine times over [a potion] which the man is about to drink.

"Arcus supeð  
assedit uirgo cana bið  
lux et nre cana bið."

Sing this nine times and the *Paternoster* nine times on a barley loaf, and give it to the horse to eat.

#### B 7. FOR INFECTIOUS DISEASE

For infectious disease and for every poisonous swelling: on a Friday churn butter which is milked from a cow or hind of a single color, and which is not diluted with water. Sing over it nine times a litany, and nine times the *Paternoster*, and nine times this charm:—

"Acrae . ærcrae . ærnem . nadre . ærcuna hel . ærnem . niþærn . ær .  
asan . buiþine . adcrice . ærnem . meodre . ærnem . æþern . ærnem .  
allū . honor . ucus . idar . adcert . cunolari raticamo . helæ . icas xþita .  
hæle . tobært tera . fueli . cui . robater . plana . uili."

It avails for all wounds, and especially for deep ones.

#### C 1. FOR SCABIES

Take goose-grease and the nether end of elecampane, and viper's bugloss, bishopswort and hairif; pound the four herbs well together, squeeze them out, add thereto a spoonful of old soap; if you have a little oil, mingle it thoroughly [with the foregoing], and at night lather [the mixture] on. Scarify the neck after sunset, silently pour the blood into running water, spit three times thereafter, then say:—

"Take this evil [thing], and move away with it."

Afterwards go to your house by an open road, and go each way in silence.

## C 2. WIÐ WAMBEWÆRCE

Wiþ wambewærce and ryselwærce: þær þū gesēo tordwifel 115b  
on eorþan ūpweorpan, ymbfō hine mid twām handum mid his  
geweorpe, wāfa mid þīnum handum swīpe and cweð þriwa:

Remedium facio ad uentris dolorem.

- 5 Wearp þonne ofer bæc þone wifel on wege; beheald, þæt þū  
ne lōcige æfter. Þonne monnes wambe wærce oððe rysle,  
ymbfōh mid þīnum handum þā wambe. Him biþ sōna sēl.  
XII mōnaþ þū meaht swā dōn æfter þām wifele.

## C 3. WIÐ FLĒOGENDAN ĀTTRE

Āslēah IIII scearpan on fēower healfa mid æcenan brande; 174b  
geblōdga ðone brand, weorp on weg, sing ðis on III:

- + Matheus me ducat, + Marcus me conseruet, + Lucas me  
liberet, + Johannes me adiuuet, semper, amen. Contriue deus  
5 omnem malum et nequitiam, per uirtutem patris et filii et spiri-  
tus sancti. Sanctifica me, | emanuhel Jesus Christus, libera me 175a  
ab omnibus insidiis inimicis. Benedictio domini super capitem  
meum potens deus in omni tempore. Amen.

## C 4. WIÐ HUNTAN BITE

Wiþ þon gif hunta gebīte mannan, þæt is swīþra, slēah þrȳ 53b  
scearpan nēah fromweardes, lāet | yrnan þæt blōd on grēnne 54a  
sticcan hæslenne, weorp þonne ofer weg āweg: þonne ne biþ  
nān yfel.

- 5 Eft āslēah V scearpan, āne on þām bite and fēower ymbū-  
tan; weorp mid sticcan swīgende ofer wānweg.

## C 5. WIÐ ĀSWOLLENUM ĒAGUM

Genim cucune hrēfn, ādō þā ēagan of and eft cucune gebring 111b  
on wætre; and dō þā ēagan þāni men on swēoran, þe him þearf  
sīe. Hē biþ sōna hāl.

## D 1. WIÐ MARAN

Gif mon mare rīde, genim elehtran and gārlēac and betoni- 52b  
can and rēcels, bind on næsce; | hæbbe him mon on, and hē 53a  
gange in on þās wyrte.

C 3. — 1. L. IV. — 2. C., L. supply siðum and dagum, respectively, after III. — 3.  
MS., C., L. ducað. MS., C., L. conseruæð. — 4. MS., L. liberat. MS., L. adiuuat.

C 2. FOR BOWEL-PAIN

For pain in the bowels and in the fatty part of the abdomen: when you see a dung-beetle on the ground throwing up earth, seize him and the heap [he has made] with both hands, wave him vigorously with your hands and say three times:—

“Remedium facio ad ventris dolorem.”

Then throw away the beetle over your back; take care not to look after it. When a man's bowels or belly fat pain him, grasp his abdomen with your hands. He will soon be well. You will be able to do this for twelve months after [seizing] the beetle.

C 3. AGAINST INFECTIOUS DISEASE

Make four incisions in four parts [of the body] with an oaken stick; stain the stick with blood, throw it away, and over [the patient] sing this three times:—

“+ Matheus me ducat, + Marcus me conseruet, + Lucas me liberet, + Johannes me adiuuet, semper, amen. Contriue deus omnem malum et nequitiam, per uirtutem patris et filii et spiritus sancti. Sanctifica me, emanuel Jesus Christus, libera me ab omnibus insidiis inimicis. Benedictio domini super capitem meum potens deus in omni tempore. Amen.”

C 4. FOR A SPIDER-BITE

If a spider — that is, one of the fiercer kind — bite a man, make three incisions near but away from [the wound], let the blood run on a green hazel stick; throw [the stick] away across the road: then no ill will result.

Again, make five incisions, one on the bite and four around it; silently throw [the blood] with a stick across a cart-road.

C 5. FOR SWOLLEN EYES

Take a live crab, put out its eyes, and then return it alive to the water; and place the eyes around the neck of the man who needs them. He will soon be well.

D 1. AGAINST AN INCUBUS

If an incubus oppress a man, take lupine and garlic and betony and frankincense, bind them in a fawn-skin; let [the sufferer] have them on his person and let him go indoors with them.

C. suggests *contere* for *contriue*. — 6. MS., C. *xps*; L. *cristus*. — 7. MS., C., L. *inimici*. MS., C., L. *caput*.

C 4. — 2. C. *grenne*. — 6. C. *peorp* for *weorp*.

## D 2. WIÐ ONFEALLE

Gefōh fox, āslēah of cucum þone tuxl, læt hlēapan āweg; 39b  
bind on næsce; hafe þē on.

## D 3. WIÐ FĒONDES COSTUNGE

Rud molin hātte wyrt weaxeþ be yrnendum wætre. Gif þū 122b  
þā on þē hafast, and under þīnum hēafodbolstre and ofer þīnes  
hūses durum, ne mæg ðē dēofol sceþþan, inne|ne ūte. 123a

## D 4. WIÐ HĒAFODECE

Sēc lýtle stānas on swealwan bridda magan and heald, þæt 111b  
hīe ne hrīnan eorþan, ne wætre, ne oþrum stānum. Besēowa  
hira III on þōn þe þū wille, dō on þone mon þe him þearf sie.  
Him biþ sōna sēl. Hi bēoþ gōde wiþ hēafodece, and wiþ ēag-  
5 wærce, and wiþ fēondes costunga, and nihtgengan, and lencten-  
ādle, and maran, and wyrt-forbore, and malscra, and yflum  
gealdorcræftum. Hit sculon bēon micle briddas þe þū hīe scealt  
onfindan.

## D 5. GAGĀTES CRÆFTAS

Be þām stāne þe gagātes hātte, is sād, þæt hē VIII mægen 108a  
hæbbe. Ān is: þonne þunorrād biþ, ne sceþeð þām men þe þone  
stān mid him hæfð. Oþer mægen is: on swā hwilcūm hūse swā  
hē biþ, ne mæg þær inne fēond wesan. Þridde mægen is: þæt  
5 nān āttor þām men|ne mæg sceþþan þe þone stān mid him 108b  
hafað. Fēorþe mægen is: þæt sē man sē þe þone lāþan fēond on  
him dēagollice hæfþ, gif hē þæs stānes gesceafenes hwilcne dæl  
on wātan onfehð, þonne biþ sōna sweetol ætēowod on him,  
þæt ær dēagol māð. Fifte mægen is: sē þe ænigre ādle gedreht  
10 biþ, gif hē þone stān on wātan þigeþ, him biþ sōna sēl. Syxte  
mægen is: þæt drȳcræft þām men ne dereþ sē þe hine mid him  
hæfð. Seofþe mægen is: þæt sē þe þone stān on drince on-  
fehð, hē hæfþ þē smēþran lichoman. Eahtoþe is þæs stānes  
mægen: þæt nān nāedran cynnes bite þām sceþþan ne mæg, þe  
15 þone stān on wātan byrigþ.

## D 6. BLŌDSETEN

Gehāl beren ēar bestinge on ēare, swā hē nyte. Sume þis 20a  
writað:

D 3. — 1. C., L. niolin. — 2. L. *begins a new paragraph at* þinum. — 3. C. þe. MS., C. Inne.

## D 2. FOR A SWELLING

Catch a fox, cut off his tusk while he is alive, let him run away; bind [the tusk] in a fawn-skin; have it with you.

## D 3. AGAINST THE ASSAULTS OF THE FIEND

Red mullein is the name of an herb that grows near running water. If you have it on your person and under your pillow and over the doors of your house, a devil may not injure you within or without.

## D 4. FOR HEADACHE

Look for little stones in a young swallow's stomach, and take care that they touch neither earth, water, nor other stones. Select any three of them that you choose; put them on the person in distress: he will soon be well. They are good for headache, and for pain in the eyes, and against the temptations of a fiend, and against nocturnal demons, and for ague, and against incubi, and for sexual constriction, and for bewitchment, and against wicked incantations. They must be well-grown nestlings in whom you are to find the stones.

## D 5. THE VIRTUES OF JET

Of the stone called jet it is said that it has eight virtues. One is: when the thunder crashes, it will not harm the man who carries this stone with him. Another virtue is: in whatsoever house it may be, no demon can stay therein. The third virtue is: that no poison can injure the person who carries this stone with him. The fourth virtue is: that if the man who is secretly possessed with the hateful fiend, take, in liquid, any portion of the shavings of the stone — then that which before was profoundly concealed, will soon be visibly manifested in him. The fifth virtue is: if the person who is afflicted with any disease take the stone in liquid, he will soon be well. The sixth virtue is: that sorcery will not injure the man who carries [the stone] with him. The seventh virtue is: that he who takes the stone in a potion, will have so much the smoother body. The eighth virtue of the stone is: that no bite of any kind of snake can injure him who takes the stone in liquid.

## D 6. FOR STANCHING BLOOD

Thrust a whole ear of barley into [the sufferer's] ear in such a way that he be unaware of it. Some write the following:—

D 5. — 6. L. feondon.

+ Ægryn . thon . struth . fola argrenn . tart . struth . on . tria .  
 enn . piath . | hathu . morfana . on hæl + ara . carn . leou . groth . 20b  
 5 weorn . + + + fil . crondi . weorn . ✕ . mro . cron . ærcrio .  
 ermio . aer . leno .

Ge horse ge men blōdseten.

#### D 7. BE GALDORSTAFUM

Gif þū wille gān tō þīnum hlāforde oþþe tō kyninge oþþe tō 136b  
 oþrum menn oððe tō gemōte, þonne bær þū þās stafas: ælc þāra  
 þonne bið hē þē līpe and blīð.

XX . h . d . e . o . e . o . o . o . e . e . e . e . laf . d . R . U . fi .  
 5 ð . f . p . A . x . Box . Nux . In nomine patris Rex . M . p . x .  
 XIX . xls . xli . ih . + Deo . eo . deo . deco . lafdruel . bepax .  
 box . nux . bu . In nomine patris rex mariæ . Jesus Christus  
 dominus meus . Jesus + . Eonfra . senioribus . H . hrinlur . her .  
 letus contra me . hee . larrhibus excitatio pacis inter virum and  
 10 mulierem A . B . and alfa tibi reddit uota fructu leta . lita . tota .  
 tauta . uel tellus et ade uirescit.

#### D 8. WIÐ LĒODRŪNAN

Wiþ ælcra yfelre lēodrūnan and wið ælfsidenne, þis gewrit 52b  
 writ him, þis Grēciscum stafum:

+<sup>+</sup>A + + O + <sup>o</sup>Y + ipByM + + + + + : BeroNNIKNETTANI.

#### D 9. WIÐ LENCTENĀDLE

✕MMRMþ. Nandþ TX✕MREwNandþTX.

53a

Eft sceal mon swigende þis wītan, and dōn þās word swī-  
 gende on þā winstran brēost. And ne gā hē in on þæt gewrit, ne  
 in on ber. And ēac swigende þis on dōn:

5 HAMMANy°EL . BPONICe . NOY°ewTAY°EPG.

D 6. — 3. *The punctuation of MS. is followed in lines 3-6.* — 5. C. fīl. C., L. w for weorn. — 6. MS., C. aeR . leNo.

“ + Ægryn . thon . struth . fola argrenn . tart . struth . on . tria .  
enn . piath . hathu . morfana . on hæl + ara . carn . leou . groth .  
weorn . + + + fil . crondi . weorn . ✕ . mro . cron . ærcrio . ermio .  
aer . leno.”

For stanching blood in horse or man.

#### D 7. CONCERNING MAGIC WRITINGS

If you desire to go to your lord or to the king or to another man or to an assembly, then carry these writings with you: every one of them will then be friendly and gracious to you.

“XX . h . d . e . o . e . o . o . o . e . e . e . laf . d . R . U . fi . ŝ .  
f . p . A . x . Box . Nux . In nomine patris Rex . M . p . x . XIX . xls .  
xli . ih . + Deo . co . deo . deeo . lafdruel . bepax . box . nux . bu . In  
nomine patris rex mariæ . Jesus Christus dominus meus . Jesus + .  
Eonfra . senioribus . H . hrinlur . her . letus contra me . hee . larrhibus  
excitatio pacis inter virum and mulierem A . B . and alfa tibi reddit  
uota fructu leta . lita . tota . tauta . uel tellus et ade uirescit.”

#### D 8. AGAINST A SORCERESS

Against every wicked sorceress and against elfin influence, write for [the patient] this writing and these Greek letters: —

+ <sup>+</sup>A + + O + <sup>o</sup>Ÿ + ipByM + + + + + : BeroNNIKNETTANI.

#### D 9. FOR AGUE

✕MMRMp . Nandp TX✕MREwNandpTX.

Again, a man must silently write the above and silently put those words on his left breast. And let him not go indoors with the writing, nor carry it indoors. And [he must] also silently put this on:—

HAMMANy°EL . BPONICe . NOY°ewTAY°EPG.

D 7. — 1. MS. *unintelligible between wille and to*; C. wille g to. 11. C. t for et.

D 8. — 3. C. + + A. C. Bepp.

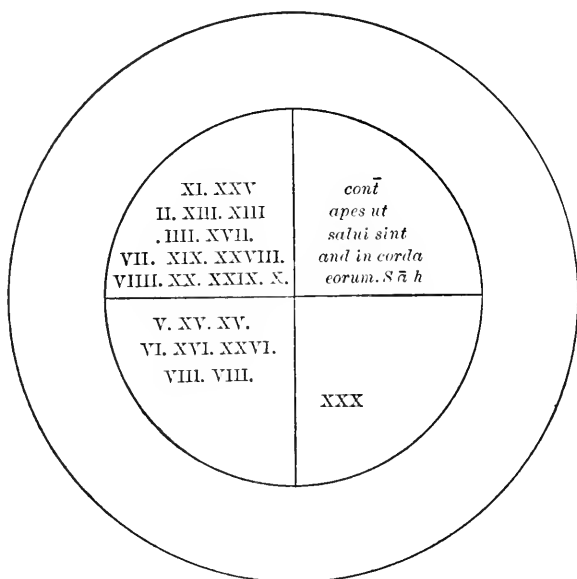
## D 10. WIÐ ŪTSIHTE

Þysne pistol sē ængel brōhte tō Rōme, þā hȳ wæran mid 183b  
 ūtsiht micclum geswæncte. Writ þis on swā langum bōcfelle,  
 þæt hit mæge befōn ūtan þæt hēafod, and hōh on þæs mannes  
 swēoran, þe him þearf sȳ. Him bið sōna sēl:

- 5 Ranmigan adonai eltheos mur. O ineffabile Omiginan mid  
 anmian misane|dimas mode mida memagartem Orta min sig- 184a  
 mone beronice irritas uenas quasi dulap feruor fruxantis sangui-  
 nis siccatur fla fracta frigula mirgui etsihdon segulta frautantur  
 in arno midoninis abar uetho sydone multo saccula pp pppp  
 10 sother sother miserere mei deus deus mini deus mi. λ )~( Ny  
 Alleluiah. Alleluiah.

## D 11. FELD-BÖT

Þis is Sancte Columcille Circul:



- Writ þysne circul mid þines cnīfes orde on ānum mealan 13b  
 stāne, and slēah ænne stacan on middan þām ymbhagan; and  
 lege þone stān on uppān þām stacan þæt hē bēo eall under eorðan  
 5 būtan þām gewritenan.

D 10. — 10. The symbols are illegible; L. omits them. — 11. MS., All. All., with both  
 "l's" crossed.



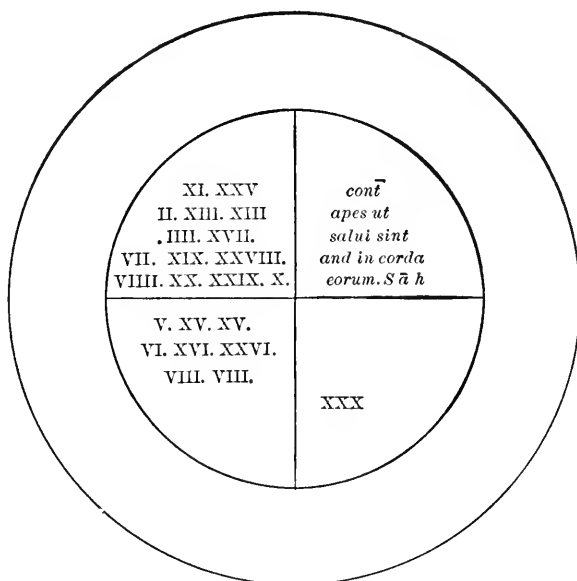
D 10. FOR DIARRHŒA

The angel brought this epistle to Rome when they were severely scourged with diarrhœa. Write this on a parchment so long that it can envelop the head outside, and hang it on the neck of the person who is in distress. He will soon be well:—

“Ranmigan adonai eltheos mur. O ineffabile Omiginan mid anmian misane dimas mode mida memagartem Orta min sigmone beronice irritas uenas quasi dulap feruor fruxantis sanguinis siccatur fla fracta frigula mirgui etsihdon segulta frautantur in arno midoninis abar uetho sydone multo saccula pp pppp sother sother miserere mei deus deus mini deus mi. λ )~( N y Alleluiah. Alleluiah.”

D 11. A FIELD REMEDY

This is St. Columbkil's circle:—



Inscribe this circle with the point of your knife on a meal stone, and drive a stake into the middle of the hedge surrounding your land; then lay the stone against the stake so that it will all be underground except the side written upon.

## D 12. WIÐ ÞĒOFENDE

Þonne þē man hwet forstele, āwrīt þis swīgende and dō on 13b  
þinne winstran scō under þinum hō. Þonne geācsaxt þū hit  
sōna.

<i>er</i>	<i>hx</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>xh</i>	<i>hx</i>

## E 1. WIÐ LÆTBYRDE

Sē wīfman, sē hire cild āfēdan ne mæg, gange tō gewītenes 185b  
mannes birgenne, and stæppe þonne þriwa ofer þā byrgenne,  
and cweþe þonne þriwa þās word:

- 5            þis mē tō bōte þære lāþan lætbyrde,  
             þis mē tō bōte þære swāðran swærtbyrde,  
             þis mē tō bōte þære lāðan lambyrde.

And þonne þæt wīf sēo mid bearne and hēo tō hyre hlāforde  
on reste gā, þonne cweþe hēo:

- 10            Ūp ic gonge, ofer þē stæppe  
             mid cwican cilde, nalæs mid cwellendum,  
             mid fulborenum nalæs mid fægan.

And þonne sēo mōdor gefēle þæt þæt bearn sī cwic, gā þonne  
tō cyrican, and þonne hēo tōforan þān wēofode cume, cweþe  
þonne:

- 15            Crīste, ic sāde, þis gecyþed.

D 12. AGAINST THEFT

When a man steals anything from you, write this silently and put it in your left shoe under your heel. Then you will soon find out about it.

<i>er</i>	<i>hx</i>
<i>h</i>	<i>h</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>d</i>
<i>xh</i>	<i>hx</i>

E 1. FOR DELAYED BIRTH

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child go to the grave of a wise man, and step three times over the grave, and then say these words three times:—

“This be my cure for the loathsome late-birth,  
This be my cure for the grievous swart-birth,  
This be my cure for the loathsome lame-birth.”<sup>1</sup>

And when the woman is with child and she goes to bed to her husband, then let her say, —

“Up I go, over you I step,  
With a live child not with a dying one,  
With a full-born child, not with a dead one.”

And when the mother feels that the child is quick, let her then go to church, and when she comes before the altar, let her then say:—

“By Christ, I said, this [miracle] has been manifested.”

<sup>1</sup> That is, imperfect birth.

Sē wifmon, sē hyre bearn āfēdan ne mæge, genime hēo sylf  
hyre āgenes cildes gebyrgenne dæl, wrȳ æfter þonne on blace  
wulle and bebigce tō cēpemannum, and cweþe þonne:

20                   | Ic hit bebigce, ge hit bebigcan,                   185b  
                    þās sweartan wulle and þysse sorge corn.

Sē wifman, sē ne mæge bearn āfēdan, nime þonne ānes blēos  
cū meoluc on hyre handa, and gesupe þonne mid hyre mūþe,  
and gange þonne tō yrnendum wætere and spīwe þær in þā  
meolc; and hlade þonne mid þære ylcan hand þæs wæteres  
25 mūdfulne and forswelge. Cweþe þonne þās word:

Gehwēr fērde ic mē þone mæran maga þihtan  
mid þysse mæran mete þihtan;  
þonne ic mē wille habban and hām gān.

þonne hēo tō þān brōce gā, þonne ne besēo hēo, nō ne eft  
30 þonne hēo þanan gā; and þonne gā hēo in oþer hūs oþer hēo ūt  
ofēode and þær gebyrge metes.

#### E 2. WIÐ YLFA GESCOTUM

Gif hors ofscoten sīe, nim þonne þæt seax þe þæt hæfte sīe 106a  
fealo hrȳperes horn, and sīen III ærene næglas on. Wrīt þonne  
þām horse on þām hēafde foran crīstes mæl, þæt hit blēde; wrīt  
þonne on þām hricge crīstes mæl, and on leoþa gehwilcum þe þū  
5 ætfēolan mæge. Nim þonne þæt winestre ēare, þurhsting  
swīgende. Þis þū scealt dōn: Genim āne girde, slēah on þæt  
bæc, þonne biþ þæt hors hāl. And āwrīt on þæs seaxes horne  
þās word:

Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum.

10   Sȳ þæt ylfa þe him sīe, þis him mæg tō bōte.

#### E 3. WIÐ MŌNADSEOCNESSE

Wiþ þon þe mon sīe mōnaþ sēoc, nim mereswīnes fel, wyrce 120a  
tō swipan; swing mid þone man: sōna bið sēl. Amen.

#### E 4. WIÐ SWĪNA FĒR-STEORFAN

Dōa in heora mete: sēoð glidan, syle etan; nim ēac elehtran, 178a  
bisceopwyrnt and cassuc, ðēfeþorn, hegerifan, haranspicel. Sing  
ofer fēower mæssan, drīf on fald, hōh ðā wyrte on fēower healfe  
and on þān dore, bærn, dō rēcels tō. Læt yrnan ofer þone rēc.

E 1. — 16. K. wifman. — 17. K. þry. K. ðon or. — 21. MS., C. man for wifman.  
MS., C. se þe; K. seðe ne. — 22. MS., C. handa. — 24. W. meocl. — 28. K. ðone.  
— 29. K. omits ne before beseo.

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child, herself take some [earth] from the grave of one of her own children, wrap it up afterwards in black wool, sell it to merchants, and then say:—

“I sell it or have sold it,  
This evil wool and the grains of this woe.”

Let the woman who cannot bring forth her child take, in her palm, the milk of a cow of one color and sop it up with her mouth, and then go to running water and spit the milk therein; and with the same hand let her scoop up a mouthful of the water and swallow it. Let her then say these words:—

“Always have I carried with me this great strong hero,  
Through this famous food, a hero.  
Then I wish to have it and go home.”

When she goes to the brook, then let her not look around, nor yet when she goes thence; and let her thereafter go into a house other than the one from which she set out, and there let her take food.

#### E 2. FOR ELF-SHOT

If a horse is elf-struck, take a knife of which the handle is horn from a tawny ox and on which are three brass nails. Then inscribe a cross on the horse's forehead until it bleed; next mark a cross on [the animal's] back and on each of its limbs that you can hold on to. Then grasp the left ear, pierce it in silence. This you must do: take a stick, strike [the horse] on its back, then it will be well. And on the horn of the knife inscribe these words:—

“Benedicite omnia opera domini dominum.”

Be the elf who he may, this will suffice as a cure for him.

#### E 3. FOR LUNACY

If a man is demented, take the skin of a porpoise, make it into a whip, flog the man with it: he will soon be well. Amen.

#### E 4. FOR SUDDEN PESTILENCE AMONG SWINE

Put into their food:—boil iris, give it [them] to eat; also take lupine, bishopswort and hassock, buckthorn, hairif, viper's bugloss. Sing four masses over [the herbs], drive [the swine] into the fold. Hang the herbs on the four sides and on the door, burn them, add frankincense. Let the smoke pour over [the animals].

E 2. — 1. L. *pe.* — 3. C. *omits* pæt hit . . . cristes mæl.  
E 4. — 1. C. *do a.*

## E 5. WIÐ ÞĀ STĪÞESTAN FĒFERAS

Genim þās sylfan wyrte, [smeoruwyrte], and gedrige hȳ; 27b  
smoca þonne þærmid. Hēo āfligð nalæs þone fēfer ēac swylce  
dēofulsēcnyssa.

## E 6. WIÐ DWEORH

Writ þis ondlang þā earmas wiþ dweorh: 164b  
+t+ w̄ Ā

and gnīd cȳleðēnigean on ealað. Sanctus Macutus, sancte  
Victorici. | Writ þis ondlang þā earmas wið dweorh: 165a

5 +t+p+t+N+w+t+m+M+w̄ Ā

and gnīd cȳleþēnigean on ealað. Sanctus Macutus, sancte  
Victorici.

## E 7. WIÐ BLÖDRENE OF NOSU

Wið blōdrene of nosu, wriht tō his forhēafod on Crīstes mēl: 19

Stomen  
Stomen metafolu +  
calcos +

## E 8. WIÐ ÆLFCYNNE

Wyrce sealfe wiþ ælfcynne and nihtgengan and þām mannum 123a  
þe dēofol midhæmð. Genim ēowohumelan, wermōd, bisceop-  
wyrte, elehtre, æscþrote, beolone, hārewyrte, haransprecel,  
hæþbergean wīsan, crāwlēac, gārleac, hegerifan corn, gyþrife,  
5 finul. Dō þās wyrta on ān fæt, sete under wēofod, sing ofer  
VIII mæssan, āwyl on buteran and on scēapes smerwe, dō  
hāliges sealtas fela on, āsēoh þurh clāð; weorþ þā wyrta on  
yrnende wæter. Gif men hwilc yfel costung weorþe, oþþe ælf  
| oþþe nihtgengan, smire his andwlitan mid þisse sealfe, and on 123b  
10 his ēagan dō, and þær him sē lichoma sār sīe, and rēcelsa hine,  
and sēna gelōme. His þing biþ sōna sēlre.

E 5.—MSS. = V., B., H. Ed. = C. — H. þæ. H., V., C. stīpustan. — 1. B. gedrig hig. —  
2. H. mænge hi smoca hy þoñ. B. þarmid. B. næles; H. nælas. — 3. B. seocnessa; H.  
seocnesse.

E 5. FOR THE STUBBORNEST FEVERS

Take the same herb, [smerewort], and dry it; then smoke the patient with it. It will drive away not only the fever but also demoniacal possession.

E 6. AGAINST A DWARF

Against a dwarf write this along the arms:—

+t+ $\bar{w}$   $\bar{A}$

and crumble celandine into ale. St. Macutus, St. Victoricus. Against a dwarf write this along the arms:—

+t+p+t+N+w+t+m+M+ $\bar{w}$ + $\bar{A}$

and crumble celandine into ale. St. Macutus, St. Victoricus.

E 7. FOR NOSE-BLEED

For a hemorrhage at the nose: inscribe [the following] crosswise on the sufferer's forehead:

	Stomen	
Stomen	metafu	calcos +
	+	

E 8. AGAINST THE ELFIN RACE

Make a salve against the elfin race and against nocturnal demons and against the women whom the fiend cohabits with. Take the female hop-plant, wormwood, bishopswort, lupine, vervain, henbane, harewort, viper's bugloss, whortleberry plants, crow-leek, garlic, hairif grains, cockle, fennel. Put the herbs into a vessel, place them under the altar, sing nine masses over them, boil them in butter and in sheep's grease, add plenty of consecrated salt, strain through a cloth; throw the herbs into running water. If any wicked temptation come to a man, or an elf or a nocturnal demon [assail him], smear his forehead with this salve, and put some on his eyes and some where his body is sore; and perfume him with incense, and repeatedly sign him with the sign of the cross. His condition will soon be better.

E 6. — 1 L. da. — 2. C.  $\bar{w}$ ; L. omits  $\bar{A}$ . — 3. MS., L.  $\bar{s}$ . for sanctus. — 5. C. m+ $\omega$ .

E 7. — 1. C. wid.

E 8. — 4. C., L. cropleac. — 6. L. IX.

## E 9. WIÐ NÆDRAN BITE

Sume ān word wið nædran bite lærað tō cweþenne, þæt is: 43a  
 "faul." Ne mæg him derian. Wið nædran slite, gif hē beget and  
 yt rinde sīo þe cymð of neorxnawonge, ne dereð him nān  
 ātter.

## E 10. WIÐ WYRT-FORBORE

Gif mon sīe wyrtum forboren, sele springwyr̃t þæt hē ete, 43b  
 and hāligwæter sūpe. Wiþ þon þe mon sīe forboren, gif hē  
 hæfþ on him scyttisc weax, þā smalan āttorlāðan, oððe on  
 āwyldum ealað drince, ne mæg hine wyrtum forberan.

## E 11. WIÐ DWEORG

Dweorg on weg tō donne: hwītes hundes þost gecnucadne 46a  
 tō dūste and gemenged wið meluwe and tō cicle ābacen; syle  
 etan þām untruman men, ær þære tīde hys tōcymes, swā on  
 dæge swā on nihte swæþer hyt sȳ. His tōgān bið ðearle strang;  
 5 and æfter þām hē lȳtlað and on weg gewīteþ.

## E 12. WIÐ WĪFGEMÆDLAN

Geberge on neahtnestig rædices moran. Þȳ dæge ne mæg þē 122b  
 sē gemædla sceþþan.

## E 13. WIÐ WENNUM

Gif wænnas eglīan mæn æt þære heortan, gange mædenman 189a  
 tō wylle þe rihte ēast yrne, and gehlade āne cuppan fulle forð  
 mid ðām strēame, and singe þæron Crēdan and Paternoster;  
 and gēote þonne on oþer fæt, and hlade eft oþre, and singe eft  
 5 Crēdan and Paternoster, and dō swā, þæt þū hæbbe þrēo. Dō  
 swā nygon dagas; sōna him bið sēl.

## E 14. WIÐ ÆLFE AND WIÐ SIDSAN

Wið ælfe and wiþ uncūþum sidsan, gnīd myrran on wīn and 107b  
 hwītes rēcelses emmicel, and sceaf gagātes dæl þæs stānes on  
 þæt wīn. Drince III morgenas|neahtnestig, oþþe VIII oþþe 108a  
 XII.

E. 11. MSS. = V., B., O. Ed. = C. — 1. C. dreorg. B. gecnocodne. — 2. B. gemænged;  
 V. gemengen. V., C. meolowe. — 3. V. þær; B. þære. — 4. V. wswa on for swa on.  
 B. swa hwþer.



E 9. AGAINST SNAKE-BITE

Against snake-bite, some advise us to pronounce one word, that is, "Faul;" [then] it will not be able to damage him. For a bite made by a snake, if the sufferer procure and eat the rind which comes from Paradise, no poison will injure him.

E 10. FOR SEXUAL CONSTRICTION

If a man is sexually restrained by herbs, give him the caper-plant to eat and let him drink holy water. Should a man be restrained: if he have Scotch wax [and] the slender betony on his person — or let him drink [them] in boiled ale — he cannot be restrained by herbs.

E 11. AGAINST A DWARF

To drive away a dwarf: the dung of a white dog pounded to a dust and mixed with flour and baked to a cake; give it the afflicted person to eat before the time of the dwarf's arrival, either in the daytime or at night, whichever it may be. His attack will [at first] be exceedingly severe, but after that it will abate and completely pass away.

E 12. AGAINST A WITCH'S SPELL

After fasting for a night, eat the root of a radish. On that day the spell will not have power to harm you.

E 13. FOR WENS

If tumors near the heart afflict a man, let a virgin go to a spring which runs due east, and draw a cupful, moving [the cup] with the current, and sing upon it the *Creed* and a *Paternoster*; and then pour it into another vessel, and thereafter draw some more, and again sing the *Creed* and a *Paternoster*, and do this until you have three [cups full]. Do this so for nine days: he will soon be well.

E 14. AGAINST AN ELF AND AGAINST CHARM-MAGIC

Against an elf and against strange charm-magic: into wine crumble myrrh and an equal portion of white frankincense, and shave a part of the stone, jet, into the wine. After fasting at night, drink this for three or for nine or for twelve mornings.

E 13. — 2. K. riht.

E 14. — 3. L. IX.

## NOTES

## A 1

MS. — Harley 585, p. 175 a.

Editions. — Wr. ii, 237; G. ii, 1039; K. i, 403; E. 302; B. i, lxxxv; R. 142; C. iii, 52; S. 122; WA. 33; W. i, 317.

Translations. — English: C. iii, 53; Stallybrass, iii, 1244; Brooke, 159; Gum. 372; Cook and Tinker, 168. — German: G. ii, 1040; B. i, lxxxvii; Kögel, i, 93.

Criticisms. — G. ii, 1039; K. i, 403; B. i, 88; Ten Brink, i, 66; Brooke, 159; Kögel, i, 93 ff.

Analysis. — The spell is intended to cure a sudden twinge or stitch, possibly rheumatism, supposedly due (see lines 3, 8, 19, 23, and 24) to shots sent by witches, elves, and other spirits flying through the air. The charm falls naturally into five divisions: 1 (lines 1-2), A recipe for a magic herbal concoction; 2 (lines 2-5), The epic introduction; 3 (lines 6-17), The attack of the flying demons and the exorcist's three retaliatory measures, — flying dart, knife forged by the smith, and spears wrought by six smiths; 4 (lines 18-28), The principal incantation; 5 (line 29), A final direction to the exorcist.

A similar charm is found among the Finns (see Comparetti, 273 ff.), but the epic elements are missing. Spears and arrows have been hurled by a malignant sorcerer, while the healing exorcist threatens to attack the evil one with magic pincers made by the great smith Ilmarinen. Another Finnish charm against stitch is in Aber. i, 345. Cf. also the remedy in EE 15 for "hwæt-hwega þæs þe fram scottum come."

*Wið Færstice*. — "Gegen Hexenstich" is the German title for such charms. Other charms for shots are DD 12, EE 2, and EE 27.

3. — Cf. the myth of the "furious host," or "wild hunt," a hideous rout of spirits led by Woden in the capacity of god of the winds and the tempest (see Grimm, ii, 765; and Mogk in *Grdr.* 1002). An Icelandic charm against witches riding through the air is in *Höfvarfól*, 154.

6. — *Út, lýtel spere*, etc. — This formula occurs four times in Part 3, of which it forms the keynote. It is stated at the beginning, and repeated after the mention of each counter-measure. At its fourth appearance it reads, "Out spear, not in, spear." Cf. the formula "In dock, out nettle," common in the north of England as a spell for nettle-sting (Henderson, 17), and used to express inconstancy in Chaucer's *Troil. and Cris.* iv, 461: "*Nelle in, dokke out, now this, now that Pandare.*" Cf. also "*Gang ut, nesso*," a formula in the OHG. charm against worms (*Denkm.* i, 17); and "Out fire, in frost," common in England (*F. L. S.*, *passim*).

8. — *Mihtigan wif*. A conciliatory, flattering expression like *sigewif* in A 4.

13. — *Sat smið*. Wayland possibly. Cf. Ilmarinen, above.

14. — *Īserna wund*. A half-line appears to be missing. Rieger expands into *Īserna vrāðost vundrum sviðe*. Kögel changes to *Īsern āwund swiðe*. *Āwund* is formed like *āwōh* (= *mid wōge*, etc.), and means *valde vulnerans* (= *stark im verwunden*). The translation would be "A smith sat, he wrought a little knife, a sharp cutting-iron."

16. — Meyer (160) declares that the smiths were undoubtedly elves.

20. — The concatenation in lines 20–22 resembles that in lines 6–8 of the Merseburg dislocation spell (*Denkm.* i, 16).

21. — The second half-line was first inserted by Grimm; other Edd. followed.

23. — The degradation of the gods, who are mentioned in one breath with elves and witches, is due to Christian influence. With *ēsa gescot* cf. *Indra shots* in *AV.* iv, 37; with *ylfa gescot* cf. German *Alpschoss* (Meyer, 155), Swed. *aelfqvarn*, Eng. *elfstone*, Norw. *alfpil*, Scotch *elf-flint*, *elf-arrow*, *elf-bolt*. In Scotland, elf-bolts were long believed to be actual missiles such as those referred to in the charm. Sick cattle in Norway are still called *aeliskudt* (=“elf-shot”). Later superstition spoke of shots sent by the Devil. See spell *Contra sagittam diaboli* (Grimm, ii, 1032). Cf., further, *pā deoflu jeohtende scuton heora fýrenan flān ongēan ðā sǣwle* (*Ælf.*, *Hom.* ii, 142). Shots of fiends arouse unholy desires in men (see *Beowulf*, 1743–47).

27. — *Flēoh*, etc. A command formula (cf. *charac.* 4, p. 115). Witches and spirits generally, were, in later folk-lore, believed to live in hills, rocks, wildernesses, etc. (see Grimm, ii, 795 ff.). The same formula is found in a Syriac charm (see *Journ. Am. Orient. Soc.* xv, 284). — C. translates the line “Fled Thor to the mountain. Hallows he had two.” K.’s reading agrees with C.’s; so that W., in footnote to (his) line 27, erroneously quotes K. — G. first inserted the second half-line; W. omits it.

29. — *Seax*. The knife is apparently to be used on some dummy representing the evil spirits (cf. *charac.* 9, p. 119 [association of ideas]).

#### A 2

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 167 a.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 42; W. i, 326; Sch. (in *Angl.* xxx, 257) prints the verse only.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 42; Brooke, 473; Sch. in *Angl.* 258.

*Criticism.* — Brooke, 473.

*Analysis.* — The charm falls into two main divisions: A (lines 1–8), comprising directions for a superstitious ceremonial; B (lines 9–21), including the incantatory portion. In part A, lines 1–3 form a Christian preface to the superstitious ritual of lines 4–8. Part B is a characteristic Heathen spell with an epic passage (lines 9–16) and an “Amen fiat” tacked on at the end to save appearances.

Wülker (i, 326, note to line 12) concludes from line 16 that the charm is for a tumor on the neck. The inference is open to question. From E 11, also against a dwarf, one would conclude that some paroxysmal disease was meant. Cf. Cockayne, i, 364, and iii, 38. I take *hit*, line 7, to refer to the *spider-wiht* of line 9. The spider cure is a common one in folk-lore (see Black, 59 ff.; and *Suffolk*, 21). Spiders were hung around the neck, the arm, etc., irrespective of the seat of the disease. — The incantatory passage is full of obscurities, but the general meaning can be puzzled out. *pū* (line 11) refers to the plaguing dwarf responsible for the attack; and the sense is that the spider wight is to ride off, using the dwarf-demon as his horse (cf. demons riding men [Grimm, i, 384]). As soon as they have ridden away, the wounds begin to cool. — From line 17, it would appear that the spell was first pronounced by some woman famed for her charm-lore (cf. the spells of Groa [see *Grógaldr* in *Sviþdagsmál*]). For the importance of women as exorcists in early Germanic times, see Meyer, 306 ff., and Gum. 389).

4. — *Maximianus*, etc. The famous seven youths of Ephesus who slept in Mt. Celion for 230 years. The same persons are invoked in AA 15. In AA 14, "for fever," the sleepers are (less usually) named Eugenius, Stephanus, Portarius, Dyonisius, Sambucius, Cecilius, Cyriacus.

10. — *Haman*, *hama* = *camus*.

12. — *Legeh hē*, etc. The reconstruction is Schlutter's.

19. — *Galdor begytan*, etc., and *galdor ongalan*, etc., in the next line, point to specific ability demanded of exorcismal craftsmen.

## A 3

MS. — Royal 4 A xiv, p. 23 a.

Editions. — Bi. 485; Z<sup>2</sup>. in *ZfdA.* xxxi, 45.

Translations. — Bi. 485; Z<sup>2</sup>. 47; Black, 169.

Analysis. — This is a quaint charm, quite unlike any other in the A group: it lacks the epic passage and the heroic style characteristic of the poetic incantations. The exorcist first uses a command formula (lines 1-3), then adopts a persuasive tone in lines 4-5, only to return to another command in lines 6-7, and to a typical exorcism (lines 8-13) based on similitude (see charac. 9, p. 119). The passage includes a series of six similes, whose force rests on sympathy between the respective similes and the desired extinction of the wen.

3. — *þū . . . berhge*. Cf. *Flēoh þār*, etc. (A 1, line 27). The same command is given to the Plague in a Finnish song (Shröter, 60).

6. — Cf. "on the bear's paw, on the wolf's claw and on the eagle beak," in *Sigrdrifumöl*, 16. For the eagle's influence in similar cases, see spells in AV. i, 153.3 and 296.1.

9. — *Scearn āwāge*. The MS. reading *scesne awage* is unintelligible. Z<sup>2</sup>. suggests *scearn*, and *āwāge* may be taken for *on wāge*.

## A 4

MS. — Corpus Christi, 41, p. 202.

Editions. — G. i, 358 and ii, 1040; K. i, 404 (lines 7-11 only); R. 143 (lines 7-11); C. i, 384; S. 122; Z. 189 ff.; WA. 34; W. i, 319.

Translations. — English : C. i, 385; K. i, 404; Stallybrass, i, 431 and iii, 1245; Brooke, 155; Cook and Tinker, 167. — German : Z. 189 ff.

Criticisms. — Z. i, 189 ff.; Brooke, 156.

Analysis. — The charm is in two parts: the first consisting of the introduction and of the first speech; the second, of the directions and of the concluding speech. The second part was long believed to be a separate spell referring to the Valkyries (cf. *sigewif*, line 8). Grimm noticed a connection between the passages, but Cockayne first printed the complete charm.

The spell reveals affinities with the OHG. *Lorscher Bienensegen* (*Denkm.* i, 34), and with other German spells in *Denkm.* ii, 90 ff. Also cf. the Latin bee spells in *Analecta Græciensa*, No. 2; in Grimm, ii, 1032; ii, 1037; and in *Zupitza*, 191. DD 1 is an AS. amulet charm for loss of bees.

For superstitions about bees, see Grimm, ii, 579 ff., and 755, note 1; Gum. 45; F. L. S. xxxvi, Part II, 5 ff.; Germ. i, 107.

1. — Cf. *Et tange terram utraque manu et dic . . .* in epilepsy spell (*Denkm.* ii, 300).

3. — *Fō ic*, etc. Cf. *Vro unde Lazakere giengen fōld petretton* (= "went to

tread the earth") in *Strassburger Blutsegen* (*Denkm.* i, 18). — W. makes *funde* optative.

4. — *Eorðe mæg*, etc. The earth spirit is meant (cf. B 5, line 14).

6. — "Mighty man" may be a flattering designation of the sorcerer who is held responsible for the swarming (cf. charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

7. — C. adds *and wið on* to line 6, and translates "and against displeasure." Z. *wiðon*, *wiððon* (= *dagegen*). W. suggests *Wið ðon þonne* (or *þæt*) *hī swirman, forweorþ ojer grēol and cweð*.

8. — *Sitte gē, sigewif*. Cf. *sizi, sizi, bīna*, in *Lorscher Bienensegen*. — *Sigewif* was an appellation of the Valkyries, and is probably used here with the idea of mollifying or conciliating the rebellious spirit of the bees. Perhaps there was also an idea of the bees being "servants of Woden," for we find them called "*ancilla dei*" in a Latin charm (*Anal. Græc.* No. 2). Kögel thinks *sigewif* a title like that in "Lady bird, lady bird, fly away home."

9. — *Nājre gē*, etc. Cf. *Zi holce ne fluc du*, in *Lorscher Bienensegen*.

## A 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 136 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 10; L. 125.

Translations. — C. iii, 11; *Eng. Med.* 122.

Worms in men and beasts were regarded as elfish demons (see Grimm, ii, 968; and Kuhn, 135). In *Sal and Sat.*, line 305, we read of demons that

"Hwylum flotan grīpað,  
hwylum hīc gewendað on wyrmes lic  
scearpes and sticoles, stingað nýten,  
. . . feoh gestrūdað."

Spells against worms abound in the several Indo-European languages. In Hindu, Teutonic, and Slavic spells alike, the worms are described as having definite colors, — chiefly black, white, red, — and males and females are separately mentioned as in the AS. charm. Thus the worm spell in *AV.* ii, 23, speaks of

"All the worms that are male and all that are female,  
Their heads will I cleave with a stone, their jaws will I burn with fire."

Other Hindu worm spells in *AV.* ii, 31 and 32. Cf. also the OHG. incantation *Contra Vermes* (*Denkm.* i, 17); the AS. charm remedies EE 17 and EE 22; the charms in Grimm, ii, 1032; and iii, 500; and those in *Denkm.* i, 181.

4. — Lines 4–8 form a jingle charm (see Group A, II (a), pp. 125 ff.). Owing to the effort which these jingles imposed on the memory, they doubtless suffered from successive transmissions. The following rearrangement is suggested as more closely resembling the characteristics of the jingle charm: —

"Gonomil, orgomil, marbumil,  
tofeð tengo marbsairamum,  
biran duill docuillo,  
cuiðar cæfmiil marbsiramum,  
scuiht cuib, scuiht cuillo."

This jingle is referred to in BB 4 as the "worm charm."

11. — *Spātelle*. For spitting as a charm procedure, see Crombie, 249; and cf. charac. 10, p. 122.

## A 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 178 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 58; L. 145.

Translation. — C. iii, 59.

A jingle charm (cf. pp. 125 ff.).

## A 7

MS. — Harley 585, p. 182 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 62; L. 148.

Translation. — C. iii, 63.

Also a jingle charm (cf. Group A. II (a), p. 125).

## A 8

MS. — Cotton Faustina A x, p. 116 a.

Edition. — C. iii, 294.

3. — A very similar jingle is found in B 6 (see notes to that charm; cf. also the gibberish formula in D 10, an amulet charm).

## A 9

MS. — Harley 585, p. 182 a.

Editions. — K. i, 528; C. iii, 62; L. 147.

Translations. — C. iii, 63; *Eng. Med.* 136.

Criticism. — *Eng. Med.* 136.

Analysis. — See p. 127. The spell really constitutes a "command" formula (see charac. 4, p. 112). *Noðþe* is apparently the demon whose nine sisters are blamed for the disease. The name may be a corrupt form of a word which originally designated the scrofulous glands which the charm is to cure. Marcellus (xv, 102) has a similar spell for "glands:" *novem glandulæ sorores, octo glandulæ sorores*, etc., down to *una glandula soror*, and ending with *nulla fit glandula*. In the OS. *Segen "Contra Vermes"* (*Denkm.* i, 17), we read, "Go out *nesso*, with your nine young ones." A Russian spell mentions nine sisters who plague mankind with fevers (see Grimm, ii, 966). Nine was a favorite number in Germanic folk-lore (cf. charac. 10, p. 122; also cf. the nine Valkyries, our modern "nine days' wonder," etc.).

Charm A 9 has been preserved in several modern English versions, among others in the following Cornish jingle, —

*Charm for a Tetter*

"Tetter, tetter, thou hast nine brothers,  
God bless the flesh and preserve the bone,  
Perish thou tetter and be thou gone.

In the name, etc.

Tetter, tetter, thou hast eight brothers," —

and so on, till Tetter, having no brother, is imperatively ordered to be gone (see Hunt, *Popular Romances of the West of England* [London, 1896], 414).

10. — *Tō nānum*. Cf. A 3, line 13.

11. — *Weormes* instead of *wurmes* (see Sievers in *P. B. B.* ix, 202).

## A 10

MS. — Harley 585, p. 135 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 8; L. 124.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 9; *Eng. Med.* 120.

*Criticism.* — *Eng. Med.* 120.

The superstition that toothache was caused by worms gnawing at the teeth, was a widespread one (see Flemish, German, and Hindu charms in Kuhn, 145 ff.; and Middle and Modern English charms in *F. L. S.*, *passim*). Shakespeare refers to the belief in *Much Ado*, III, ii, 26.

"*D. Pedro.* What! Sigh for the toothache?"

*Leon.* Where is but a humor or a worm."

In Madagascar the sufferer from toothache is said to be *maràry olitra* ("poorly through the worm") (see *Folk-Lore Record*, ii, 36). In Manx, toothache is *Beishtyn*, the plural form of *Beisht* (= "a beast") (Kelly, *Manx Dictionary*); and in Gaelic, *cnuimh* ("a worm") forms half the name of toothache, which is *cnuimh fhiacall* (McLeod and Dewar, *Gaelic Dictionary*). For worms as demons, see notes to A 5. Toothache is attributed to a devil in AA 4.

2. — *Caio laio*, etc. One may suppose that a monkish hand added a formula from a Latin charm to the original OE. spell. Through successive transcriptions the changed formula grew unintelligible. *Caio laio* probably stands for *Gaio Seio*, used in Latin charms for "a certain person;" as we say, "A or B" (see *Eng. Med.* 120).

3. — *Nemne*, etc. Cf. charac. 6, p. 117. — *Lilumenne*. Probably the name of some spirit here appealed to, perhaps simply a mystic word (cf. characs. 2 and 3, pp. 112 ff.).

4. — *Cōliað*. An Anglian form (cf. Sievers, ¶ 412, Anm. 5).

#### A 11

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 186 a.

*Editions.* — K. i, 529; C. iii, 70; L. 150.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 71.

*Analysis.* — Lines 1-4 state the ceremonial directions; lines 5-7, the incantation. The latter is a rhythmical but unintelligible mixture of liturgical Latin and gibberish. Another charm against erysipelas is AA 6; it is devoid of the superstitious ritual of A 11 and A 12.

4. — *Ongēan strēam*. Cf. *mid þām strēame* in E 13, line 3. In both cases the object is to get the force of the running water to assist in driving away disease (see charac. 10, p. 121).

6. — *Crux mīhi*, etc. See pp. 147 ff. The same formula is found in A 19.

#### A 12

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 186 b.

*Editions.* — K. i, 530; C. iii, 70; L. 150.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 71.

Cf. notes to A 11.

2. — *Bestric hine*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121.

#### A 13

*MSS.* — Cotton Caligula A vii, p. 171 a; Bodley Junius, 85, p. 103, ?

*Editions.* — N. 147; T. 116; G. ii, 1033; K. i, 531; Kl. i, 251; E. 300; R. 143; C. i, 398; RT. 148; WA. 30; W. i, 312.

*Translations.* — *English*: C. i, 399; Stallybrass, iii, 1236; Brooke, 157; Gum. 405; Cook and Tinker, 164. — *German*: G. ii, 1034.

*Criticisms.* — G. ii, 1034; WG. 348 ff.; Brooke, 157; Gum. 406.

*Analysis.* — This charm contains incantations and ceremonial instructions intended to drive away the demons or sorcerers whose activities have caused a farm-land to become barren. For an analysis of the piece, see pp. 155 ff. The ceremonies for "releasing" the bewitched fields were probably akin to ancient ceremonies in honor of the earth goddess, who alone could bestow bountiful crops (see Mannhardt, 158, 317, and 553 ff.; and Pfannenschmid, 50 ff. and 84 ff. In 936, a German abbess established ceremonies to take the place of the former "heathen processions about the fields" (Pfannenschmid, 50). For a restored ritual to insure fruitfulness during the ensuing year, see Chantepie, 375 ff.

4. — *Tyrj*. For various symbolic uses of turf, see RA. 118 ff.

7. — Hard woods like the beech and oak did not need sanctification. Cf. "Only of soft wood, not hard" (RA. 506).

11. — *Crescite*, etc. See Gen. i, 28, and pp. 147 ff.

27. — *Ēastweard*, etc. There is reason to believe that this incantation was originally a prayer to the sun god, with incidental invocations to the spirits of the earth and of the heavenly vault. Line 30 clearly indicates a belief in the two latter divinities. With regard to the worship of the sun god, the direction in line 40 — "Turn thrice with the course of the sun" — lends color to my assumption. A sun cult seems to have existed among almost all nations living in cold or temperate climates (see Grimm, i, 25, and ii, 587), and there was a well-nigh universal doctrine that sunrise was fatal to evil spirits of every kind (see Gum. 411; and P. C. ii, 287).

30. — *Ūpheoƿon*. Cf. *uphimil* in *Heliand*, 88, 15. For the cult of the over-arching sky, see P. C. i, 322 ff.

40. — *III*. Here and in lines 43 and 82 the numeral = *þriwa*.

48. — *Gegaderie*, etc. For customs connected with hallowing the plough, see Mannhardt, 563. Apropos of the antiquity of such customs is an old Hindu ceremony once common in Lahore. "The zamindárs go to their fields with seven leaves of the akh, which they place on the harrow, and on the leaves some parched rice and sugar, and then burn incense" (*Roman-Urdú Journal*, Lahore, 1880, iii, 11).

52. — *Erce*, *erce*, *erce*. Probably an incantatory phrase like *acræ*, *ærcræ*, *ærnem*, in A 17 and in B 7, the meaning of which, if it ever had any, has been lost. Grimm (i, 210 ff.) considers *Erce* a feminine divinity, who, like Holda or Bertha, presides over tilling. See also Zjda. v, 377 ff.; Simrock, 382; and Mannhardt, 298. — *Eor þan mōdor*. Cf. "mother earth," in a Vedic spell (AV. i, 370.2).

56. — *Scīra hersewæstma*. The MS. reading is meaningless. The text follows the emendation of Sch. xxx, 126. Schlutter believes that MS. *hense* stands for *herse* = OHG. *hirsī*. This seems more plausible than any other suggested reading.

73. — For sacrificial offerings in field and harvest customs, see Gum. 455. Doubtless the heaping of things on the turf was to symbolize the desired fruitfulness.

A 14

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 350.

*Editions.* — WA. 115; G. iii, 493; E. 303; C. i, 388; W. i, 328, and ii, 202; Sch. xxxi, 59.



*Translations.* — C. i, 389; Brooke, 474; Sch. xxxi, 61.

*Criticism.* — Sch. xxxi, 57 ff.

*Analysis.* — The charm is for protection against many evils, and is supposed to be recited by one about to start on a journey. The piece is paralleled by numerous German *Reisesegen*, among the most important of which are *Tobiassegen* (*Denkm.* i, 183); *Engelberger Segen* (Grimm, iii, 493); *Münchner Ausfahrtssegen* (*Denkm.* i, 182); *Weingartner Segen* (*Denkm.* i, 18); "*Ein Segen*" (see A. E. Schönbach in *ZfjA.* xxix, 348). In the *Tobiassegen*, the angelic host, the twelve apostles, the four evangelists, St. Mary, St. Stephen, Abraham, David, etc., are invoked for the same purposes, and with much the same expressions as in our spell. All the travel charms are stamped with a decidedly Christian character. The AS. piece alone retains marked Heathen traits in such typical incantatory phrases as *sygegealdor ic begale*; *windas gefrān*; *wordsige and worcsige*; and in repeated references to "frightful monsters," "nightmare-demons," "belly-fiends," etc.

4. — *Egsan*. Perhaps the plague-demon is meant.

13. — *Abrame*, etc. See p. 149. Sch. interpolates, "May [the Lord] preserve me in health as, according to Holy Scripture, the creator of heaven preserved" Abram, etc.

23. — *Hand*, etc. The passage is obscure. Can it refer to a lifting of the hand over the head, an attitude that might have traditionally accompanied certain prayers? Elevation of the hands while praying was common enough (see Grimm, i, 28 ff.). — *Rōf*. Sch. translates *zahl*.

25. — All Edd. end line 25 with *þæt mē bēo hand ofer heafod*, and begin line 26 with *Matheus helm*. The *hand ofer heafod* appears to me to be an accidental repetition of line 23. E. says that the phrase "e. versus 24 [here line 23], repetitum esse puto et hic delendum, ita ut: 'þæt mē bēo,' versum sequentem incipiat."

26. — *Marcus byrne*, etc. Cf. "*sancte Michahêl wis-tu sîn schilt und sîn sper . . . Maria sî sîn halsperge*" (hauberk, *Engelberger segen*, lines 1 ff.); and cf. "*Die hailig dryfältigkait sy mir ain mantel für all min fiend*," "*Das hailig crütz sy min schilt*" (from *Ein Kreuzsegen*, ed. A. E. Schönbach in *ZfjA.* xxxiii, 393).

29. — *Seraphin*. E. says, "*Johannem vega Seraphin i. e. viarum tutor*." C. translates, "Ye Seraphim, guardians of the ways," as one sentence. The meaning is, of course, that John is the guardian saint of travellers.

32. — E. suggests these changes: "*sīðfates gōdes, smiltra and lyhtra vinda varoðum, þæt ic vindas gefrān, cirrendu vater cymlicu hāleðe við eallum jeorðum, frēond*."

33. — *Windas gefrān*. Cf. *Ic āna wāt ēa* (B 4, line 58).

40. — C. translates, "and in the holy hand of the mighty one of heaven."

#### A 15

*MSS.* — Cotton Julius C ii, p. 97 b; Textus Roffensis, p. 50. — *Part I only*: Cotton Tiberius A iii, p. 103; Corpus Christi 190 (=A in textual notes), p. 130; Harley 438, p. 138 b. — *Part II only*: Corpus Christi 383 (=B in textual notes), p. 89.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 286; M. in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180. — *Part I only*: G<sup>4</sup>. iii, 493. — *Part II only*: Thorpe in *A. L.* 78; Leo, 56; Sd. 408; Li. i, 400.

*Translations.* — C. iii, 287. *Part II only*: Thorpe, 78; Leo, 57; Sd. 409; Li. i, 401.

*Criticisms.* — McBryde in *M. L. N.* xxi, 180 ff.; Sd. lxviii.

*Analysis.* — The piece is in two parts. Part I constitutes the actual charm for the recovery of the stolen property; Part II is a legal formula in which the rightful owner solemnly sets forth his title to the possessions in question. This rhythmical composition is printed separately in the various editions of the AS. laws. It was attached to Part I probably because it was recited as a sort of oath by the person who claimed goods which were recovered from thieves, or which were in disputed ownership. — Farmers were greatly bothered by cattle-thefts in AS. times; so much so, that cattle-stealing became as grave a crime as horse-stealing used to be in the West. The OE. laws consequently required witnesses to the transfer of such property, and invented a "team." "That is," says Cockayne (ii, xiv ff.), "when Z, who had lost oxen, claimed cattle in A's possession, A was bound by oath and by witnesses to show that he had them lawfully from B; B had to go through the same process and show that he received them honestly from C; thus a row of successive owners was revealed, ending in P, who had neglected to secure credible witnesses to his bargain, or in Q, who had bought them from the actual thief." On the other hand, B might, by oath and by witnesses, prove that the cattle had come to him rightfully as a bequest.

Part I has two divisions: *A* (lines 1-5), the ceremonial directions; *B* (lines 6-11), the charm formula. The charm formula has three *motifs* (see p. 158): (1) finding of the cross of Christ; (2) threat formula, "Abraham, Job," etc. (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.); (3) crucifixion of Christ by the Jews. These *motifs* express a sympathetic parallel between the similes and the desired results respectively of recovering the property, of frustrating the escape of the thieves, and of exposing the theft (see charac. 9, p. 119). *Motif* (3) is found in all four cattle charms; (1) is in *A* 21 and in *A* 22; (2) is not, as McBryde (182) declares, a distinct charm loosely strung together with other charms to form the complex *A* 15. Often several themes, each paralleling a desired end, were introduced in one spell (see, further, p. 158, note 4). English and German variants of this charm are printed by McBryde (182).

There are five AS. cattle charms: *A* 15, *A* 16, *A* 21, *A* 22, and *AA* 3. In the last-named, the superstitious directions are like those in *A* 15, but the formula is simply an enumeration of several saintly names.

#### PART I

8. — *Crux Christi*, etc. In MS. Cambridge Corpus Christi 41, p. 207, Mr. McBryde found a formula composed of *motifs* (1) and (2), the latter greatly amplified (see *M. L. N.* xxi, 180). Of this formula he says, "A fragment of this charm appears in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology* (Stallybrass, iv, 1849)." He then quotes the "fragment." But the latter is simply theme (2) of Part I, *A* 15; and the entire part is printed in Grimm, iii, 493.

#### PART II

12. — *Becwæð and becwal*. This enumeration in alliterative pairs is a feature of Part II, and is present in many charms (see Ebermann, 53 ff., and cf. *A* 16 and *B* 5).

14. — *Fēore*. Lieberman translates, *Naturalienabgabe* (= "[payment with] natural products").

20. — *Ðē myntan* instead of *ḡæt yntan*. The first makes better sense, and receives warrant from line 34. C. translates, "and never will impair." — *Plōh*; namely, a plough of land.

A 16

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 226.

Editions. — WA. 114; C. i, 384; G<sup>4</sup>. iii, 492; W. i, 325.

Translation. — C. i, 385.

Analysis. — In this charm, lines 1–5 are in prose, are distinctly Christian, and contain three parallel themes: (1) the slaughter of the Innocents; (2) St. Helena and the finding of the Cross; (3) the crucifixion of Christ (see p. 158). Lines 6–19 are much more Heathen in tone, as is clearly shown by the rhythmical formula, the invocation to Garmund, the enumeration by alliterative pairs, the threats against the mischief-working enchanter or demon (lines 13 ff.), and the similes in lines 16 and 17 (see p. 119).

8. — *Garmund*. Cf. charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.

16. — *Binnan*, etc. See charac. 5, p. 117.

A 17

MS. — Harley 585, p. 136 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 8; L. 125.

Translation. — C. iii, 9.

See substitution of Christian for Pagan ritual (pp. 149 ff.). — The formula lines 3–13 is a jingle charm (Group A, II (a), p. 125), in which many words recall the gibberish spells in B 7 and BB 4.

3. — C. and L. write the jingle in prose form.

14. — *Querite*, etc. See Matt. vii, 7.

15. — *Non amplius . . . arescas*. A formula found in several OHG. spells (e. g. *Denkm.* i, 18, No. 7; see also *Denkm.* ii, 54, and *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, 1870, i, 518). — *Super aspidem*, etc. See Ps. xci, 13.

A 18

MS. — Regius 12, D xvii, p. 53 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 42.

Translations. — C. ii, 141; *Eng. Med.* 121.

The four gospels and St. Veronica are invoked in company with the idols Tiecon and Leleloth.

*Lenctenādle* (= "spring fever" = "ague"). See *Eng. Med.* 121.

1. — *Hramgealla* (= "ram-gall" = "Menyanthes"). See *Eng. Med.* 121.

8. — *Tiecon*, *Leleloth*. Arabian divinities (see Cockayne, ii, 141, note 3).

11. — *Beronice* (= Veronica). The maiden who handed her handkerchief to Jesus on His way to Calvary (see type 10, p. 158). The legend also forms part of charms A 24, D 8, D 9, and D 10. — *Et habet*, etc. From Rev. xix, 16.

15. — These mystic letters may have been substituted for earlier runes (see p. 124, note 6). The same symbols are recommended as an amulet remedy for the same illness (see D 4).

A 19

MS. — Harley 585, p. 181 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 62; L. 147.

Translation. — C. iii, 63.

1. — *Gewraht* belongs to *wreccan*, *wreahle*, and here means "foundered," the term used for a horse which has gone lame. Cf. *ræhe* (= *gliedersteif*) in the charm "*Ad equos sanandos ræhin*" (*Denkm.* ii, 302); cf. also the OHG. spells "*Contra ræhin*" and "*Ad equum errehet*," in *Denkm.* ii, 303; and see numerous German charms for similar equine sicknesses cited there.

2. — *Naborrede*. C. says, "This seems to be the Nabonnedus of Berosus, in whose reign Babylon was taken by Cyrus." Nabonidus (556-538 B. C.) was the last king of Babylonia.

3. — *Crux mihi*. Cf. A 11, line 6.

## A 20

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 116 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 322; L. 98.

Translation. — C. ii, 323.

See replacement of Pagan by Christian formulas (pp. 149 ff.).

1. — *Liðwærce* (possibly "rheumatism"). See note to line 3, below.

2. — *Späll*. See charac. 10, p. 122.

3. — *Malignus*, etc. A similar formula is found in AA 8: "*Ad articularum dolorum malignantium*." Only the first line of the formula differs, reading "*diabolus ligavit*." Another triplet of this kind is found in a charm for fever: "*Christus tonat, angelus nunciat, Johannes predicat*" (see F. Holthausen, *Rezepte*, in *Angl.* xix, 78).

## A 21

MS. — Corpus Christi 41, p. 216.

Editions. — WA. 114; C. i, 390; G<sup>4</sup>. iii, 493; W. i, 324.

Translations. — C. i, 391; Brooke, 473.

Analysis. — This charm and A 22 differ from cattle spells A 15 and A 16 in the absence of Heathen features (see third class of spells, p. 156). — There are three parallel themes: (1) the fame of Bethlehem; (2) the loss and recovery of the cross; (3) the crucifixion of Christ (see types 8, 9, and 7 respectively, p. 158).

3. — *Bethlem*, etc. See charac. 1, p. 110. The same formula is found in AA 18.

9. — *Crux*, etc. See charac. 9, p. 119.

## A 22

MS. — Harley 585, p. 180 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 61; W. i, 323.

Translations. — C. iii, 61; Cook and Tinker, 171.

Analysis. — A 22 is a slightly different version of A 21, and contains the same themes. In both charms the ceremonial is Christian, and the formulas are drawn from the Bible or from Christian legend (see pp. 147 ff.).

## A 23

MS. — Bodley Junius 85, p. 17.

Edition. — C. i, 394.

Translation. — C. i, 394, note 1.

For the corrections in lines 1 and 5 of the text, I am indebted to Mr. J. M.

McBryde Jr.'s transcription of the MS. — See Group E, pp. 136 ff., for "spells against the Devil."

1. — *Writ ymb*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121.

3. — *Fuge, diabolus*, etc. A threat formula (see Christian substitutions, p. 149; and charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

5. — *III.* = *priwa*. Cf. A 13, line 40.

A 24

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 24.

Editions. — C. ii, 348; L. 106.

Translation. — C. ii, 349.

Criticism. — A short criticism of this charm is on p. 156. There are four formulas: two are sung over herbal drinks (namely, *Scriptum est*, etc. [line 12], and *Deus*, etc. [line 30]); two are recited over the patient (namely, *Deus*, etc. [line 16], and *Signum*, etc. [line 35]).

12. — *Byrnice*. The Veronica theme (see type 10, p. 158).

16. — *Deus*, etc., is the principal formula in the charm.

17. — *Nomen*. Here the name of the patient is to be pronounced (see charac. 6, p. 117).

18. — *Castalides* (= *dun elfen*). Elves of the down (Somner's *Glossaries in Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum*, Oxford, 1659). — *De capite*, etc. This detailed enumeration is typical of charm-writings of Celtic origin (see F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, p. 369; and see the *Lorica* of Gilda; cf. p. 159, note 8).

27. — *III.* = *priwa*. Cf. A 13, line 40; and A 23, line 5.

B 1

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C. iii (= V in textual notes), p. 68 a; Harley 6258 b (= O), p. 32 a; Hatton 76 (= B); Harley 585 (= H).

Editions. — C. i, 312; Be. 118.

Translation. — C. i, 313.

Cockayne's text is based on MS. V with readings from the other MSS. Berberich's text is taken from MS. O.

Analysis. — See analysis of B charms, p. 128. — The formula, lines 8–11, is apparently taken bodily from the *Herbarium* of Apuleius. — The heading "*Priapissi uica peruica*" is found in MS. O, at the end of the piece, and is followed by the words "*Satureon id est anglice hrefenes leac*" (see Berberich, 118, note). — In the margin of MS. O. (p. 32 a) are the words "*ad demoniacos, ad morsum serpentis feras uenenum odium iracundiam ut habeas gratiam felix sis placens*." — BB 12, "For a Flux of Blood," is similar to B 1 in form and content.

1. — *Vica pervica* = the periwinkle. See "Herbs," Group D, p. 132.

3. — *Dēofolsēocnyssa*. See Group E, pp. 136 ff.

17. — *Clāne*. See charac. 10, p. 121.

B 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 57 a.

Editions. — Kl. i, 249; C. ii, 154; G<sup>4</sup>. ii, 1014; H. 47; L. 46.

Translations. — C. ii, 155; Eng. Med. 116; H. 49.

See analysis of Group B, p. 128.

1. — *Mucgwyrt*. See "Herbs," Group D, p. 132. For numerous superstitious uses of mugwort (*Artemisia*), see Cockayne, i, 102, xi; and i, 106, xiii; Grimm, ii, 1014; and Hoops, 48.

## B 3

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 123 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 346; H. 53; L. 105.

Translations. — C. ii, 347; *Eng. Med.* 117; H. 53; Fischer, 33.

Elf-disease = bewitchment by elves. The disease was generally the same as nightmare (see Group E, pp. 136 ff.). — The ceremonial points to Heathenism (but see Grimm, ii, 1002 ff.), while the formulas are distinctly Christian. — See BB 14, for an elaborate ritual in the cure of elf-disease; also cf. EE 9 for the same disease. See law against gathering herbs, No. 3, p. 140.

1. — *Punresāfen*. Thursday was a day for special observances among the early Germans (see Grimm, i, 159).

4. — *Dæg . . . scāde*. That is, at dawn.

14. — *Gloria*, etc. From Luke ii, 14.

15. — *Ymbwrit*, etc. See charac. 10, p. 121. — *IIII*. Cockayne and *Eng. Med.* translate, "on three sides."

## B 4

MS. — Harley 585, p. 160 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 30; WA. 34; W. i, 320; H. 56; L. 137 (lines 62-70 only).

Translations. — C. iii, 31; Brooke, 471; Cook and Tinker, 169; *Eng. Med.* 138; H. 57.

Criticisms. — WG. 351 ff.; Hoops, 56 ff.; Bradley, 144 ff.; *Eng. Med.* 137 ff.

Analysis. — The antiquity of the charm is attested by the plant-worship pointed to, the superstitious lore revealed, and the epic passages introduced. Judging from the obscurity of certain passages, the obvious misplacement of line 30, and the probable misplacement of other lines, such as 41-44, the piece must have passed through several hands. That it certainly underwent a Christian censorship is evident from lines 37-40, and from lines 46 and 57 respectively. — Four epic passages appear (see charac. 1, p. 110): namely, (1) lines 7-10; (2) line 28; (3) lines 31-33, citing an exploit of Woden; (4) lines 37-40, probably a Christian interpolation. — The nine plants are mentioned in the following order: (1) *mucgwyrt*, lines 1-6; (2) *wegbrāde*, lines 7-13; (3) *stīme*, lines 14-20; (4) *āttorlāde*, lines 21-22; (5) *mægðe*, lines 23-26; (6) *wergulu*, lines 27-29; (7) *æppel*, lines 31-35; (8) *fille* and (9) *finul*, both lines 36-40. They are again enumerated (lines 62-63) in the order (1) *mucgwyrt*, (2) *wegbrāde*, (3) *lombes cyrse*, (4) *āttorlāde*, (5) *mægðe*, (6) *netele*, (7) *wudusūr-æppel*, (8) *fille*, (9) *finul*. The second order agrees with the first except in Nos. 3 and 6. *Stīme* and *wergulu* in the first list are *lombes cyrse* and *netele* respectively in the second. *Stīme* and *wergulu* are not elsewhere found: they may be by-names or poetic names of *lombescyrse* and *netele* (cf. *Una*, line 3, a by-name of *mucgwyrt*), or merely older names of the same plants, obsolete or obsolescent when the prose passage (lines 62-70) was written. (But cf. *wergulu*, in note to line 27.) Other Edd. arrange as follows: —

C.		W.		H. AND BRADLEY	
	<i>Lines.</i>		<i>Lines.</i>		<i>Lines.</i>
1. <i>miucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).	<i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).	<i>mucgwyrt</i>	(1-6).
2. <i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).	<i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).	<i>wegbræde</i>	(7-13).
3. <i>stīme</i>	(14-17).	<i>stīme</i>	(14-15).	<i>stīme</i>	(14-17).
4. <i>āttorlāðe</i>	(18-20).	<i>stīde</i>	(16-20).	<i>āttorlāðe</i>	(18-22).
5. "blind nettle"	(21-22).	<i>āttorlāðe</i>	(21-22).	<i>mægðe</i>	(23-26).
6. <i>mægðe</i>	(23-26).	<i>mægðe</i>	(23-26).	<i>wergulu</i>	(27-29).
7. <i>wergulu</i>	(27-35).	<i>wergulu</i>	(27-29).	<i>æppel</i>	(31-35).
8. <i>fille</i> }	(36-40).	<i>fille</i> }	(36-40).	<i>fille</i> }	(36-40).
9. <i>finul</i> }		<i>finul</i> }		<i>finul</i> }	

For lines 41-44, see note to line 41. — C. and W. both omit *æppel* from their lists, and have an arrangement different from that in the prose enumeration (lines 62-64). C. (iii, 35, note a) makes lines 21-22 refer to "blind nettle," despite the fact that line 21 clearly states *āttorlāðe*. W. (i, 321, note to 18) says, "C. has only eight herbs," and himself makes *stīðe* (line 16) the name of another herb. I have substantially the same arrangement as Hoops and Bradley, but prefer to ascribe lines 18-20 to *stīme*, because the expression *þām lāðan ðe*, etc., in line 20, concludes the description of two other herbs, — viz., *wegbræde* and *mucgwyrt*, — and because the first line in the passage about each herb (except apple) will then contain the name of the herb. If the "apple" passage began with a line naming the apple, this line would come where line 30 now stands. It is probable that such a line existed and was lost, not only because the apple alone, of all the nine herbs, is not directly introduced, but because line 30 is palpably out of place. — For a survival in modern German folk-lore, of superstitions connected with nine herbs, see *WG.* 351.

2. — *Regenmelde*, like *Alorforda*, line 24, is the name of a place. The translators have: C., *prime telling*; Cook and Tinker, *great proclamation*; H., *solemn proclamation*. Bradley says "*Rægnmæld* occurs as a Northumbrian female personal name. This spelling (pointing to an umlaut *e*) suggests that *mæld* may be a metathetic derivative of *mæðel*. If so, the compound would be synonymous with the Old Norse *reginþing*, which is found (apparently as a mythic place-name) in the *Helgakviða*."

4. — This line is repeated in line 42. The meaning is probably "You will avail against three and thirty evil spirits." The multiples of 11 up to 100 were continually used by Teutonic and Hindu sorcerers (see Kuhn in *ZfVS.* xiii, 128 ff.). The number 33 was an especial favorite in Sanskrit writings: the gods number 33 (see *RV.* i, 34.11); other instances in the *Rig-Veda*, of the mention of 33 in connection with charm-practices, are: *RV.* i, 45, 2; iii, 6, 9; viii, 28, 1; xxx, 2; xxxv, 3; xxxix, 9.

6. — The line recurs twice: 13 and 20. In lines 6 and 20 the MS. reading is *þā lāþan*. C. takes *þærþ* as plural; but this word and *jereþ* (line 20) are plainly singular. One might accept W.'s explanation that *þā lāþan* is accusative singular feminine, but line 13 has *þæm*. More plausible is Hoops' (56) suggestion that the *m* in lines 6 and 20 was omitted from *þām lāþan*, which might be masculine or neuter. Cf. also *þām lāþan*, A 14, line 37.

8. — *Ēastan openo*. Cf. line 62.

9. — *Curran*. Preterite of *ceorran*.

10. — *Bryodedon* < *breodian*.

14. — *Stīme* or *stūne*. The MS. is not clear.

21. — The passage about the betony is quite unintelligible.

25. — *Feorh*. The life of any sufferer for whose benefit the herbs are culled.

27. — *Wergulu*. As stated above, the word is probably synonymous with *nete*: the dictionary meaning, "crab-apple," derived from Cockayne, is therefore wrong. Bradley believes Toller to be right in regarding *wergulu* as the feminine of an adjective which appears in the derivative *wærgolnys* ("maledictio"). This etymology gives some basis to the meaning "nettle."

30. — *Ongan*. Bradley suggests that *onge* or *onga* is equivalent to ON. *anga* ("sprout, shoot").

31. — Cf. the Woden episode (lines 31-33) with —

"To fight the serpent, Odin's son goes forth,  
And in his wrath Midgard's protector slays."

*Völuspá*, 55 and 56.

Reptiles were frequently credited with producing poisons. According to *Sal. and Sat.* 421 ff., all poisons originally sprang from the bodies of twenty-five serpents whom the bold seafarer, *weallende Wulf*, slew at the cost of his own life.

34. — *Nādran āttor*. The MS. and the Edd. readings are very unsatisfactory. H. and Bradley both translate, "Apple and poison brought about that she [the adder] nevermore would enter house." This makes no sense, while the substitution of *nādran* for *āttor* gives a reading in accordance with the context. Lines 31-35 comprise the "apple" passage; lines 31-33 form the epic introduction about Woden, and the serpent which has slain a man; next would come line 34, "There the apple put an end to the serpent's poison."

35. — *þæt hēo*, etc. W. assumes a gap between lines 34 and 35, because "*hēo* can refer neither to *æppel* nor to *āttor*." *Hēo* of course refers to *nādran* (line 33) in the MS. reading.

37. — For lines 37-40, see p. 154.

38. — *Hongode* (= *hongode on rōde*). Cf. *þā þā Crīst hangode on rōde* (Ælfric, *Homilies*, ii, 240, 22).

41. — *Hēo* cannot refer to *fille* and *finule*. Lines 41-44 may belong to the *wergulu* or to the *æppel* passage.

43. — W. reads, *wið fēondes hond* and *wið þæs fāgan hond* in one line, and *wið frea begde* in the second half of the next line. Here *fāgan* is inserted by W., who also assumes the first half of the second line to be missing. Bradley suggested the omission of the second *wið þæs hond*, and the change of the obscure *frea begde* into *fār-bregde*, a compound formed in analogy with *fār-searo*, etc.

44. — *Mīnra*. C., *mīnra* = "my;" H., *minra* = "little;" Bradley, *mānra* = "wicked." B.'s emendation is scarcely necessary, since *mīn* (= "vile") will fit the context.

45. — *Wuldorgeflogenum* = "spirits fled from glory;" that is, evil spirits or disease-demons.

47. — *Runlan*. One would expect the name of a color. Cook and Tinker translate "gray," but the reason is not apparent.

48. — *Wēdenan āltre* appears again to complete line 51.

52. — *Wyrmeblād* = "illness caused by worms." *Watergeblād* = "water-pustule."

53. — *Þornegeblād* = "prickly sore." The *þysgeblād* of the MS. probably arose from confusing *þystelgeblād* with the following *ysgeblād*.



55. — W. and H. both attribute to accident the omission of "south" from the enumeration; but it is to be noted that the six "blisters," plus the three infections from east, north, and west, make nine, corresponding to the nine *onflygnum* of line 45. The six "blisters," too, must have been regarded as of contagious origin, if *onflygnum* is correctly translated "infectious disease."

57. — *Crīst*, etc. See p. 154.

58. — *Ic āna*, etc. (lines 58–61). See charac. 5, p. 117. Supply "of it" (that is, "of the running water") after *behealdað*. H. supplies "of me," which is also possible.

65. — *Gor* = "dirt, filth;" but the context requires "juice."

68. — *Hē*, etc. A ceremonial direction to the exorcist (see charac. 6, p. 117).

## B 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 125 a.

Editions. — G. ii, 1193; C. ii, 350; L. 107.

Translations. — C. ii, 351; Brooke, 138.

Analysis. — See analysis of B Charms, p. 128. — There are two alliterative formulas: (1) lines 8–13, (2) lines 14–15. Both formulas are characterized by alliterative pairs: *ne burnon, ne burston*; *ne fundian ne feologan*; etc. (cf. Ebermann, 53; A 15 and A 16).

5. — *Felierre* = *fel terræ* = *eorð-gealla*. Cf. C. iii, 72: "*felterran sæd, þæt is, eorðgeallan*."

6. — *Dō*, etc. See Christian tags to Heathen spells (p. 154).

8. — The passage, lines 8–13, exemplifies charac. 5 (see p. 117). — *Āwrāt* (from *āwriðan*) = "to wreath around." Healing amulets are wreathed around the wounds. Perhaps the sores are merely circumscribed with lines, a common method of expelling disease-fiends (see p. 121). — *Beadowræda* = "fighting wreaths;" hence "amulets."

12. — *Hālewæge* (= OHG. *heilawâc, heilwæge*) = "water drawn from a running stream in a holy season, before sunrise, in solemn silence." See Grimm, ii, 485 ff., and cf. charac. 10, pp. 120, 121.

13. — *Ne ace þē*, etc. The line is obscure. The sea, like running water, was regarded as a purifying agent. The meaning may then be, "If the sufferer keep the sacred spring-water, he will be as safe from disease-demons as is the land in the sea." For the simile, see p. 120.

14. — *Eorþe þē*, etc. An invocation to the earth spirit to crush the water-elf (see charac. 2, p. 112, and cf. A 4, line 4).

## B 6

MS. — Harley 585, p. 186 a.

Editions. — C. iii, 68; L. 149.

Translation. — C. iii, 69.

Analysis. — See analysis of Group B, p. 128. — The two formulas, lines 1–8 and lines 11–13, are really jingle charms (see Group A, II (a), p. 124). The first jingle lines (1–8) is almost identical with the formula in A 8. By comparing line 7 in B 6 with line 9 in A 8, we shall get some idea of the process by which intelligible Anglo-Saxon was, through transcription or transmission, turned into gibberish. Of the phrase *æt þām drore*, etc., in A 8, nothing remains in B 6 but the two words *drore uhic*, with meaningless context; *dulgedoþ*

(A 8, line 9) is obviously a compound, one of whose elements is the *dolge* (*dolg*="wound") which we find in B 6, line 7.

8. — *Alleluiah*. Cf. B 5, note to line 6.

## B 7

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 112; L. 35.

Translations. — C. ii, 113; *Eng. Med.* 123.

Analysis. — See analysis of B charms, p. 128. — The formula, lines 5–9, is plainly a rhythmical one of the jingle type (Group A, II (a), p. 124). Line 8 is found slightly varied in BB 4. Cf. also A 17.

1. — *Ætĕrnum swile*="the bubonic plague," according to *Eng. Med.* 123.

2. — *Ānes blēos*. The color of an animal was an important consideration in Teutonic superstitious rites. Animals solely of one color were in great demand, and white and red were the favorite colors (see Grimm, i, 44). In two other AS. charms, BB 4 and E 1, the ceremonial calls for a cow of one color. A similar direction is found in other AS. remedies (see, for example, *Rezept e*, in A. Napier, "Altenglische Miscellen" [*Archiv*, lxxiv, 326]). See also p. 122.

3. — *Lētanĭa*. See interpolation of Christian formulas (pp. 140 ff.).

## C 1

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 28 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 76; L. 24.

Translations. — C. ii, 77; *Eng. Med.* 134.

Analysis. — See analysis of C charms, p. 129. Laws 10 and 11, p. 141, are against transference of disease. — A very similar charm is CC 2 (see translation on p. 131).

*Blæce*. *Eng. Med.* (134, note 1) has, "*Blæce* was some kind of skin disease. It is rendered in one glossary *vitiligo*, but it is also regarded as equivalent to *lepra* in the old sense, that is, the modern *psoriasis*."

6. — For the superstitions connected with silence, running water, and spitting, see charac. 10, pp. 120 ff.

## C 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 115 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 318; L. 97.

Translation. — C. ii, 319.

Analysis. — See analysis of Group C, p. 131, and also p. 129.

1. — *pū*, etc. See charac. 6, p. 117. — *Tordwifel* (=modern English *weevil*). Grimm (ii, 576) finds traces of a beetle-worship among the Teutons. Among the Scandinavians it was believed that the man who found a dung-beetle helpless on its back, atoned for seven sins if he set it on its feet.

## C 3

MS. — Harley 585, p. 174 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 52; L. 144.

Translations. — C. iii, 53; *Eng. Med.* 135.

Analysis. — See Group C, p. 131.

2. — *III*. = *Þriwa*. Cf. A 13, lines 40, 43, and 82; also A 23, line 5. C. and L. supply *sīðum* and *dagum*, respectively, after *III*.

4. — For the formula, lines 3–8, see pp. 151 ff.; and p. 152, note 1.

## C 4

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 53 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 142; L. 43.

Translation. — C. ii, 143.

Analysis. — See Group C, p. 131; and see charac. 6, p. 117. A counterpart of this charm is CC 2, translated on p. 131.

1. — *Hunta*. Spiders were akin to dwarfs, hence the scarification around the wound to exclude demoniac influence (see Stallybrass, 1497).

5. — *Ymbūtan*. See charac. 10, p. 121.

6. — *Swigende*. See p. 121.

## C 5

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 111 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 306; L. 94.

Translation. — C. ii, 307.

Analysis. — See Group C, p. 131. — The remedy involves the transference of the disease from the patient's eyes to the eyes of the crab. To make the transference effective, it was believed necessary to let the mutilated animal go alive. — Animals' eyes were frequently used to cure eye-diseases. In CC 1, a wolf's eye is prescribed as an amulet; similarly, in Cockayne, i, 370, 10, a dog's eye. So the powdered teeth of a dog are mixed in a drink for toothache (see Cockayne, i, 370. 11). This association of ideas between a remedial object and the seat or nature of the disease was known throughout the middle ages as the "doctrine of signatures," and resulted in the prescription, for example, of *euphrasy* (= "eyebright," there is the likeness of an eye in the flower) for diseases of the eye, and of "Jew's-ear" (a plant slightly resembling a human ear) for diseases of the ear. See also K. Weinhold, *Ein Hochdeutscher Augensegen in einer Hs. des 12ten Jahrhunderts*, in *ZjVh*, xi, 79-82 and 226.

## D 1

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 52 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 42.

Translation. — C. ii, 141.

Analysis. — An analysis of the D charms is found on p. 135.

1. — *Rīde*. Literally, "if an incubus ride a man." The Low-German peasant says of the demon, *He het mi reden* ("he has ridden me"); the High-German says, *dich hāt geriten der mar* ("the incubus has ridden you") (see Meyer, 132). The nightmare-fiend was believed literally to "ride" human beings and animals until they were exhausted, and even until they were dead (see Meyer, 128 ff.). The OHG. spell *contra rehin* is for an equine sickness caused by incubi (see *Denkm.* ii, 302). Sometimes witches in the form of succubæ were thought to "ride" men (see early Scandinavian laws against such practices, Hermann 73 and 567). So C. translates D 1: "If a mare or hag ride a man."

2. — *Rēcels*. Incense was of Christian origin (see Grimm, i, 47; and cf. the introducing of Christian ritual, pp. 148 ff.).

## D 2

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 39 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 104; L. 32.

Translations. — C. ii, 105; *Eng. Med.* 132.

*Analysis.* — Perhaps the remedy includes a belief in the transference of the disease to the tusk (see Group C, pp. 129 ff.).

1. — *Cucum.* See note to C 5.

## D 3

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 122 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 342; L. 104.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 343.

*Analysis.* — See Group D, p. 135. — Other charms for the same trouble are D 4 and A 24.

1. — *Wyr̃t.* For the magic properties of herbs, see pp. 132 ff.

3. — *Dēofoł.* On the Devil in charm remedies, see Group E, pp. 136 ff. — *Inne ne ūte.* Cf. *sēo dēah gehwæper ge hæs mannes sǣwle ge his lichoman*, in DD 15.

## D 4

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 111 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 306; L. 94.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 307.

*Analysis.* — See analysis of D charms, p. 135. — Stones from the stomach of young swallows are recommended as amulets in a Latin charm which Pliny (xi, 79) says is derived from the Magi. In *Evangeline*, lines 136–139, “the wondrous stone” found in swallows’ nests is mentioned. — Another headache charm (EE 18) is based on a sympathetic cure: the ashes of a dog’s burnt head are made into a salve. See the amulet cure (herbs tied with red thread) for headache, in Cockayne, ii, 307.

5. — *Nihtgengan.* These were the dreaded night-demons or incubi (cf. DD 15 and EE 8).

6. — *Wyr̃t-forbore.* See “knots,” Group E, p. 138; and cf. E 10, BB 13, and law No. 26, p. 142. — *Yflum gealdorcræftum*; such as, for example, that mentioned in *Hǫvumǫl*, 150.

## D 5

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 108 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 296; L. 90.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 297.

*Analysis.* — For analysis of Group D, see p. 135. — For superstitious uses of stones, see Group D, p. 134. Jet is prescribed in a drink against an elf (see E 14); and Beda (Book I, 1) says, “Jet which is black and sparkling, and when heated, drives away serpents” (cf. the eighth virtue in D 5).

10. — *Stān on wētan*, as in E 14, line 2.

## D 6

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 20 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 54; L. 17.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 55.

*Analysis.* — The formula, lines 3–6, is gibberish (see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.), and is really a jingle spell (cf. Group A, II (a), p. 124). As we have seen, the symbols composing the jingles were often carelessly transposed (cf. note to B 6). The following conjectural rearrangement of lines 3–6 will serve to show the likeness between the formula and the jingle charms: —

“Ægryn thon struth  
argrenn fola struth  
tarton tria ennpiath  
hathu hæl morfana  
on ara carn  
leou groth weorn  
fil crondi weorn  
mro cron ærcrío  
aer leno ermio.”

The same formula is found in AA 17, another charm for stanching blood.

D 7

MS. — Cotton Caligula A xv, p. 136 b.

Edition. — C. iii, 290.

Translation. — C. iii, 291.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135. — For the formula, lines 4-11, see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.; and gibberish spells, Group A, II (b), p. 127.

D 8

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 52 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 138; L. 42.

Translations. — C. ii, 139; *Eng. Med.* 109.

Even among the ancient Germans, women played an important part in exorcism and sorcery (see Gum. 389 ff.; Meyer, 306 and 309; *Grógaldur*, 6 ff.); and A 2, line 17, plainly indicates a sorceress. EE 25 is also “against a sorceress.” See, moreover, laws 2, 4, 11, 17, and 21 (pp. 140 ff.).

3. — For the formula, see charac. 3, p. 112; also p. 124, note 6. The last symbol probably stands in part for Veronica, and is intended to invoke the miraculous portrait of Christ on that saint’s handkerchief (see type 10, p. 158).

D 9

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 53 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 140; L. 43.

Translation. — C. ii, 141.

Analysis. — See analysis of D charms, p. 135. — Cf. the charm with A 18 and with EE 31, both for the same illness.

1. — The formula is the same as that in A 18, line 15 (see note to that line).
2. — *Swigende*. See p. 121.
3. — *Winstran*. See charac. 7, p. 118.
5. — *BPONICE*. Cf. note to D 8, line 4. — *HAMMAN*<sup>yo</sup>*EL*. See charac. 3 (b), p. 114.

D 10

MS. — Harley 585, p. 183 b.

Editions. — C. iii, 66; L. 149.

Translation. — C. iii, 67.

Analysis. — See Group D, p. 135.

1. — *Pistol*. For *celestial letters*, see p. 153, note 6; also AA 13.
2. — *Böcfelle*. See p. 135.
5. — For the formula, lines 5-11, see charac. 3, pp. 114 ff.
7. — *Beronice*. Cf. note to line 5 in D 9.

10. — *Miserere*, etc. See charms with Christian appendages, first group, p. 154.

## D 11

MS. — Cotton Vitellius E xviii, p. 13 b.

Edition. — C. i, 395.

Translation. — C. i, 395.

Analysis. — For the significance of the circle, see charac. 3 (g), p. 115. — See, further, the discussion on geometrical figures; see also charac. 3 (g), p. 115, and cf. p. 135.

1. — *Columcille*. Cf. "carried to Colme-kill" (*Macbeth*, II, iv, 33). *Cil* or *Kil* is a cell. *Columcill* or *Colme-kil* is the *cell* or *Chapel* of St. Columba on the Island of Iona. The island was inhabited by Druids prior to A. D. 563, when Colum M'Felim M'Fergus, afterwards called St. Columba, landed and preached Christianity. See Furness (Variorum ed.), note to the line in *Macbeth*, cited above.

## D 12

MS. — Cotton Vitellius E xviii, p. 13 b.

Edition. — C. i, 396.

Translation. — C. i, 396.

For a discussion of the geometrical diagram, see p. 135, and charac. 3 (g), p. 115.

## E 1

MS. — Harley 585, p. 185 a.

Editions. — K. i, 528; C. iii, 66; W. i, 326.

Translations. — K. i, 529; C. iii, 67.

Analysis. — The charm consists of a series of five superstitious rituals, any or all of which are to be observed by a woman who wishes to remedy delayed parturition. Each of the superstitious directions includes the recital of certain incantatory phrases (lines 4-6, 9-11, 15, 19-20, and 26-28). The fourth ceremonial (lines 12-15) is the only Christian one, and looks like a later interpolation. — For directions to patients, see charac. 6, p. 117; and for analysis of E charms, pp. 138 ff. — Charms for producing confinement are mentioned in *Sigdrifumöl*, 9. Other Old English charms for producing speedy childbirth are AA 9, DD 9 (see "herbs," p. 132), DD 14 (see narrative charms, p. 157), and DD 18 (see p. 132).

2. — *Birgenne*. For the influence of the dead in charm practices, see charac. 10, p. 123; cf. also the remedy in EE 17.

17. — *Cildes gebyrgene*. The fourth ceremonial (lines 16-20) contains the same magic rite as the first (lines 1-6), only here we have the additional idea of transferring the activities of the disease-demon.

17. — *Wrȳ < wrēoh*. The form was probably *wrih*, and was altered by the scribe.

21. — *Ānes blēos*. See note to B 7, line 2.

23. — For "running water," see charac. 10, p. 121; and for spitting as a charm practice, see p. 122.

26. — *Gehwēr* (*ē* instead of *æ*). See Sievers, 321, *Anm.* 2. — Lines 30-32 are obscure.

E 2

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 106 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 290; L. 88.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 291.

*Analysis.* — The cure is to be effected by expelling the elf and his shots with violent measures (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.; and analysis of E charms, p. 138). — Cf. AA 7, DD 10, DD 12, and EE 27, for the same ailment. The remedy in EE 27 is practically the same as in this charm.

2. — *Fealo.* Cf. p. 122.

6. — *Swigende.* Cf. p. 121.

E 3

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 120 a.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 334; L. 102.

*Translations.* — C. ii, 335; *Eng. Med.* 137.

*Analysis.* — For analysis, see pp. 138 ff. For expulsion of demons in lunacy, see charac. 4, p. 115. — Other charm remedies in which fiends are exorcised by violence are EE 13, EE 22, and EE 26.

2. — *Swing mid.* Cf. the *Lebensrute* (Mannhardt, 272), a blow from which shields domestic animals from fatal sicknesses for a year.

E 4

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 178 a.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 56; L. 145.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 57.

The demons of pestilence are driven away with smoke (see charac. 4, pp. 115 ff.).

4. — *Ræcels.* Added to sanctify the process (see p. 154).

E 5

*MSS.* — Cotton Vitellius C. iii (=V in textual notes), p. 27 b; Bodley Hatton 76 (=B); Harley 585 (=H).

*Edition.* — C. i, 114.

*Translation.* — C. i, 115.

*Analysis.* — Cf. note to E 4; and see analysis of E charms, p. 138. Like E 4 and E 5 are EE 4, EE 7, EE 9, EE 13, and EE 14.

E 6

*MS.* — Harley 585, p. 164 b.

*Editions.* — C. iii, 38; L. 138.

*Translation.* — C. iii, 39.

See p. 138. For the use of mystic letters, see charac. 3 (*/*), p. 115, and cf. Wuttke, ¶ 243. Concerning the nature of the disease for which this remedy is intended, see notes to charm A 2.

3. — *Macutus, Victorici.* St. Machutus and St. Victorici were Irish saints of the sixth century.

E 7

*MS.* — Oxford St. John's 17.

*Edition.* — C. i, 394.

*Translation.* — C. i, 394.

For the written formula, see charac. 3 (*d*), p. 114. Cf. EE 5, where crosses on tongue, head, and breast are prescribed. Cf. also with D 6.

## E 8

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 123 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 344; L. 105.

Translation. — C. ii, 345.

Analysis. — See analysis of E charms, pp. 138 ff. — Magic salves as agents of expulsion are recommended in charms EE 8, EE 16, EE 17, EE 18, EE 19, EE 20, EE 28, and EE 29.

1. — *Ĵām mannum*, etc. Refers to the incubus myth (cf. D 1, note to line 1).

7. — The throwing of the herbs into running water doubtless symbolized the desired carrying-away of the disease or of the disease-demon expelled by the magic salve.

10. — *Rēcelsa and sēna*. A sanctifying formula (see pp. 151 ff.).

## E 9

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 a.

Editions. — C. ii, 114; L. 35.

Translations. — C. ii, 115; *Eng. Med.* 123.

2. — *Faul*. See charac. 3 (d), p. 114. Pliny (xxviii, 5) has a charm for driving away scorpions, in which one word, *duo*, constitutes the formula.

3. — *Neorxnawonge*. Cf. "sanctification by contact" (pp. 152 ff.).

## E 10

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 43 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 114; L. 35.

Translation. — C. ii, 115.

For charm practices connected with sexual constriction, see p. 138. The same malady is mentioned in D 4 and in BB 13.

2. — *Hūligwater*. An appended sanctifying word (see p. 154).

## E 11

MSS. — Cotton Vitellius C iii, (=V in textual notes), p. 46 a; Bodley Hatton 76 (=B); Harley 6258 b (=O).

Edition. — C. i, 364.

Translations. — C. i, 365; Brooke, 138.

For exorcism of demons with nauseating foods, see charac. 4, p. 115; and p. 139. — Cf. A 2 and E 6, both "against a dwarf."

1. — *Ĵost*. The same excrement, worked into a drink, will cure a "specter-haunted" man (see Cockayne, i, 365, 14).

## E 12

MS. — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 122 b.

Editions. — C. ii, 342; L. 104.

Translations. — C. ii, 343; *Eng. Med.* 137.

*Wiġgemædla* is translated in the dictionaries as "woman's talk;" but it is plain that something like "bewitchment" or "spell" is meant (see laws 2 and 17, pp. 140 ff.). — Eating swallow-nestlings produces miraculous results in EE 24.

## E 13

MS. — Harley 585, p. 189 a.

Editions. — K. i, 530; C. iii, 74; L. 152.

Translations. — C. iii, 75; *Eng. Med.* 118.



*Analysis.* — See analysis of E charms, p. 138. — The cure is to be effected by running water (see charac. 10, p. 121).

5. — *Crēdan*, etc. Cf. "substitution of church formulas" (pp. 147 ff.).

E 14

*MS.* — Regius 12 D xvii, p. 107 b.

*Editions.* — C. ii, 296; L. 89.

*Translation.* — C. ii, 297.

For elves and their influence, see Group E, p. 137.

1. — *Uncūþum sidsan*. Cf. *yflum gealdorcraeftum* (D 4, line 6). Evidently bewitchment by mischief-working sorcerers is meant (see p. 138). Ten other remedies in which a thaumaturgic drink is prescribed are EE 1, EE 2, EE 6, EE 10, EE 11, EE 12, EE 15, EE 21, EE 25, and EE 29. In contrast to E 14, these charms are all distinctly Christian in form, and most of the potions have holy water as an ingredient.

2. — *Rēcelses*. See note to E 8, line 15. — *Gāgates*. Cf. D 5.

BALLADS AND SONGS OF WESTERN NORTH  
CAROLINA

BY LOUISE RAND BASCOM

THE process of collecting the songs common to the mountain section of western North Carolina is a difficult one, for the mountaineers suspiciously evade direct questions, and vanish entirely if too closely pressed. Hence the collector must necessarily be content with the scraps which he overhears in passing a cabin, unless he is so fortunate as to be acquainted with the different clans, or so lucky as to be able to attend one of those interesting celebrations known as Fiddlers' Conventions.

The convention is essentially an affair of the people, and is usually held in a stuffy little schoolhouse, lighted by one or two evil-smelling lamps, and provided with a rude, temporary stage. On this the fifteen fiddlers and "follersers of banjo pickin'" sit, their coats and hats hung conveniently on pegs above their heads, their faces inscrutable. To all appearances they do not care to whom the prize is awarded, for the winner will undoubtedly treat. Also, they are not bothered by the note-taking of zealous judges, as these gentlemen are not appointed until after each contestant has finished his allotted "three pieces."

To one unused to the mountain tunes, the business of selecting the best player would be not unlike telling which snail had eaten the rhododendron leaf, for execution and technique differ little with the individual performers, and the tune, no matter what it may be called, always sounds the same. It is composed of practically two bars which are repeated over and over and over again until the fiddler or banjo picker, as the case may be, stops abruptly from sheer fatigue. The first effect is like one of the strange tom-tidi-tom noises heard on a midway, but after a few unprejudiced moments of attention, melody, stirring, full of pathos, rich with suggestion, emerges from the monotonous din. Strangely enough, no matter how sad the words and music may be, they are always rendered as rapidly as is compatible with the skill of the musician, and without inflection. The tunes are played at all of the dances, whistled and sung by the men and boys everywhere. The mountaineer who cannot draw music from the violin, the banjo, or the "French harp," is probably non-existent, and not infrequently one may see a gaunt idler squatting by the roadside, picking the banjo, and at the same time working the "French harp," held in place by a wire around the player's neck. The fiddle is always a battered heirloom; the banjo is home-made, and very cleverly fashioned, too, with its drum-head of cat's hide, its wooden parts of hickory (there are no frets). The "French harp" is such

as can be purchased at the nearest general merchandise store for five, ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents, according to the affluence of the buyer. Mention must also be made of "the fellers that han'l the bones." These instruments are long, slightly curved sticks of locust-wood, and they excel any castanets which can be bought. The ability to manipulate them is undoubtedly an art practised only by a few, who are looked upon as rarely accomplished. The women are also endowed with musical talent; but they regard it as the men's prerogative, and rarely touch an instrument when their husbands or sons are present. The author has known a certain woman for a dozen years or more, and never dreamed that she could handle a bow till, upon one occasion, when much was said in admiration of her son's skill, she mentioned casually that she had n't "knowed the time" when she could n't fiddle.

The tunes are very old. One fiddler, aged ninety-four, states that he is playing his great-grandfather's "pieces." They undoubtedly originated in the mountains, but it is difficult to come to any decision in regard to the words, though it is probable that they also have their origin there. Certainly "On the Banks of the Wabash," "Just One Girl," and other so-called popular airs, never reach the mountains, though upon occasion the old tunes will reappear embellished with some ornate title bequeathed by a passing stranger. As few members of even the new generation can read, it is obvious that the memory is made to retain the sound of the spoken words. Thus, in true ballad style, each man renders the same song somewhat differently, and often the same man cannot repeat the same song twice in the same way. The mountaineers object to having it thought that the songs are in any way connected with oral tradition. One woman, for example, made this remark: "You kin git 'em all in a book we've got that's got 'Nellie Grey,' 'Mollie Darling,' an' all them old songs in hit;" but the book was not forthcoming upon request, and as the woman who ventured this remark belongs to the lowest class of mountaineers and cannot read, it is probable that she has never possessed such a book. Other illiterate mountaineers delight in talking of the "ref'rence books in their trunks." They certainly own no trunks, and probably the daily papers pasted on the walls to keep out the cold are the nearest things they own to "ref'rence books," and these, of course, have been given them. Still, an allusion to "Mollie Darling" and "Nellie Grey," known quantities, as it were, is not to be despised. However, the tunes bearing these names have no resemblance to the original ones; and it is not likely that the words correspond either, though the author has never been so fortunate as to have heard them, if, indeed, they are sung. Very few mountaineers, familiar with many tunes, know the words to more than one ballad, and then they always state that they do not know it all. This further complicates the work of collecting, for a score of those persons who happen to be approached may not know the

words of the song desired. It seems difficult for them to remember the words, although they hear them sung repeatedly. When the ballads are sung, they are rendered in an indescribably high, piercing, nasal head tone, which carries remarkably well, and which gathers unto itself a weirdness that compels the blood to jump in the veins.

Some of the songs are coarse, considered entertaining, no doubt; but they are chiefly romantic or heroic in character, and, like the lovers' laments, here quoted in the vernacular, have as many versions as there are singers.

## KITTY KLINE

## A

1. Take me home, take me home, take me home,  
Take me home, take me home, take me home,  
When the moon shines bright, and the stars give light,  
Take me home, take me home, take me home.
  2. "Oh, who will shoe your little feet,  
Oh, who will glove your little hand,  
Oh, who will kiss your sweet rosy cheek,  
When I'm gone to that far-distant land?"
  3. "Oh, Popper'll shoe my little feet,  
And Mommer'll glove my little hand,  
And you shall kiss my sweet, rosy cheek,  
When you come from that far-distant land.<sup>1</sup>
  4. "Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself,  
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself,  
I'll weep like a willer, an' I'll mourn like a dove,  
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself.
  5. "If I was a little fish  
I would swim to the bottom of the sea,  
And thar I'd sing my sad little song,  
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself.
- "Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself, etc.
6. "If I was a sparrer bird,  
I would fly to the top of a tree,  
And thar I'd sing my sad little song,  
Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself.

"Oh, I can't stay hyar by myself, etc.

<sup>1</sup> This stanza and the preceding will be recognized as belonging to "The Lass of Roch Royal" (Child, No. 76).

7. "Yonder sets a turtle-dove,  
A-hoppin' from vine to vine,  
He's a mournin' fur his own true love,  
An' why not me fur mine?"
8. "I'm a goin' ter the top of that nigh pine,  
I'm a goin' ter the top of that nigh pine,  
An' ef I fall 'thout breakin' my neck,  
You'll know who I love the best."

## KITTY KLINE

## B

1. Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,  
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,  
When the stars shine bright, and the moon gives light,  
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline.
2. Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,  
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline,  
With my head upon your breast like a birdie in its nest,  
Take me home to my Mommer, Kitty Kline.
3. I'm as free a little bird as I can be,  
I'm as free a little bird as I can be,  
I'll build my nest on sweet Kitty's breast,  
Whar the bad boys can't tear it down.

Take me home to my Mommer, etc.

The ballad then proceeds as Version A until after the stanza about the "sparrer" bird, when these stanzas are added:—

If I was a honey-bee,  
I'd dip the honey from the flowers,  
An' I'd fly an' sing my sad little song,  
I can't stay hyar by myself.

So fare ye well, Kitty Kline,  
So fare ye well, Kitty Kline,  
You shall wear my gold-diamont ring,  
When I'm in a far-distant land.

This fascinating ballad is at least fifty years old, and how much farther it dates back is not easy to conjecture, unless some one is able to find it in an old song-book, as the mountain woman suggested. It contains the regular ballad refrain, the question and answer stanzas typical of ballads of this kind, and at the same time employs such objects of every-day life as sparrer-birds, turtle-doves, honey-bees, shoes, trees,

and fish. This is the ballad which is most universally known. It might be called the national song of the highlanders.

One of the most plaintive of mountain songs is a ballad which is said to have been written July 5, 1907, but which, upon inquiry in other neighborhoods, is found to be ten years old at least. It is called "Bonnie Blue Eyes," and it illustrates the use of an object only recently made known to the common intelligence. In the old ballads we find stanza after stanza introducing the pen-knife or pin or other implements sufficiently new to the ballad-maker to be interesting. In this ballad the novelty is a train, something which few of the mountaineers to the present day have seen. Also, the ballad-maker, who seems to have been an adventurous soul, threatens to journey to the West, a land in the eyes of the mountaineers similar to what America must have been in the eyes of the Spaniards. Curiously enough, the men who leave home at all do go to the very far West; but they always come back again, when they've seen the world, and resume their former method of living. "Bonnie Blue Eyes" is an admirable ballad for illustrating the inability of the musician to render the same "piece" twice in the same way. It is first given as it was sung for the author, then as it was "drawed off" for the author by the musician, a mountain girl of "considerable schoolin'."

#### BONNIE BLUE EYES

##### A

1. Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
     Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
     Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
     Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry.
2. I hyar the train comin', I do,  
     I hyar the train comin', I do,  
     I hyar the train comin' to carry me through,  
     I hyar the train comin', I do-o-o.
3. Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
     Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
     Ef ye cry, little Bonnie, you'll spile your eye,  
     Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry-i-i.
4. I asked your Popper for you,  
     I asked your Mommer for you,  
     I asked your Popper an' Mommer for you,  
     They both said "No-o-o."
5. She tole me she loved me, she did,  
     She tole me she loved me, she did,  
     She tole me she loved me, she never did lie,  
     Good-by, little Bonnie, good-by-i-i.

6. I'm forty-one miles from home,  
    I'm forty-one miles from home,  
    I'm forty-one miles from home,  
    Good-by, little Bonnie Blue Eyes.

7. And now she's married an' gone,  
    An' now she's married an' gone.  
    I've waited around fur her too long,  
    An' now she's married an' gone.

## BONNIE BLUE EYES

## B

1. I'm goin' out West next fall,  
    I'm goin' out West next fall,  
    I'm going out West, whar times is the best,  
    I'm goin' out West next fall.
2. Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
    Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry,  
    For if you cry, you'll spile your eye,  
    Don't cry, little Bonnie, don't cry.
3. When you tole me you loved me, you lied,  
    When you tole me you loved me, you lied,  
    When you tole me you loved me, you lied, my dear,  
    When you tole me you loved me, you lied.
4. I asked your Mommer fur you,  
    I asked your Popper fur you,  
    I asked your Popper an' Mommer both fur you,  
    They both said "No-oh-no."
5. I'm forty-one miles from home,  
    I'm forty-one miles from home,  
    I'm forty-one miles from home, Bonnie Blue Eyes,  
    I'm forty-one miles from home.
6. I hyar the train comin', I do,  
    I hyar the train comin', I do,  
    I hyar the train comin' to carry me through,  
    To see my little Bonnie Blue Eyes.
7. I'm goin' to see Bonnie Blue Eyes,  
    I'm goin to see Bonnie Blue Eyes,  
    The only little girl I ever loved  
    Was my little Bonnie Blue Eyes.
8. But now she's married an' gone,  
    But now she's married an' gone.

But now she's married.

I've waited too long to get my little Bonnie Blue Eyes.

The train also finds a place in the pathetic ballad called "The Midnight Dew" or "The Devil's Dream," though one cannot see how the latter title applies.

#### MIDNIGHT DEW

1. In the midnight dew, love,  
I often think of you,  
When I'm rambling in the midnight dew, love,  
I often think of you.
2. You can hyar the whistle blow,  
You can tell the train I'm on,  
You can hyar the whistle blow,  
A hundred miles from home.
3. I'm a fool about you,  
An' you're the only darlin', too,  
Lord, but I'm a fool  
About you, hoo-hoo.
4. If the train runs right,  
I'll go home tomorrer night,  
You can hyar the whistle blow,  
A hundred miles from home.
5. If the train runs a wreck,  
I'm sure to break my neck,  
I'll never see my honey  
Any more, hoo-hoo.
6. My ole shoes is worn,  
An' my ole close is torn,  
An' I can't go to meetin'  
This way, hoo-hoo.
7. Oh, lordy me,  
For thar's trouble I do see,  
Fur nobody cyars  
Fur me, hoo-hoo.
8. Oh, it's oh lordy me,  
An' it's oh lordy my,  
An' I want to go to Heaven  
When I die, hoo-hoo.
9. I'll pawn you my watch  
An' my wagon an' my team,



An' if that don't pay my darlin's bill,  
I'll pawn my gold-diamont ring, hoo-hoo.

10. You've caused me to weep  
An' you've caused me to mourn,  
An' you've caused me to leave  
My home, hoo-hoo.

11. You've caused me to walk  
That long lonesome road  
Which has never been  
Travelled afore, hoo-hoo.

Aside from all else, two points are of especial interest in "Midnight Dew." One is that considerable power of observation is shown in the lines, "You can hyar the whistle blow a hundred miles from home." Owing to the rarity of the air, those living in this part of the country, thirty, forty, fifty miles from a railroad, could set their watches by the engine's whistle, though they don't, because a Southern train is proverbially never on time. The use of the word "pawn" is also worthy of note. One would naturally say that such a word would stamp the ballad as foreign to the mountains; but this is not necessarily so, for the mountaineers are notoriously fond of new words, and make use of them on every occasion, which often is not the right one.

Frequently one finds two ballads which are very similar, though they are by no means different versions of the same ballad. This is exemplified in the two somewhat fragmentary ballads, "My Own True Love" and "Sweet Betsy" or "Charming Betsy."

#### MY OWN TRUE LOVE

1. My home's in the State of North Carolina,  
My home's in the State of North Carolina,  
My home's in the State of North Carolina, my true love,  
An' I never expect to see you any more.
2. I'm goin' off to the State of North Carolina,  
I'm goin' off to the State of North Carolina,  
I'm goin' off to the State of North Carolina, my true love,  
An' I never expect to see you any more.
3. Oh, whar's that finger ring I gave you,  
Oh, whar's that finger ring I gave you,  
Oh, whar's that finger ring I gave you, my true love,  
For I never expect to see you any more.
4. Now wear it on your right hand, my true love,  
Now wear it on your right hand my true love,  
Now wear it on your right hand, my true love,  
For I never expect to see you any more.

## CHARMING BETSY

1. I'm comin' round the mountain, charmin' Betsy,  
I'm comin' round the mountain, 'fore I leave,  
An' if I never more see you,  
Take this ring, an' think of me.
2. An' wear this ring I give to you,  
An' wear it on your right han',  
An' when I'm dead an' forgotten,  
Don't give it to no other man.

The ring plays a prominent part in the two ballads just quoted, and is also mentioned in "Kitty Kline." Why the maiden is admonished to wear the love token on her right hand is a matter for conjecture, unless the fond lover is willing to leave her for another. As a matter of fact, the mountain women practically never wear rings.

The heroic ballads cluster for the most part around Jesse James, who seems to have been the Robin Hood of the section. Just how his exploits reached this locality is puzzling; but it is not improbable that some Missouri mountaineer, moving back to North Carolina, has brought the songs with him. The words are by no means beautiful, but they are always shouted with great gusto. One of the songs goes thus: —

## JESSE JAMES

1. Yes, I went down to the depot  
Not many days ago: they followed on behind,  
And I fell upon my knees, and I offered up the keys  
To Frank and his brother, Jesse James.
2. Poor Jesse James, poor Jesse James,  
He robbed that Danville train;  
Yes, the dirty little coward, he shot Mr. Howard,  
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.
3. Frank says to Jesse, not many days ago,  
"Let's rob that Danville train."  
An' Jesse says to Frank, "We'll take it as we go,  
For we may not be hyar any more."

Poor Jesse James, etc.

4. Jesse was a man, an' he travelled over the land,  
With his sword an' his pistol to his side.  
Robert Ford watched his eye an' shot him on the sly,  
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.

Poor Jesse James, etc.

5. Yes, Jesse had a wife, the darlin' of his life,  
An' the children all was brave.  
Robert Ford watched his eye an' shot him on the sly,  
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.
6. It was on Friday night, the moon was shinin' bright,  
An' Jesse was standin' 'fore his glass,  
Robert Ford's pistol ball brought him tremblin' from the wall,  
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.

Poor Jesse James, etc.

7. Well, the people of the West, when they heard of Jesse's death,  
They wondered how he come to die.  
Robert Ford watched his eye an' shot him on the sly,  
An' they laid poor Jesse in his grave.

Having no records, the author is unable to give the day of Jesse's death, but in all probability Friday was selected by the ballad-maker because of the popular superstition that it is a day of ill-luck.

"John Hardy" is another personage who seems to have left his name to posterity. This ballad is more similar to the old English and Scottish Ballads than any which have been quoted. Here, too, the questions and answers hold a prominent place. The "disperated" in the first line is probably as near as the singer could get to "dissipated," though "desperate" may be the word intended.

#### JOHN HARDY

1. John Hardy was a mean an' disperated man,  
He carried two guns ever' day,  
He shot a man in New Orlean Town,  
John Hardy never lied to his gun, poor boy.
2. He's been to the east and he's been to the west,  
An' he's been this wide world round,  
He's been to the river an' been baptized,  
An' he's been on his hangin' grounds, poor boy.
3. John Hardy's father was standin' by,  
Sayin', "Johnie, what have you done?"  
He murdered a man in the same ole town,  
You ought to see John Hardy gittin' away, poor boy.
4. John Hardy's mother come weepin' around  
Cryin', "Johnie, what have you done?"  
"It's all for the sake of her I love?"  
An' they run John Hardy back in jail, poor boy.

Of the ruder ballads, "Lulu" is an example, though it is obviously not of mountain origin, from the very fact of the allusion to "ole missus." Still it is probable that many of the stanzas have been invented in the highlands.

## LULU.

1. I went afishin' an' fished fur shad,  
First I caught was my old ad.  
Jerked him up an' he fell back,  
The next one bit was a great big cat.
2. I'll give you a nickel  
An' I'll give you a dime  
To see little Lulu  
Cut her shine.
3. My ole missus promised me that when she died  
She'd set me free,  
An' now she's dead an' gone to hell,  
Hope the Devil'll chunk her well.
4. Shout, little Lulu,  
Shout your best,  
Fur your ole grandmaw's  
Gone to rest.
5. The bull frog's up  
In the bottom of the well  
He swore by God  
He'd gone to hell.
6. He jumped in the fire  
An' scorched his hand;  
If he ain't in a hot place  
I'll be damned.
7. Love you fur a nickel,  
Love you fur a dime;  
Lulu, get your hair cut  
Just like mine.

The last stanza is like the popular song which used to be sung everywhere:—

Johnnie get your hair cut,  
Johnnie get your hair cut,  
Johnnie get your hair cut,  
Just like mine.

Johnnie, get your gun,  
Your sword and your pistol, etc.

"Lulu" is probably the form in which it was brought to the mountains by some negro minstrel. Another song which has probably been transplanted from the lowlands goes as follows:—

1. I'm alone, I'm alone,  
An' I feel I'm growin' old,  
Oh, how lonely, oh, how lonely,  
I'm living all alone.

2. I was taught by my mommer  
Who sleepeth in the tomb.  
I was led by my father,  
An' wandered here alone.

I'm alone, etc.

3. You remember my children  
That set upon my knee  
An' how I kissed my little darlin'  
On the day that I was free.

I'm alone, etc.

Another song of the coarser type is known as "Going Down to Town." It is similar in character to the "Arkansaw Traveller," and the fourth verse is always the invention of the singer. It runs on endlessly, and begins thus:—

I'm goin' down to town,  
I'm goin' down to town,  
I'm goin' down to town,  
To chaw my terbacco down.

Git along down town,  
Git along down town,  
Git along down town,  
To bile that cabbage down.

The ballads quoted, if ballads they can be called, are only a very few of those sung in the mountains. There are many typical ones which have not yet come into the hands of the author. Two of the most desirable of these are "Sourwood Mountain," which begins, —

I have a love in the Sourwood Mountains,  
She's gone crippled an' blind.  
She's broke the heart of many poor feller,  
But she ain't broke this'n of mine.

and "Johnie Henry," which begins, —

Johnie Henry was a hard-workin' man,  
He died with his hammer in his hand.

The latter is obviously not a ballad of the mountains, for no highlander was ever sufficiently hard-working to die with anything in his hand except possibly a plug of borrowed "terbac." However, the author's informant declares that it is very sad and tearful, "very sweet," and it may appear in print "when Tobe sees Tom, an' gits him to larn him what he ain't forgot of hit from Muck's pickin'."

HIGHLANDS, N. C.

## FOLK-LORE FROM THE SOUTHERN STATES

BY TOM PEETE CROSS

WHILE spending a few months in southeastern Virginia during the summer of 1907, I collected some scraps of negro folk-lore, which I here give to the readers of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*.

An old negro woman in Smithfield (Isle of Wight County), Virginia, informed me that witches sometimes acquire their power by selling themselves to the Devil. His Satanic Majesty gives them a piece of money, and agrees to carry out their commands. Witches may be male or female, young or old. A male witch sometimes causes his neighbor to leave his bed, and then, entering the house, enjoys his wife. A friend of mine from North Carolina told me of a witch who once carried her daughter out on a nocturnal visit. The mother, before starting, imposed on the girl a strict prohibition (probably against mentioning the name of God: I have forgotten the exact nature of the command). On reaching the house which the mother intended to enter, she uttered the words, "Through the key-hole I go!" and they both passed through. While inside, the daughter violated the prohibition, and was unable to return by the way she had come in.

I was anxious to learn, during my sojourn in the South, whether the witch of to-day retains any of the physical characteristics of her sisters of three hundred years ago in England. The result of my inquiries was as follows: The breasts of a female witch are situated under her arms, and the skin about her neck resembles a collar. I learned that a male witch hates to look one in the face; but exactly what physical characteristics he has, differing from men in general, I was unable to discover.

Witches have the power of assuming the forms of various lower animals. I heard from an old negro woman in Norfolk, Virginia, of a shop-keeper who had a personal experience with a witch. His mother-in-law practised the black art. The family lived in rooms above the store, and one morning the proprietor found the old lady crouching down in the form of a buzzard in the corner of the shop. He kept the bird till it changed into its proper human shape.

The following story, which I heard in Smithfield, Virginia, from the old negro woman mentioned above, is of considerable interest as suggesting a well-known cycle of mediæval stories:—

A witch, who became enamored of a man on a neighboring estate, changed herself into a doe and appeared at the "hog-feeding place."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the country districts of southeastern Virginia, hogs are often kept in woods or fields at a considerable distance from the dwelling-house. In the days when deer were more plentiful, they sometimes ventured up to the edge of the woods to feed on the corn supplied for the hogs.

The man shot at the deer, but with no effect. On mentioning the occurrence, he was instructed to load his gun with a four-pence ha'penny cut into four parts. This he did, and succeeded in shooting off one of the animal's feet. In the foot he found a ring, which he recognized as belonging to the woman. Meeting her afterwards, he asked to see the hand on which she usually wore the ring. She at first evaded the request, but on being pressed, revealed the fact that one of her hands was missing.

Witches in Virginia can, of course, enter a house through any opening, large or small, that may offer itself. An old woman told me of a witch who, on being married, asked her husband to unstop certain auger-holes in the floor, doubtless wishing to use the apertures for exits.

The number of chinks in the cabin of the average Southern negro is legion, and it is hence almost impossible to prevent the visits of the plantation witch if she be ill-disposed. The following preventives are, however, useful:—

1. Hang a sifter on the door-knob over the key-hole. The witch, before entering, will have to pass through every mesh of the sifter, an operation requiring so much time, that before she finishes, the hour will arrive when the "extravagant and erring spirit" must hie to "his confine."

2. Place the handle of an old-fashioned broom (made of long straws bound together) across the doorway. (The efficacy here seems to be the necessity the hag is under of counting the straws before entering.)

3. Turn the key sidewise in the hole.

4. Turn your stockings inside out before retiring.

Riding at night is apparently one of the witch's most common performances. As nearly as I could make out, the operation is as follows: The hag turns the victim on his or her back. A bit (made by the witch) is then inserted in the mouth of the sleeper, and he or she is turned on all-fours and ridden like a horse. (Whether the victim is actually transformed into a horse, I was unable to discover.) Next morning the person ridden is tired out, and finds dirt between his fingers and toes. A flax-hackle, placed on the breast of the sleeper with the teeth up, will injure the witch when she mounts, and prevent her from riding. While in Smithfield, I heard of a man who, when he was about to be ridden by a witch, seized the bridle, and forced it into the hag's mouth. She began to shift her shape rapidly, but was severely beaten by her would-be victim.

It is well believed to-day in southeastern Virginia that witches take horses from the stables at night, and ride them furiously about the country. The best indications of a horse's having been ridden is finding the strands of its mane tied together next morning. Two hairs tangled



together constitute a witch-stirrup. The horse is usually tired and nervous after its experience.<sup>1</sup>

The following account was clipped from the Richmond (Virginia) "Times-Despatch" while I was in the South in December, 1907:—

"With ashen face and trembling from garret to cellar, Alfred Cary, usually black, rushed into the Second Police Station last night crying, 'She's fixed me; she's fixed me. Come quick, fo' Gawd's sake.' He was breathless with running. 'Fo' Gawd's sake, come quick,' he panted. 'I'll take yer right whar she is.' — 'What's the matter?' queried one of the officers in the station. 'Been conjured?' — 'Yassir. Come on.' — 'Wait a moment, an' I'll take it off you.' But the negro had fled. The officer sprang to the door, but he got only a glimpse of Alfred turning the corner.

"There are many believers in 'conjurin'' still among the negroes in Richmond, and it was only a night or two ago that a negro girl ran breathless up to an officer, and said that she had been 'conjured.'

"Some gal's got the combins' of my hyar, an' nailed 'em to a tree,' she wept. 'I dunno how she got 'em, but she got 'em, an' she's done nail 'em to a tree.' — 'Pshaw, girl; g'long with you. We white folks burn our combins's.' — 'Yo' white folks don' know 'bout sech things,' she cried; 'but we cullud folks knows all erbout 'em. Dat gal sho' is got my combins's, cos' I'se got de headache. When yo' nails a gal's combins's to a tree, wid de combins's twisted roun' de nail, it sho' gwine give yo' a headache, an' I'se got one orful bad. It 's been achin' eber since dat gal got my combins's.'"

Another curious instance of the terror inspired by conjurers among the Southern negroes occurred, I am told, in Alabama. One negro was accused of having "picked up the tracks" of another. He was in the act of carrying them away when a crowd gave chase, pursued him into a house on the plantation, and were apparently bent on tearing the building down in their effort to get at him, when the proprietor of the estate interfered.

It appears from the above that the public is very much at the mercy of witches and conjurers. I therefore venture to suggest two methods of retaliation which I heard of while in Virginia. A witch can be injured by shooting at an image or silhouette of board representing the one to be punished. (The story of the man and the witch who transformed herself into a doe suggests that the witch may be injured directly by using a silver bullet.) It is of course well known that witches shed their skins in preparation for their transformations. If the skin is then taken and rubbed with salt and pepper, it will do much toward making life

<sup>1</sup> I have heard that in ante-bellum days the plantation "hands" took the horses from the stables without the knowledge of the owner, and used them, thus giving abundant cause for the animals' unkempt and fatigued condition on the following day.

unpleasant for the weird sister when she first gets back into her case.

So far the items that I have chronicled are taken from the witch-lore of Southern negroes, though some of the beliefs are also current among ignorant whites. The following information, which I owe to the kindness of a gentleman from Pendleton, North Carolina, concerns a white woman who was reputed to be a witch.

"The early years of Phœbe Ward, witch, are shrouded in mystery. It is known that she was a woman of bad morals. No one seemed to know anything of her past. She was an old, old woman when this account begins.

"Phœbe Ward had no fixed home. She lived here and there, first at one place and then at another in Northampton County, North Carolina. She stayed in a hut or any shelter whatsoever that was granted her.

"She made her living by begging from place to place. Most people were afraid to refuse her, lest she should apply her witchcraft to them. When she found a house at which people were particularly kind to her, there she stopped and abused their kindness. Hence the people resorted to a number of methods to keep her away. For instance, when they saw her coming, they would stick pins point-up into the chair-bottoms, and then offer her one of these chairs. It is said that she could always tell when the chair was thus fixed, and would never sit in it. Also, they would throw red pepper into the fire, and Phœbe would leave as soon as she smelled it burning. . . .

"Among her arts it is said that she could ride persons at night (the same as nightmares), that she could ride horses at night, and that when the mane was tangled in the morning it was because the witch had made stirrups of the plaits. She was said to be able to go through key-holes, and to be able to make a horse jump across a river as if it were a ditch. She was credited with possessing a sort of grease which she could apply, and then slip out of her skin and go out on her night rambles, and on her return get back again. It is said that once she was making a little bull jump across the river, and as she said, 'Through thick, through thin; 'way over in the hagerleen,' the animal rose and started. When he was about half way over, she said, 'That was a damn'd good jump,' and down the bull came into the river. (The witch is not to speak while she is crossing.)

"To keep the witch away people nailed horse-shoes with the toe up over the stable-doors. To keep her from riding persons at night, they hung up sieves over the door. The witch would have to go through all the meshes before she could enter, and by the time she could get through, it would be day, and she would be caught.

"Phœbe came near meeting a tragic death before her allotted time was out. One night several men of the neighborhood gathered around a

brandy-barrel. As the liquor flowed, their spirits rose, and they were on the lookout for some fun. They went over to where Phœbe was staying and found her asleep. Thinking she was dead, they shrouded her, and proceeded to hold the wake. They were soon back at their demijohns, and while they were standing in one corner of the room drinking, there came a cracked, weak voice from the other corner, where the supposed corpse was lying out, 'Give me a little; it's mighty cold out here.' They all fled but one, — Uncle Bennie, — and he was too drunk to move. When things became quiet and Phœbe repeated her request, he said, 'Hush, you damn'd b—h, I'm goin' to bury you in the mornin'.' The others were afraid to return that night, but did so the next morning, and found Bennie and Phœbe sitting before the fire, contented, warm, and drinking brandy.

"After this Phœbe lived several years, making her livelihood by begging. Her last days were as mysterious as her early life had been."

I conclude with a clipping (quoted in the newspaper whence it was taken, from the "Nashville Tennessean") which is of interest in connection with the use of charms in the South.

"BLACK-CAT CURE FOR RHEUMATISM. — 'The hide of a black cat dried in an autumn sun and worn around the waist in the form of a belt will keep rheumatism away,' said Mark Duvall, of Alexander, La., at the Hotel Duncan. 'Now, don't laugh, and wait until after you've heard the story. For three years I had symptoms of rheumatism — very painful symptoms. I lay awake nights and suffered a thousand deaths — mentally and physically. One day an old negro working on an adjoining plantation told me of the black cat hide remedy. Of course, I did n't believe in it, but like a drowning man grabbing at a straw, thought I would give it a trial, as I knew the old-time Southern ducky to be a real good doctor. I had a black cat killed in October and let the hide stay out for about fifteen days to dry. I then cut it up and made a belt about one inch wide out of it. I put on the belt and wore it for eight weeks. Believe me when I say that my rheumatic pains had entirely disappeared the third week. I have never had a pain since and I still have my black cat belt.'"

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

## SONGS OF WESTERN COWBOYS

BY G. F. WILL

THE songs of the Western cowboys are many and varied, and form a distinctly interesting development of folk-lore. In view of the fact that these are being fast forgotten in the Dakotas, and as Montana ranching is dying out, the writer has been trying to make some sort of a collection of the words of these songs as heard in North Dakota, particularly. This has been a more difficult task than anticipated, as, although many know a few verses, there are very few who can give at all complete versions. The three cowboy songs given here were all obtained from Mr. Otis Tye of Yucca, N. Dak. The last song, which has been transplanted from the Wisconsin lumber camps of the seventies, Mr. Fred Roberts gave. This hardly belongs with the cowboy songs, but it seems permissible to insert it as it has become quite widely known in this region.

The range songs of the cowboys grew up in various ways. Some were songs heard in city music halls and transplanted; others were old country ballads retouched and changed to suit; and very many were composed, minstrel fashion, by some member of the circle as a group of cowboys lay around the camp-fire.

The songs were also sung on widely different occasions. Sometimes they were shouted in the saloons of the towns when engaged in a "celebration." Sometimes they were sung in the ranch-house at the stag-dances, again they were heard at the camp-fire out on the round-up. And perhaps one of their most frequent uses was in quieting the cattle at night as the cowboys rode round them on night-guard.

The first song to be presented is called "Amanda, the Captive." This song the cowboy who gave it said he had first heard sung on one of the large South Dakota ranches, by a Texas cowboy. And the Texan claimed to have learned it in old Mexico many years before from a still older Texan, who sung it to the cattle when on night-guard.

The song is not entire, large fragments having been forgotten. It is as follows:—

The sun had gone down o'er the hills in the west,  
And the last beams had faded o'er the mossy hill's crest  
And the beauties of nature and the charms of the fair.

At the foot of the mountain Amanda did ride,  
At the hoot of the owl or the catamount's cry,  
Or the howl of some wolf in its low granite cell,  
Or the crash of some dead forest tree as it fell.

The camp-fire was kindled and fanned by the breeze,  
And the red embers shone o'er the evergreen trees;  
The watch-fire was blazing, each warrior was there,  
And Amanda was doomed the torture to bear.

With an eye like an eagle and a step like a deer,  
Young Albion the leader of those warriors appeared;  
He cried, "My warriors, forbear, forbear!  
The maiden shall live, by my wampum I swear,  
And if there's a victim to be burned at the tree,  
Young Albion your leader that victim shall be."

Early next morning at the break of the day,  
A birch-bark canoe was seen gliding away,  
Or like a wild duck that skims o'er the tide,  
Young Albion and Amanda the captive did ride.

And great was her joy upon reaching the shore  
To embrace her dear father and mother once more.

Young Albion stood by and saw them embrace  
With a sigh in his heart and a tear on his face,  
But all he would ask was shelter and food  
From the friends of Amanda for the chief of the wood.

The second cowboy song collected is called "A Home on the Range." No information could be obtained as to its origin, but after questioning a number of older cowboys it seems that it is almost universally known in the northwest, though most of the men knew but a few verses.

1. Oh give me a home where the buffalo roam,  
Where the deer and the antelope play,  
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,  
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

*Chorus.*

A home, a home where the deer and the antelope play,  
Where seldom is heard a discouraging word,  
And the skies are not cloudy all day.

2. Oh, often at night when summer was bright,  
Alone 'neath the stars I would stray;  
I stood there amazed and asked as I gazed,  
If beauty could excel that of ours.

*Chorus.*

3. Oh, I love the wild flowers in this bright land of ours,  
I love to hear the wild curlew scream  
O'er the bluffs and high rocks where the antelope flocks  
To graze on the mountain so green.

*Chorus.*

4. Oh, give me a land where bright diamond sand  
Shows in the glittering stream  
That glideth along like a graceful white swan,  
Like a maid in a lovely day dream.

*Chorus.*

5. Oh, give me a gale with an orbital wail,  
Where life in its streams busily flow  
On the banks of the Platte River,  
Where seldom if ever  
The poisonous syringias grow;  
Where the air is so pure, the breezes so free,  
The zephyrs so balmy at night,  
I would not exchange my home on the range  
For another, be it ever so bright.

*Chorus.*

6. The prairie all checkered with buffalo paths,  
Where once they roamed proudly too and fro;  
But now they've grown dim  
Where hunters have been,  
And the cowboys have laid them so low.  
The red-men pressed in these parts of the West,  
And likely they ne'er will return,  
For the farmers they start in search of those parts  
Whenever the story they learn.

*Chorus.*

The third song is known as "The Dying Cowboy," and seems more ballad-like than the others. In fact, it suggests strongly a parody on some of the English ballads.

1. As I rode down to the theatre, the theatre,  
As I rode to the theatre one day,  
I met a young cowboy all dressed in white linen;  
All dressed in white linen, all fixed for the grave.

*Chorus.*

Go play the fife lowly and beat the drum slowly,  
And play the death march as they carry me on;  
Take me to the prairie and lay the sod o'er me,  
For I'm a young cowboy, I know I've done wrong.

2. When once in the saddle I used to go dashing,  
When once in the saddle I used to be gay;  
I first took to drinking and then to card playing,  
Got shot through the lungs and am dying to-day.

*Chorus.*

3. Go write a letter to my gray-headed mother,  
And break the news gently to sister dear;

But there is another more dear than a mother,  
Who'd bitterly weep if she knew I were here.

*Chorus.*

4. Go gather around me a group of young cowboys,  
And tell them the story the cowboy has said,  
And tell them take warning before they go farther,  
And stop the wild roaming before it's too late.

*Chorus.*

5. Go bring me a cup, a cup of cold water,  
A cup of cold water the dying man said;  
But ere they returned the spirit had got him, —  
He'd gone to the giver, the cowboy was dead.

*Chorus.*

The following song came from Wisconsin with some of the first settlers in this region, and is more accurately a shanty than a cowboy song.

THE BIG EAU CLAIR

Every girl she has her troubles,  
Likewise a man has his;  
I'll relate, to you the agony  
Of a fellow's story, viz. —  
It relates about affections  
Of a damsel young and fair,  
And an interesting shanty boy  
From off the big Eau Clair.

This young and dauntless maiden  
Was of noble pedigree,  
Her mother kept a milliner shop  
In the town of Mosinee —  
Kept waterfalls and ribbons  
And imitation lace  
For all the high-toned people  
In that gay and festive place.

The shanty boy was handsome,  
Had a curly head of hair,  
Not a handsomer man could there be found  
From off the big Eau Clair.

This milliner said her daughter  
A shanty boy ne'er should wed,  
But Sue, she did not seem to care  
For what her mother said.  
This milliner she packed up her goods  
And went and hired a hack

And opened up another shop  
Way down in Fondulac.

Now Sue got broken-hearted  
And weary of her life,  
For she dearly loved the shanty boy  
And wished to be his wife.

And when brown autumn came along  
And ripened all the crops,  
She lighted out for Baraboo  
And went a picking hops;  
But in this occupation  
She found but little joy,  
For her thoughts kept still reviving  
About her shanty boy.

She took the scarlet fever,  
Lay sick a week or two  
In Asa Baldwin's pest-house  
In the town of Baraboo.  
The doctors tried, but all in vain,  
Her hopeless life to save,  
Now millions of young hop-lice  
Are dancing o'er her grave.

When this news reached the shanty boy,  
He quickly to perceive  
He hid his saw in a hollow log,  
He traded off his axe,  
And hired out as sucker  
On a fleet of sailor jacks.  
But in this occupation  
No comfort could he find,  
The milliner's daughter's funeral  
Came frequent to his mind.

He fell off a rapids piece  
At the falls of Mosinee,  
Which ended all his fate for love  
And all his misery.  
And now the bold Wisconsin  
Rolls her waves above his bones,  
His companions are the catfish,  
His grave a pile of stones.

This milliner she is bankrupt now,  
Her shop has gone to rack,  
She talks quite strong of moving  
Away from Fondulac.



For her pillow it is haunted  
By her daughter's auburn hair  
And the ghost of that young shanty boy  
From off the Big Eau Clair.

BISMARCK, N. DAK.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

FAIR CHARLOTTE. — The opening lines of this American traditional ballad are, —

“Fair Charlotte lived by the mountain-side,  
In a wild and lonely spot,  
No dwelling was for three miles round,  
Beside her father’s cot.”

The ballad is about a young woman who was frozen to death while riding fifteen miles in a sleigh to “a merry ball,” and is no doubt based on an actual incident. In connection with a study I am making of American ballads, I should be extremely grateful to any readers of this *Journal* who will send me any versions of the ballad (even fragments are desirable), whether from oral tradition, or copied from printed sources. Especially should I like information concerning the event itself. — *Phillips Barry*, 33 Ball St., Boston, Mass.

WILLIAM JONES. — On March 28 Dr. William Jones, whose studies of the Central Algonquin tribes had won for him marked recognition, died of wounds received in an attack by hostile natives in the northern part of the island of Luzon. Dr. Jones made his first studies of the folk-lore of the Sauk and Fox under the auspices of the American Folk-Lore Society, and published some of the results of his studies in this *Journal* under the titles “The Culture-Hero Tradition of the Sauk and Fox” (vol. xiv, 1901, pp. 225-239) and “The Concept of the Manitou” (vol. xviii, 1905, pp. 183-190). His researches covered all the aspects of the primitive life of the Algonquin, but he was able to publish only that part of the folk-lore of the tribe which he had collected in the original, with translations. These were published by the American Ethnological Society under the title “Fox Texts” (Leyden, E. J. Brill, 1907, 383 pages). Dr. Jones, who was himself a member of the Fox tribe, was able to write down these tales from the lips of the older members of his tribe, and his perfect command of the language allowed him to take the record without detaining the speakers by trying to follow their dictation. For this reason his texts belong to the best records of American folk-lore that are available. It is a matter of deep regret that it was not given to him to complete and publish his important studies on the Fox tribe. In later years, Dr. Jones carried on extended investigations for the Carnegie Institution, the results of which it is understood he left in such condition that they can be published. In him we lose a faithful and enthusiastic student, who promised to become one of the most fruitful contributors to the science of American folk-lore.

J. D. E. SCHMELTZ. — We regret to announce the death of Dr. J. D. E. Schmeltz, Director of the State Museum of Ethnography at Leyden, Holland. Dr. Schmeltz began his work in the Godeffroy Museum in Hamburg, whence he was called to Leyden in 1884 as assistant of Dr. Serrurier. Later on he became Director of the Museum, and the development of the collections during the last twenty years has been due to his untiring energies. He was the founder and editor of the “International Archives of Ethnography.”

## LOCAL MEETINGS

## MISSOURI BRANCH

THE Missouri Folk-Lore Society held its Third Annual Meeting at the State University, Columbia, March 12 and 13. Papers were read as follows: "The Werewolf Superstition," by Dr. Caroline Stewart, Columbia; "The Origin of Ballads," by Professor H. M. Belden, Columbia; "Life Among the Arizona Indians," by Dr. F. A. Golder, Columbia; "Messiah Beliefs of the American Indians," by Miss Mary A. Owen, St. Joseph; "The Sacred Fire," by Professor A. O. Lovejoy, Columbia; "An English Christmas Play," by Miss Antoinette Taylor, St. Louis County; "Missouri Play-Parties," by Mrs. L. D. Ames, Columbia; "Georgia Plantation Songs," by Miss Colquitt Newell, Columbia. The officers for the ensuing year are: *President*, Miss Mary A. Owen (St. Joseph); *Vice-Presidents*, Dr. W. L. Campbell (Kansas City), Principal J. R. Powell (St. Louis), Miss Mary A. Wadsworth (Columbia); *Secretary*, Professor H. M. Belden (Columbia); *Treasurer*, Mrs. L. D. Ames (Columbia); *Directors*, Miss Jennie M. A. Jones (St. Louis), Mr. W. S. Johnson (Tuscumbia), Dr. F. A. Golder (Columbia).

## NEW YORK BRANCH

On April 22 the New York Branch met at Earl Hall, Columbia University. The Chairman called the attention of those present to the loss recently sustained by the American Folk-Lore Society through the murder of Dr. William Jones in the Philippines and the demise of Professor George R. Carpenter of Columbia University, who had just become a member of the New York Branch. Resolutions of condolence were committed to the Secretary for transmission to the families of these members. Dr. R. H. Lowie then addressed the meeting on "History and Mythology." The lecturer pointed out instances in which tradition had kept alive the memory of historical events, but arrived at the conclusion that it was practically hopeless to found history on oral tradition. The paper was discussed by Dr. Grinnell, Professor Joseph Jacobs, and Mr. Hagar.

On May 20 the fourth meeting of the Branch was called to order in Earl Hall. Mr. L. J. Frachtenberg read a paper on "Some Persian Superstitions," in which he called attention to some world-wide beliefs coexisting with Zoroastrianism in ancient Persia. The paper was discussed by Professor Boas, Miss Natalie Curtis, and Dr. Lowie. At the recommendation of the Council, the Chairman appointed several of the members to report on certain new publications on folk-lore and related subjects at the fall meetings. The society then adjourned for the summer months.

## BOOK REVIEW

THE PEOPLE OF THE POLAR NORTH. A Record by KNUD RASMUSSEN. Compiled from Danish Originals, and edited by G. HERRING. Illustrations by Count Harald Moltke. Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1908.

This book is a translation and adaptation of the two Danish books, "Nye Mennesker" and "Under Nordenvindens Svøbe," two of the best books on the Eastern Eskimo that have appeared in a long time. The editor underestimates previous work when saying that "the Eskimos as a race are an unexplored and unexploited people," and does an injustice to an eminent scholar when claiming that Rink, our best authority on the Greenland Eskimo, did not know the Greenlandic language; but he has put ethnologists under obligations by making the book accessible to the English-speaking public. The first of the two books had been translated before into German, but with the omission of some of the interesting traditions recorded by Rasmussen. The first part of the book is taken up with graphic descriptions of Eskimo life, which, while true to nature in their essential elements, still contain enough of the individuality of the author to make them one of the best available descriptions of Eskimo life from a literary point of view, but require at least a slight amount of caution on the part of the ethnologist. The difference of conception comes out clearly when these descriptions are compared to Mrs. Signe Rink's simple records of Eskimo life as given by the Eskimo themselves in her book "Kajakmänner." The second part, which contains primitive views of life among the Smith Sound Eskimo, is replete with valuable ethnological material, which shows clearly the close resemblance between the beliefs of the Smith Sound people and those of the west coast of Baffin Land. The tales given in Part III are also quite in accord with those known in other parts of Arctic America. A number of animal fables deserve particular mention. These fables, which are so characteristic of the folk-lore of the Eskimo and of some of the northern Indian tribes of America, have received some attention since 1883, and samples have been collected from all parts of the Arctic coast. A few of the tales given in this collection are identical with those recorded by Dr. A. L. Kroeber in 1899 in this *Journal*, and collected from the mouths of a number of Eskimo who visited New York. The second division of the book is devoted to a translation of Rasmussen's descriptions of West Greenland, which in character are similar to his descriptions from Smith Sound; while the last part is devoted to a description of the east coast of Greenland, and contains some interesting notes on customs, shamanism, and a few folk-tales. This material is of value as supplementing Holm's work on Angmagssalik. The English edition contains a considerably larger number of illustrations than either the Danish or the German editions. The illustrations are from sketches by Count Harald Moltke. A comparison of the folk-lore material contained in the German edition of the book and of the folk-lore of Baffin Land will be found in vol. xv of the "*Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*," pp. 567, 568.

*F. Boas.*

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## SHOSHONE AND COMANCHE TALES

COLLECTED BY H. H. ST. CLAIR, 2D; EDITED BY R. H. LOWIE

THE following tales were recorded by Mr. H. H. St. Clair, 2d, among the Wind River Shoshone of Wyoming and the Comanche, and are edited on the basis of his interlinear renderings. As a collection of Shoshone myths from Lemhi, Idaho, has been published recently,<sup>1</sup> Wind River duplicates are given only in abstracts referring to points of difference.

The most noteworthy feature of the new Shoshone myths is the occurrence of certain widespread motives not obtained from the Lemhi Indians. Foremost among these is the marriage of two girls to stars. Very significant details connect the Wind River version with that of the Blackfoot. In both cases, the girls, after having wished for star-husbands, are delayed by the loss of their baggage; in both the star-child disappears on the infraction of a taboo, and becomes a star. The eye-juggler motive is naturally joined to a story, shared by the Lemhi and Comanche, of blind Coyote's adventures; a similar sequel occurs in the Blackfoot variant. The magic flight turns up in an ogre tale not related to the published Dzō'avits myths, which has also absorbed the crane-leg bridge motive of the Lemhi Bear and Deer story. Unfortunately, the cosmogonic fragments do not elucidate the relation of Ä'pö ("Our Father") to Wolf and Coyote, with whom the Lemhi occasionally identify him, while at other times he appears as a distinct character. In the colorless account of the Deluge, birds are sent out for land, but the diving for earth is not explicitly mentioned. The belief that the crow turned black in consequence of having devoured the drowned Indians is common to the Wind River and Lemhi people, though among the latter it was voiced only in conversation with the writer, and not in connection with the tale.

The Comanche myths are far too few in number to permit a thorough-going comparison with Shoshone folk-lore. The eye-juggler motive

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, "The Northern Shoshone" (*Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part ii, pp. 236-302).

occurs in the same combination as in the Wind River version; the union of these two elements seems to be peculiar to these Shoshonean groups. In one myth, the widely diffused story of the hoodwinked dancers precedes Coyote's defeat in a handicap race as told at Lemhi. "The Deserted Children" joins a familiar Prairie tale with an ogre story. Coyote's humiliation of a white fellow-trickster is exactly paralleled in Lemhi mythology. The account of the liberation of hoarded buffalo for the benefit of mankind has rather close homologues among the Blackfoot, Arapaho, and Gros Ventre. In an interesting composite myth, both the regulation of the seasons and the origin of death are accounted for. The first part is a somewhat more elaborate parallel of published Lemhi and Wind River narratives. As in Blackfoot mythology, the mortality of man is determined by the sinking of a rock.

### 1. THE BUNGLING HOST<sup>1</sup>

*(Shoshone Story)*

(The animals visited are Beaver, Owl, and Elk. The only noteworthy peculiarity of this version, as compared with that from Lemhi, is the resuscitation of Beaver's children when their bones are thrown into the water.)

### 2. PORCUPINE AND COYOTE<sup>2</sup>

*(Shoshone Story)*

(One of Coyote's children takes the place of Coyote's excrement as his guardian.)

### 3. COYOTE'S FLIGHT

*(Shoshone Story)*

Coyote was walking along. He saw a bear digging. Coyote looked at him through the grass. "You bob-tailed bear!" he cried. The bear charged on him, but Coyote ran off. Then he cried, "You crop-eared bear!" The bear ran towards him. Coyote said, "You are a bear, you cannot catch me." The bear pursued him. When he was close to him, Coyote cried, "You cannot run through the brush," and took to the brush; but the bear followed him through the brush. When he was close to the fugitive, Coyote cried, "You are a bear, you cannot swim." He jumped into the water. The bear followed in; Coyote got to the other side, and ran on. "You are a bear, you cannot run on the prairie." But again the bear was gaining on him. Coyote got to a buffalo. "O brother-in-law! the bear is after me." — "Well, stand behind me!" The bear caught up to them. The buffalo advanced, hooked and killed him. Thus he saved Coyote.

Coyote walked on. He met a stranger. The man told him, "Over there on that hill there is a bad rock. If any one takes any of the pile of beads

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 265.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 267.

on it, it will pursue and kill him." — "Is that so?" Coyote went to the rock, took some beads, scratched dirt on it, and went away. The rock followed his tracks. (Then follows the story of the rolling rock.)<sup>1</sup>

#### 4. DREADNOUGHT

(*Shoshone Story*)

A young man was walking along. He met a stranger, who said to him, "You must not lie down in the cracks of the rocks. Some bad men will poke around there to find you." When it got dark, the young man, nevertheless, went to the rocks, and stuck his arrows upward. In the night the bad men came and poked around there. They stuck themselves with his arrows, and went away. The next day the young man met another stranger, who warned him against bad rocks in his path. The youth tied pieces of flint to his feet. He walked through the rocks, breaking them with the flint. He continued on his way, and met another youth, who warned him against snakes. Again he tied flint to his feet. The snakes merely cut themselves against the flint. He walked on and met another man, who warned him against a bad tree. He walked towards it and threw his blanket under it. The tree fell on his blanket, and broke asunder.<sup>2</sup> He walked on and met another young man. The stranger said to him, "There are two bad old women over there. They call people to their lodge, then they strike and kill them with their elbows." The young man went to them. He peeped in at the door, and asked them for food. They bade him enter. Instead of passing in between them, he held out his blanket. They pierced it with their elbows, and, striking each other, were killed.<sup>3</sup> The young man ate up their food, and went away.

#### 5. THE FOILED LOVERS

(*Shoshone Story*)

Two comrades were looking around for girls. One of them entered a girl's house. As he was crawling in, a pet owl belonging to the young woman breathed noisily. The man asked, "What's that you say?" Then the owl grabbed him by the cheek. He ran out. His comrade ran after him, asking, "What is the matter with you?" — "Look at my eyes," he said. They could not pull the owl off. Then the man's comrade tried to cut the bird's neck with his knife, but it only held on the tighter. Then they tried to cut its leg. They could not cut it. Finally they twisted its neck and killed it.

They went to a different place. The other man wished to try this time. "Sit down on those buffalo-hides," said the other man. The

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 262.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, p. 84.

<sup>3</sup> The incident also occurs in Assiniboine mythology. It is found in the Dakota Potiphar tale (Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*, p. 140).

young man went, and thought he was going to sit on the robes; but a colt rose with him, bucked around, and threw him into the brush. His comrade came to him. "They have found us out." Then they gave up their plan.

#### 6. THE STAR-HUSBAND <sup>1</sup>

(*Shoshone Story*)

Once two young girls were lying outside their lodge and counting the stars. They said, "Would that those stars would come to us!" The next morning their people broke camp. The two girls were continually losing their belongings, and fell behind the rest of the people. They lost their paint-bags and went back for them. They found them and followed the trail. Looking back, they beheld two men, who soon caught up to them, and asked, "Do you two know us?" — "No," said the girls. Then the young men said, "We are those two stars you wished to come to you last night." Then the girls recognized them. The stars said, "We will take you above with us." The girls consented. Then all went up above. The stars married them.

Once, after a long time, one of the women said to her husband, "I am going with the others to dig roots." The star said, "Yes, but be sure not to dig up a big one." The woman went. While she was digging, she thought to herself, "I wonder why he forbade my digging up a big one." She dug up a big root. Looking down, she saw all her people. She came home crying. Her husband, knowing what she had done, said, "I told you not to look." The woman said, "I am going home." Her husband consented to let her go. The next morning all the people went hunting. They killed lots of buffalo. The next day they cut the skin into strips of rope. The woman's husband said to her, "Well, attach your child firmly; to-morrow they will let you down. When you get back home, you must tell your brothers not to look at your baby." In the morning they tied up the child and let down the woman with it. One of her brothers lying in his lodge saw her descending. "What is that falling from above?" The rest of the people looked for what he had seen, but could not detect it. "Something is the matter with your eyes," they said. He insisted he had seen something. After a while he again told them about it. Then they could see it. While they were gazing at the woman, she dropped to the ground. They untied the child. She said to them, "You must not see this child of mine." She lived with them for a long time. One day she went out to fetch wood, leaving her child at home. While she was gone, a sore-eyed brother of hers thought, "I wonder why she always said we must not see it." He arose and looked at it. She had said it was a baby, but he only found buckskin bundled up. Unwrapping it, he took some for a breech-clout. His sister returned. She cried when

<sup>1</sup> Wissler and Duvall, *Mythology of the Blackfoot Indians*, p. 58.



she found her child gone. Then she declared to her parents and her brothers, "I am going to follow my child's tracks." She went and touched the sky-rope, tied herself to it, and was pulled up to the sky. Her relatives all cried. They seized her youngest brother, the sore-eyed one, and threw him into the fire.

## 7. THE EYE-JUGGLER<sup>1</sup>

(*Shoshone Story*)

Coyote was eating rose-berries. He heard some yūba'čīdunò (a species of birds) crying, "Eyes, eyes!" He said, "Oh, I hear my brothers!" and ran toward them. They came up to him. "Halloo, my brothers! What are you eating? Tell me, and I will go with you." — "We are eating yampas (wild carrots)." — "How do you eat them?" — "We just throw our eyes on the brush, then the yampas fall down to us, together with our eyes. Throw your eyes on the brush now, crying, 'Eyes, eyes!'" Then Coyote threw his eyes up, and the yampas fell down to him. He ate them. "Oh, they are good!" he said. "This is a fine trick. Let us go around together now and practise it." He went with them, and they all fed on yampas. After a while Coyote said, "My brothers, I can do this by myself, too." He left them. He threw his eyes on a big brush, and the yampas fell down. He ate them. "This is good," he said. "I will always continue to do this." Again he threw his eyes on a big tree, crying, "Eyes, eyes!" His eyes did not come back to him. He repeatedly tried to get them back, but failed. Giving up hope, he went away.

Coyote got to the bank of a river, and sat down. On the other side he heard the jingling of bells.<sup>2</sup> "What kind of girls are you two?" he cried. — "We two are Ya'yaru girls. What kind of a man are you?" — "I am a Ya'yaru man," he replied. They said, "Come over to our side." — "No, do you two cross over here." The girls came over to him, and offered to build a shade-lodge. They went upstream and erected it. Coyote sat down inside. After a while he went out at one side of the entrance. When returning, he again missed the door. The girls said, "Why do you never use the entrance?" — "Don't try to tell me," he answered; "if we went out by the entrance, the enemy might charge upon us." They told him there were some buffalo resting on the hill. Coyote offered to kill one for them. He packed his quiver, and left, scenting for the buffalo-tracks. At last he got close to them, and repeatedly shot at them. By accident he hit one buffalo, and tried to locate it by its odor. The girls came running to h'm. "Oh, what are you looking for?" — "I am looking for my arrows." — "Why, you are standing on one of them." — "Well, I see it, but I won't pick it up before I find another one." At last he begged the girls to look for his arrows, and

<sup>1</sup> Wissler and Duvall, *l. c.* p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> For the following incidents, cf. Lowie, *l. c.* pp. 272, 273.

they began to search. In the mean time he had found the slain buffalo, and skinned it, but split the skin in the wrong place. The girls returned with the arrows. "Oh, what are you doing?" — "What have I done?" — "Why, you cut the skin in the wrong place." He answered, "No, the larger piece is meant for the bigger one of you, and the other one is for the smaller one." Then they helped him, and they got through skinning. They carried the game home, and roasted the ribs. As they were sitting there, one of the girls said, "Something on the other side has a bad smell." — "It is the buffalo I killed."

After the meal, Coyote said, "I wish one of you to louse me." He rested his feet on one girl's lap, and the other began to pick his lice. The girl sitting at his feet happened to look into his face, and cried, "Why, there is a worm coming out of his eyes!" Then both examined his eyes, and found them full of worms. They went out, brought in a rotten log, and laid his head on it, while they placed his feet on a rock. Then they took their belongings, hung his quiver on a tree, and fled.

When Coyote woke up, he said, "Oh, louse me!" His head bumped against the log. He found that the women were gone. He tried to find them, but in vain. He also failed to discover his quiver. At last, by smelling around, he found it, and by scenting also found the girls' tracks. He ran along, and caught up to them. When he was close, they threw their bells down a cliff. Coyote heard the bells drop, and tumbled after them. The women laughed at him. "What is the sightless Coyote doing down there?" He said, "You are just talking. I have killed a big mountain-sheep, and am eating its marrow." The girls went home and told about him.

Coyote's older brother went to look for him. Finally he found him and brought him back. For a while he was sick, then he recovered. One day Coyote played at na'hanid. His brother bet on his success. Coyote missed the mark, and his side lost. After Coyote had gone to bed and was asleep, his brother looked at his eyes, and found that he was blind. "He's blind, that is why we were beaten." Early in the morning, while Coyote was still sleeping, his brother took a yearling buffalo's eyes and inserted them in the sleeping Coyote's sockets. Then he roused his younger brother. Coyote saw well. He repeatedly defeated the people at the game. This is how Coyote came to have a yearling buffalo's eyes.

#### 8. DZŌ'AVITS<sup>1</sup>

(*Shoshone Story*)

Dove was living with her two young ones. Once, while the mother was away, Dzŏ'avits stole the children. When Dove returned and found her children gone, she went to look for them. She got close to Dzŏ'avits'

<sup>1</sup> In Lemhi myths (Lowie, *l. c.* pp. 254-262), Dzŏ'avits is a gigantic ogre frequently combated by the Weasels.

house and began to cry. Dzō'avits came out and scolded her. "Oh, what are you bothering around here for? You might as well go away, or I will beat you to death." She left. She met an Eagle, who asked her what she was looking for and why she was crying. She told him that Dzō'avits had stolen her young ones. Eagle gave her some tallow of an animal he had killed, its paunch, and some of his fuzzy feathers. Then he bade her go near the Dzō'avits' house. He hung his game on a high pine and told Dzō'avits to get it in the morning. Dzō'avits set out to fetch it, but could not get it down. While he was being delayed, Eagle freed the young Doves, who fled with their mother.

In the evening Dzō'avits returned. When he found his captives gone, he was furious. He followed their tracks, and nearly caught up to them. When he was very close, they were at the bank of a river, where a Crane was seated. "Dzō'avits is after my young ones, I wish you would help us across." Crane extended his leg as a bridge. "Well, cross over on my leg," he said. They crossed, and ran on.<sup>1</sup> Then Dzō'avits got to Crane. He asked whether the Doves had crossed there. "Yes," said Crane. Then Dzō'avits asked how they had crossed, and Crane told him. "Well, stretch out your leg for me, too." Crane extended his leg. While Dzō'avits was crossing the middle of the river, Crane pulled up his leg. Dzō'avits fell into the water. He swam, and reached the other bank. Then he again followed the fugitives' tracks.

Dzō'avits was again gaining on them. They got to a Chickadee. "Dzō'avits is after my children, help us cross," said the mother. "Well," said Chickadee, "enter my nostrils." They entered his nostrils. Chickadee blew them to the other side of the river. Then they continued their flight. Dzō'avits got to Chickadee, and inquired about the Doves. Chickadee told him how he had blown them to the other side. "Well, then blow me, too, to the other side." Chickadee bade him enter his nostrils, but only blew him into the middle of the river. Dzō'avits swam to the other bank. He again followed the Doves' tracks.

When he was close to them, the old Dove said to a Weasel, "Dzō'avits is after me, save us in some way." Weasel began to dig up the ground. "Go in here," he said. They entered, walked underground, and came out again at a great distance. Weasel then dug up the earth in another place. Dzō'avits came, and asked, "Did the Doves go in here?" Weasel said, "Yes, they have gone in here." — "Well, I also want to go in." He entered, but could not find anything. He got out again, and continued his pursuit.

When Dzō'avits got close to them, the old Dove threw down her tallow. It turned into a deep gulch behind them. Dzō'avits could not get through. He looked for a path. At last he found one and ran on. When he was close once more, Dove threw her paunch behind her. It turned into a big

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 254.

cliff. Dzō'avits could not climb up. He looked for a path. At last he found one. He ran on. When he had nearly caught up to them, she threw down her feathers. They turned into a fog. Dzō'avits lost the trail. At last he found it again, and ran on. When he was close again, Dove asked a Badger to save them in some way. Badger dug a hole, and bade them enter. When they were inside, he dug another hole and built a fire. Dzō'avits got to the place, and asked whether the Doves had entered there. Badger told him they had. "Well, I also wish to go in." He entered. As soon as he was inside, Badger heated rocks red-hot and cast them down, plugging up the hole. Then he called out to the Doves, "I have already killed Dzō'avits. Come out! You can go."

#### 9. THE ROC<sup>1</sup>

(*Shoshone Story*)

Two Weasels went hunting. They killed some game, and dried the meat. The older brother said to the younger, "It is not good to eat at night. If any one builds a fire at night in this place, a bad owl will carry him away. You had best cook meat now, then you will not have to build a fire at night." The younger man cooked plenty of meat, lay down, and ate in bed. He ate up all he had cooked. During the night he rose and built a fire. "Oh, don't build a fire!" said the older man. His brother answered, "Oh, don't make believe it is bad! I will beat it to death." He laid a bone among the food. He ate and sang. After a while a loud sound was heard. He took the bone, and sat listening. The Owl came near and sat down. He struck at him with the bone, knocking him down. Owl seized the man, and carried him to his island home. Two young men were there, and one old woman. The young men told the new-comer, "To-morrow he will eat one of us." He replied, "In the morning we will kill him." Next day Owl killed one of the young men, ate part of him, and went hunting. While he was gone, the two surviving young men dug a hole, and put a flint on the blood of the slain victim, sticking it through his flesh. Owl returned, ate of the corpse, and was killed by the flint. The two youths went into the hole, took the bird's wing, and made a boat of it. As they were starving, they ate the old woman. Then they returned home.

#### 10. COSMOGONIC FRAGMENTS

(*Shoshone Story*)

Our own Father (Ā'pō) made us.<sup>2</sup> First of all, he made the moose, then the elk, then the buffalo, then the deer, the mountain-sheep, the antelope,

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 283. The story is a fragment of the Lemhi Lodge-Boy and Thrown Away myth. The Owl corresponds to the mythical bird Nūneyunc.

<sup>2</sup> In the text there follow these two sentences: —

Ija apō gone ma weheŋge. dame-n- divij apō ke da sumbanain.  
Wolf father fire him burnt. Our own father not we know.

the crane, the chief of the birds, the big black eagle, the white-tailed bald eagle, the chicken-hawk (gī'ni) and the hō'mara, the owl, the crow, the magpie, and the dogo'a-rū'ka (snake-eater). Our Father made everything; he made us.

Our Father sent the Crow, who was sitting on a high mountain, to bring earth. "Get earth! I will once more create the drowned people." Then the Crow flew away, and after a while came back to the creator. "You must have been eating the drowned people. You stink. Go back!—Now, you, little Chickadee, bring dirt! Then I'll create all the people again." When the Chickadee returned with dirt, our Father made the earth and sky. We now walk on the ground he made. He said, "Now, my children, pray to me; then I will listen to you, and take pity on you."

The whole earth was covered with water. Only on a high mountain there was a dry spot.<sup>1</sup> Our Father sent the Crow to get earth in order to make our land. Then the Crow came back stinking. "You are crazy," said the Father; "you have eaten the drowned people. Now, go back, and go around homeless. You will eat whatever any one has killed. Go, now! You will be black." Then he said to the small birds, "Come, I will now hear which one of you has a good heart and good sense." He found that the Chickadee was the only one that had any sense and was good-hearted. Then he bade it bring earth. It brought it. Our Father made the earth out of it. "It will be small," he said, "for little hands brought it. You will have six moons. You will not lose track of tongues. You have good thoughts."<sup>2</sup>

## II. THE HOODWINKED DANCERS

(*Comanche Story*)

Coyote met a Skunk. "Halloo, brother! I am very hungry. Let us work some scheme to get something to eat! I will lead the way, do you follow." — "Well, I will do whatever you propose." — "Over there is a prairie-dogs' village. We will stay here until daylight. In the morning you will go to the prairie-dog village and play dead. I will come later and say to the prairie-dogs, 'Come, let us have a dance over the body of our dead enemy!' Well, go there, puff yourself up, and play dead." Skunk followed his directions. Coyote got to the prairie-dogs. "Come, we will have a dance. Stop up your holes tight, let every one come here. Our enemy lies dead before us. Do you all stand in a big circle and dance with closed eyes. If any one looks, he will turn into something bad." As they were dancing, Coyote killed one of them. "Well, now all open

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> The last sentences are obscure. There seems to be a reference to the connection between months and tongues, as indicated in one of the Comanche tales (p. 280).

your eyes! Look at this one; he opened his eyes and died. Now, all of you, close your eyes and dance again; don't look, or you will die!" They began to dance once more, and Coyote commenced to kill them. At last one of them looked. "Oh, he is killing us!" Then all the survivors ran for their holes. While they were trying to get in, he killed them. Coyote and Skunk gathered all the corpses and piled them up by a creek. They built a fire and cooked them.

"Well," said Coyote, "let us run a race for them! The one that wins shall have all the good fat ones." <sup>1</sup> — "Oh"! replied Skunk, "you are too swift; I am a slow runner, and can never beat you." — "Well, I will tie a rock to my foot." — "If you tie a big one, I will race with you." They were to run around a hill. Coyote said, "Well, go on ahead! I will catch up to you." Skunk began to run. Coyote tied a rock to his foot, and followed. Coyote said, "The one that is behind shall make a big fire, so there will be lots of smoke, and we shall be able to see where he is." Skunk got far ahead, and turned aside to hide. When Coyote had run past him, Skunk turned back to the meat-pile. Looking back, he saw a big column of smoke rising on the other side of the hill. He took all the meat and carried it home. He cut off all the tails and left them sticking out, with two poor little prairie-dogs for Coyote. Coyote thought Skunk was ahead of him. As he ran along, he said to himself, "I wonder where that fool is! I did not know he could outrun me." He got back to the pile, and saw the tails sticking out. He seized one, and it slipped out. He tried another one. "Oh, they are well cooked!" He tried another one. Then he got suspicious. He took a stick and raked up the fireplace, but could only find the two lean prairie-dogs. He thought some one must have stolen the meat. He ate the two lean prairie-dogs. Skunk, lying in his den, was watching him. As Coyote was standing to look around, Skunk threw one of the prairie-dog bones at him. Coyote then espied him lying in his camp. He saw all the meat around him. "Give me some of them!" — "No, we have run a race for them. I beat you, I am going to eat them all." Coyote begged him in vain for some food. Skunk ate it all. He was a better trickster than Coyote.

*Another Version.* — Coyote was knocking about on the prairie. There was a prairie-dog village there. Coyote got there. "Well, a bad disease is coming to us," he announced. The chief of the prairie-dogs, who was named Elk-Meat, went among his people, saying, "Coyote says a bad disease is coming to us." Coyote said, "Oh, tell your people we are going to dance." The chief told his people. "We will have it right in the centre of the camp." Then they gathered a lot of wood. Towards night-fall Coyote said, "Well, we are going to dance, a bad disease is coming." Then they gathered there and began to dance. While they were dancing,

<sup>1</sup> Compare Lowie, *l. c.* p. 274.

Coyote developed a scheme. As they came around to one side, he killed them with a stick while standing at the far end. Two little ones had just lost their mother. The younger of the two, peeping at Coyote, said, "O brother! they are killing us. What are we going to do? Let us run away!" He took the lead, and they fled. Looking back, one of them said, "Why, he is destroying all of us! He was merely deceiving us."

12. THE DESERTED CHILDREN <sup>1</sup>

(Comanche Story)

Long ago the Indians were camping in a certain place. Four children were playing by a creek. An older girl with a baby on her back came to join them. In the mean time all the Indians moved away without the children noticing it, as they were still playing by the creek. At last one of them happened to look up towards the camp and could not see the lodges. He called out to his mates, telling them the camp was broken. They called him a liar, and sent another one to look. He reported the same way. They did not believe him, either. A third one went to look, and also reported that all were gone. It was getting late in the evening. All left the creek and tried to follow the Indians' trail.

While they were going along, Coyote met them and warned them. "Right by the side of the road a big Owl has his house. Don't talk loudly when passing there, or he will hear you." They got to the house, and the little child began to cry. Owl heard him. "Bring my nephew here!" he said. The child thought it was really his uncle, and wanted to go to him. His older sister objected, but he persisted. At last she said, "Well, let us go over there!" Then all went to the Owl. The oldest girl was afraid. "The big Owl will eat us," she said. They got there. Owl immediately wanted to eat the child. The children began to plan how to escape. They said they wanted to wash by the creek. Owl permitted them to go, but bade them hurry back. They met a Frog there. "Frog, we are in trouble, and call upon you to help us. That Owl wants to eat us." — "Yes, I will help you." — "We are going to run off," they said. "When Owl calls us, do you answer for us, 'No, we are still washing.' Just continue fooling him, so that we will have a big start before he finds out." Owl called the children. Frog answered, "We are still washing." He repeatedly gave the same reply, fooling him. Owl at last thought they had run off. He went looking for them, and every few paces he called them as he went along. Frog continued to answer, "We are still washing." At last Owl came up to him. Frog said, "For once I have fooled you. The children went away a long time ago." Owl said, "You thin-legged rascal, you have been fooling me! You have let my game run away. I will kill you." He struck at him with his cane. Just as the

<sup>1</sup> Kroeber, *Gros Ventre Myths and Tales*, p. 102; Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 50.

cane descended, the Frog jumped into the water, leaving him standing on the bank.

Owl followed the children's trail. He had never been known to lose anything. After a short time he came in sight of them. They were fleeing as fast as they could. He was holding his stone club in his hand. They got to a big creek. There they saw a Fish-Crane sitting. "We are coming to you. That big Owl is after us. Help us!" He took a louse from his head, gave it to the oldest girl, and said, "Put this into your mouth. Though it tastes bad, do not spit it out before you get across to the other side. If you do this, I will make a bridge of my leg, so you can go across." She took the louse in her mouth, they crossed over, and then she spat out the louse. Owl got to Crane. "O Crane! there goes my game. Help me across! I want to catch them." Crane offered to let him cross on the same conditions as before. Owl spat out the louse in mid-stream, and fell into the river. He got out, and again pursued the children. He detected them in the open prairie. Seeing him, they were frightened. "What are we going to do?" A Buffalo-Calf was lying in front of them. "Buffalo-Calf, protect us!" — "I do not know whether I can help you, but I will try. Stand behind me!" Owl came up with his maul. "Oh, you're foolish! You know I won't retreat from you. That is my game, I will kill you." Calf stood still, pawing the ground. As Owl approached him, Calf charged on him, and threw him straight up to the moon. Hence the Owl is still sitting in the moon with its maul.

### 13. THE INDIAN AND THE BEAR

*(Comanche Story)*

An Indian was knocking about all by himself. A bear found him and gave chase. The Indian fled to the prairie. There he stood, not knowing what to do. Then he painted all his body green. "I will let him catch me." The bear caught up to him. The man stood still. *Mentulae glandem retraxit(?)*. The bear said, "Ah, well! I guess he died yesterday or to-day." He went away, but after a while he came back and stood there, smelling the man. "He must have been dead for two days. Judging by the smell, he must have been dead longer than one day," he said.

### 14. TRICKSTER TALES

*(Comanche Story)*

Coyote was thinking how he might get some money. A great many soldiers were following his trail. Coyote took his kettle and dug out a place in the bank. There he made a fire and placed the kettle over it. He put in water, which began to boil. The soldiers were coming near. Their captain approached Coyote, asking him how he was. Coyote just continued cooking. The captain said, "You have a mighty good kettle!" — "Yes, it is a good one." — "Can't I buy it from you?" — "Oh, I



think a great deal of it." The captain said, "Well, I will give you my horse for it." — "Oh, no! You must offer something I care for very much." — "Well, I will give you two horses." — "My kettle is a mighty good one." — "Well, select whatever two horses you wish for it." Coyote then picked out two very fine horses, and departed. The soldiers left with their kettle. When they camped, they set the kettle down, poured in water, and sat watching to see it boil. They had to wait a very long time. "Evidently Coyote has got the better of us," they said. From that time on, the whites have always traded with the Indians. Coyote taught us to do so.

*Second Version.*<sup>1</sup> — One white man had heard a great deal about Coyote's trickery. He said, "Oh, I want to see him! Did you ever hear of any person getting cheated right before his eyes? Go, bring him here! I'll see whether he can beat me that way." Coyote was walking along a short distance away. One of them spied him. "There is Coyote, who always cheats everybody." The white man got out to look at him. He put on very fine clothes, mounted a good horse, and loped after Coyote until he caught up to him. "Hold on, my friend! I have heard how you always cheat people." Coyote answered, "Oh, you are mistaking me!" — "Oh, no! Go ahead and cheat me out of something." Coyote said, "My stuff for scheming is not here." — "Where is it, then, the stuff you cheat people with?" — "I have it at my house." — "Well, go fetch it and fool me!" Coyote said, "Lend me your horse." — "Where is your house?" — "Over the hill." The white man dismounted and lent him his horse. The horse was afraid of Coyote. Coyote said, "Give me all your clothes, or he will be afraid of me." So the white man gave Coyote all his clothes. Coyote put them on, mounted, and loped off. "I have fooled you already. You certainly are easily cheated." The white man stood there, waving to him to return; but Coyote did not mind him, and galloped away.

*Third Version.* — A short while after this adventure, Coyote was sauntering along a creek. He saw many people moving along with mules and horses. Coyote was eager to get some of them. He addressed the people, telling them they could camp by a certain clump of trees. They were small trees, which he had already cut into. The people followed his advice, and staked their horses to those little trees. In the night all the mules and horses broke loose. Coyote, who was watching at a distance from the camp, then drove them off. This is why Indians long ago always used to steal so many horses.

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 278.

15. THE EYE-JUGGLER<sup>1</sup>*(Comanche Story)*

Coyote was always knocking about hunting for something. He came to a creek, where there was nothing but green willows. Two little yellow-birds were playing there. He came up to them. Laughing, they pulled out their eyes and threw them on the trees, while they stood below. "Eyes, fall!" they said. Then their eyes fell back into their sockets. Coyote went to them. He greatly admired their trick. "O brothers! I wish to play that way, too." — "Oh, we won't show you, you are too mean. You would throw your eyes into any kind of a tree and lose them." — "Oh, no! I would do it just like you." At last the birds agreed to show him. They pulled out his eyes, threw them up, and said, "Eyes, fall!" Then his eyes fell back again. Coyote was well pleased. He pulled out his eyes himself, threw them up, and said, "Eyes, fall!" They returned to their places. "Let us all go along this creek!" said the birds. "Other people will see us and take a fancy to us." They went along playing. Coyote said, "I am going over there. I know the trick well now." He left them. He got to another creek. A common willow-tree was standing there. "There is no need to be afraid of this tree. I'll try it first." He pulled out his eyes, and threw them at the tree. "Eyes, fall!" he shouted. His eyes did not fall. He thus became blind. He tied something around his eyes, and left.

Walking along the creek, he met two young girls. "What kind of girls are you?" — "We are Ya'yaru girls." — "We all belong to the same people, then; I am a Ya'yaru young man." The two girls did not know he was blind. He asked them, "Where are you going?" — "We are going over there." — "Well, we will all go together." They debated the matter, then all went together. One girl said, "Just look at the buffaloes there!" Coyote laughed. "I was wondering how soon you would catch sight of them, that's why I would not tell you about them." When they had gone a little farther, one of the girls asked the other, "Why does he not kill one of those buffaloes for us?" Coyote laughed, "I was wondering how long it would take you to think of that, that's why I would not tell you before. Go around that way to the other side of the buffalo, then they won't see you. Then they will run here, and I will kill one for us." They followed his directions. The buffaloes, seeing them, ran towards Coyote. When they came nearer, he shot at them and killed one by chance. When the girls ran up, they said, "He has really killed one." Coyote laughed. "I was wondering how soon they would see it, that's what I was thinking about you." They were skinning and cutting up the buffalo. One of the girls exclaimed, "Oh, is n't he fat!" Coyote said, "Why, certainly, I was looking for a fat one. I strained my eyes mightily hunting for a fat one." The two girls said,

<sup>1</sup> Compare the Wind River variant, p. 269.

"Does n't he know well how to look for a fat one?" Coyote said, "Do you two cut it up, I will build us a house by the creek." He went off to make them a lodge. There were big holes in it everywhere, because he was blind. He made it of brush. The two girls came with the meat. They said, "This must be a house built by a blind man, there are holes all over." Coyote laughed. "Oh, you two don't understand. Why, I built it this way so that if lots of enemies charge on us, we might go out in any direction. There is no danger here of our being hemmed in." The girls said, "We did not think of that." They made their home there, both becoming Coyote's wives.

Once Coyote said to them, "Louse me." The women sat down, and Coyote placed his head on one, and his feet on the other. For a while they loused him, then he fell asleep. One of the women said, "Let us pull off this rag from his head! He won't know anything about it, he's asleep. Let us look at his eyes." She raised the cover. "Why, he is blind! There are lots of worms in his eyes." The one on whose lap his head was resting bade her companion bring a stump with lots of ants on it. "Put it under his head, and fetch another one without ants for his feet." After they had fixed the stumps, one of them said, "Let us go now!" The older sister said, "Take hold of those bells!" They got some distance away from Coyote. Shortly after they had left, the ants began to bite him. He began butting with his head. "Oh, be easy, you two, louse me!" He tried to butt them, but only struck the ground. He woke up, and looked for their trail. Looking back, the women saw him coming. They began to run. "That is surely Coyote there. Let us beat him by that big red bluff." The older sister said, "Tear off those bells of yours." She pulled them off. "He can't see us, he is just following the bells. When we get to the red bluff, drop your bells, and he will fall over it." Coyote was pursuing them. The woman's bells were jingling as they ran along. When they got to the cliff, she dropped them. Coyote, hearing the bells, followed after them, and was crushed to pieces. The women went home.

#### 16. REGULATION OF THE SEASONS;<sup>1</sup> ORIGIN OF DEATH<sup>2</sup>

(Comanche Story)

Coyote called all the people together to decide how many winter months and how many summer months there ought to be. They set up a large council lodge. Coyote sat down in the centre on the west side. He said, "Well, listen to me! We are to decide how many winter and summer months there are to be." One man said, "Well, let us have six cold months; let the seventh be cold in the first half, and the remainder

<sup>1</sup> Lowie, *l. c.* p. 274. Cf. Boas, "Eine Sonnensage der Tsimschian" (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1908, pp. 781-797).

<sup>2</sup> Wissler and Duvall, *l. c.* p. 20.

warm." Coyote said, "Six cold months would be too much, we should suffer from the cold. Ten summer months would be good." Another man said, "If we had ten summer months, our meat would spoil, we should suffer from heat." Then they debated. One little man sitting by the door, who was named Snow-Bird, said, "Well, let us have six cold months, with one month half cold and one half cool." Coyote was in favor of ten hot months, because he wished to play a trick on them. They were debating. The little man by the door got up, and said, "Six cold months is plenty for us." Saying, "Six months," he went out. All the assembly rose and followed him, repeating, "Six months." Coyote bade them wait. "What makes you pay any attention to that little man?" But the people did not listen to Coyote, who was thus unable to work his scheme on them. He went out last of all, saying, "We shall have six winter months." All the people laughed at him. "This is the first time you have failed to have your way." Coyote said, "Now we shall have six cold months. Now, then, let us have another council to name the months." When they had gathered, he announced, "The little man shall have just as many tongues as there are cold months." Then he named the months: "October, November, December, January, February, March, April." All agreed. "The little man will have seven tongues; every month one of his tongues will pass away until but one is left."<sup>1</sup>

After the council was over, Coyote said, "Now, do all of you go over there! I shall join you, and we will decide whether our dead should return after the lapse of four days. Long ago that was our way. To-day I object to our dead coming back." They met. He called them all to the edge of the water. He picked up a rock, held it in his hand, and spoke as follows: "Behold, our dead people shall do as this rock!" He cast it into the water. "This rock will not come back. Similarly, our people will not return. This earth is very large; but if the dead were to come back, it would get crowded. That is why I object to it." All the people agreed with him. Since then our dead have not returned.

## 17. THE LIBERATION OF BUFFALO<sup>2</sup>

(Comanche Story)

Long ago two persons owned all the buffalo. They were an old woman and her young cousin. They kept them penned up in the mountains, so that they could not get out. Coyote came to these people. He summoned the Indians to a council. "That old woman will not give us anything. When we come over there, we will plan how to release

<sup>1</sup> Compare Culin, *Free Museum of Science and Art, Bulletin*, 1901, p. 20 (Wind River Shoshone).

<sup>2</sup> Grinnell, *l. c.* p. 145; Kroeber, *l. c.* p. 65; Dorsey and Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho*, p. 276.

the buffalo." They all moved near the buffalo-inclosure. "After four nights," said Coyote, "we will again hold a council as to how we can release the buffalo. A very small animal shall go where the old woman draws her water. When the child gets water, it will take it home for a pet. The old woman will object; but the child will think so much of the animal, that it will begin to cry and will be allowed to keep it. The animal will run off at daybreak, and the buffalo will burst out of their pen and run away." The first animal they sent failed. Then they sent the Kill-dee (dō'i).

When the boy went for water, he found the Kill-dee and took it home. "Look here!" he said to his cousin, "this animal of mine is very good." The old woman replied, "Oh, it is good for nothing! There is nothing living on the earth that is not a rascal or schemer." The child paid no attention to her. "Take it back where you got it," said the woman. He obeyed. The Kill-dee returned.

The people had another council. "Well, she has got the better of these two. They have failed," said Coyote; "but that makes no difference. Perhaps we may release them, perhaps we shall fail. This is the third time now. We will send a small animal over there. If the old woman agrees to take it, it will liberate those buffalo; it is a great schemer." So they sent the third animal. Coyote said, "If she rejects this one, we shall surely be unable to liberate the game." The animal went to the spring and was picked up by the boy, who took a great liking to it. "Look here! What a nice pet I have!" The old woman replied, "Oh, how foolish you are! It is good for nothing. All the animals in the world are schemers. I'll kill it with a club." The boy took it in his arms and ran away crying. He thought too much of his pet. "No! this animal is too small," he cried. When the animal had not returned by nightfall, Coyote went among the people, saying, "Well, this animal has not returned yet; I dare say the old woman has consented to keep it. Don't be uneasy, our buffalo will be freed." Then he bade all the people get ready just at daybreak. "Our buffalo will be released. Do all of you mount your horses." In the mean time the animal, following its instructions, slipped over to the pen, and began to howl. The buffalo heard it, and were terrified. They ran towards the gate, broke it down, and escaped. The old woman, hearing the noise, woke up. The child asked, "Where is my pet?" He did not find it. The old woman said, "I told you so. Now you see the animal is bad, it has deprived us of our game." She vainly tried to hold the buffalo back. At daybreak all the Indians got on their horses, for they had confidence in Coyote. Thus the buffalo came to live on this earth. Coyote was a great schemer.

18. THE SEVEN STARS<sup>1</sup>*(Comanche Story)*

A very long time ago there lived a family of seven. The parents got angry at their children, four of whom were boys, and the youngest a girl. The father declared to them, "We are going to call a council of all the people. You cannot stay here. We are going to have a council to decide what all of you are to become. I am angry at you. All of you will go far off. Make up your minds as to what you wish to become." Then the oldest brother asked the other children to give their advice as to what they were to become. One of them said, "Our father is angry at us. Let us all become stars. Would that all of us might become stars! Whatever we choose, that we shall turn into. Let us wait for our father, and tell him as soon as he returns." When their father returned, he consented to let them become stars. Then they left. That is how they became stars. That is why there are seven stars looking down upon us from above. The one in the rear is the youngest child, while the young men are in front.

<sup>1</sup> In a more elaborate Assiniboine tale, a group of brothers debate what they are to turn into, and ultimately become stars.

## ACHOMAWI MYTHS

COLLECTED BY JEREMIAH CURTIN; EDITED BY ROLAND B. DIXON

[NOTE.— The following myths were collected by Jeremiah Curtin for the Bureau of American Ethnology. They were placed in my hands by the Editor for preparation for insertion in this Journal; and in so doing, I have made no changes other than to give the English names for the various characters, and to add a word or two here and there, where the original manuscript was obscure or imperfect because of hasty copying. One myth has been omitted from the series, as it is only a brief version of the Loon-Woman myth already published in this Journal, vol. xxi, p. 165. — R. B. DIXON.]

## I. PINE-MARTEN MARRIES THE BEAD SISTERS

THE two Bead girls were sent by their mother to marry Cocoon-Man's son. He was wrapped up and put away. He had never been outside, and had never eaten anything.

The Bead sisters came from a place far off in the ocean. They came on the water, brought by the wind, and they always sang the song of the wind. It took just one day for them to reach Cocoon-Man's house. His daughters liked the two girls and gave them food. All the men were out hunting, and the daughters sent the two girls into the sweat-house and told them to sit by Pine-Marten's bed.

They could not get Cocoon-Man's son, the one their mother had sent them for. Cocoon-Man would not listen to it, so they took Pine-Marten, and stayed three days with him. At the end of that time they wanted to go home. Pine-Marten asked all his people for blankets and shells to give his wives to carry home. They started. Cocoon-Man made a trail to the west to walk on. He sent his words out west, put his hand out west and east to make a trail, and immediately it was open. Cocoon-Man sat on the ground in the centre, and made a rainbow reaching from the place where he sat to the home of the girls.

The company started. Weasel went with Pine-Marten up to the top of the rainbow, and the women went under it. While they were travelling, Weasel made a flute out of a reed, and made sweet music that sounded through the world and was heard by every living being.

The two sisters walked on the lower rainbow, the reflection, and reached home safely. Next year Pine-Marten had children. He made a boy of bead-shells, and from a round shell which he threw into his wife a girl was born. In the spring of the second year, he came back on the same trail that Cocoon-Man had made. His children grew very fast. Then he left his boy at home, and sent his girl to her grandmother in the ocean. The boy stayed with Cocoon-Man. The third year he had two sons and two daughters.

Now Pine-Marten's wife took one son and one daughter to her mother

in the ocean; and Pine-Marten kept one son and one daughter, and they lived with him at Fall River.

## 2. KANGAROO-RAT RACES WITH COYOTE AND OTHERS

Two Kangaroo-Rat women, a mother and her daughter, lived near Coyote's place. Now the people at this place hunted all the time, but never sent any meat to the old woman. She said, "It is best to get a man to hunt for us. I do not like these people; they are too proud." Her daughter said, "I will run a race with these men, and I'll bet myself against a man. I'll win and have a husband."

The next morning the girl went over to Coyote's house when the men were just through breakfast. She went on top of the sweat-house and called out, "I want to run a race with one of your boys; to-day I feel like running."

Coyote said, "All right. The chief men always run first. I will run with you first." He went out, and they started towards the north, and ran until he fell down dead. The girl came home, and that night Cocoon-Man said, "I know what she is trying to do. When women want to marry us, they always kill us first. These are bad women."

Next day she came to the house, and asked again to run with a man. Badger ran with her. He ran northward, turned to come back, reached a mountain-top, and died. Next day Silver-Fox went out to run with her. He ran far to the north, came back halfway, and fell dead. Ground-Squirrel ran, came halfway home, and died. Kangaroo-Rat was coming home slowly. She came more slowly each time. First she had always returned in the middle of the morning, but this time she was back about noon. The mother thought, "My daughter will fail. I am afraid she gets tired too easily." The girl ran the next day with Wolf, but he died, and she reached home still later.

Now she had killed all but three men. Pine-Marten ran the next day. They kept together. The girl thought he was going to win; but when he came into the valley and almost reached home, he fell dead. The last men left were Weasel and his brother from the mountain. They were angry because Pine-Marten had been killed. They were going to take an otter-skin quiver. One of the brothers was to rest in it; so when the other became tired, this one would jump out and carry the tired one. When then the other one had rested and was fresh, he would jump out and take his turn. Thus they would run and carry each other alternately. The two looked just alike, and the girl thought she was running with one. The mountain brother of Weasel sang. They ran near the girl all the time. They found the bones of Coyote, picked them up, and put them in the otter-skin quiver. They came to the other bones and picked them up also. While they were picking up the bones, the girl, thinking she had beaten Weasel, turned and looked



back. He called out, "Don't look back. I can outrun you. Girls cannot run fast." She was frightened at his words, and ran on as fast as possible. When one brother was tired, the other came out, and the first went into the quiver. Weasel called out, "Run fast, I am going to beat you." Now the girl began to give out. While Weasel was running, she thought she noticed a difference in the song, and looked back. He called out, "Go on fast!" It was near sundown now. The old woman saw them coming. The two Weasel brothers as one, reached the sweat-house first. The young woman went with them to their sweat-house, and did not go back to her mother. That evening they put the bones in water, and the dead all came to life. The girl went in the morning to her mother's house to get roots, and the men went hunting. She always sent plenty of meat to her mother after that.

### 3. THE BUZZARD BROTHERS AND WOOD-WORM

Two Buzzard brothers lived together. Near Pit River lived Wood-Worm, the last of his race. All the other Wood-Worm people had been killed by Western men. Wood-Worm lived alone one winter; and when the winter was past, he began to think of going west to see what kind of a place it was where his people had been lost. He thought four or five days before starting, and got his weapons ready. Then he sent Cottontail-Rabbit to the Buzzard brothers to tell them of all he intended to do, and to say from him, "I'll come and visit you in two or three days." The brothers said, "All right. We are glad that you are coming." Both brothers were married, each having a wife and a mother-in-law.

The Buzzard brothers got ready to go on the journey. They made flint knives out of their own feathers. These flint knives stuck out through their buckskin dresses: and when they were good-humored the knives were smooth like feathers; when angry, they stuck out like knives, and killed every man they touched.

On the third day the Buzzard brothers were looking for Wood-Worm. They did not have to wait long, for he came early. All were glad, smoked, took breakfast, and then set out, reaching Sun's house about sundown. The people there were astonished, and said, "We thought all these men were killed."—"No," said Sun, "there are more yet; they keep back the best. These that have just come are the smartest. They are hard to kill." Sun sent his daughter to marry Wood-Worm, a very fine-looking man. He went to where the girls had fixed a place for him to sit.

The Buzzard brothers did not like to enter Sun's house; but as Wood-Worm went in, they followed. Sun was very kind to the two brothers, and said, "I am glad to see you, my boys, and I am glad to have my daughters marry." Then he said, turning to Wood-Worm, "My son-in-law, take good care of me. I like my daughters to have a husband." The Buzzard brothers were very angry. They wanted to fight immedi-

ately, for they knew that old man Sun was trying to fool them. Wood-Worm listened to the old man in silence, filled his pipe, and smoked.

Sun's wife was cooking acorn-mush, salmon and other fish, for supper. She brought plenty of food to her daughters, and the young men all ate heartily. They went to bed. In the morning a great many people came to the house, wanting to sweat. They brought wood, made a great fire, and sweated. When they had half finished, the Buzzard brothers stuck out their flint knives, which cut and killed half the people.

That day after breakfast they had to play with a big disk. The brothers were told to call for the game, and did so. They went out. "Bet your brother against ten men," said a spirit-guardian to the elder Buzzard. The young man began the game. Wood-Worm all this time was in Sun's house, with his wife. Buzzard bet his brother against ten men. The spirit-guardian said, "You roll first." Buzzard rolled, after putting up the disk with the help of his brother. Buzzard rolled the disk rather slowly; and the other side stopped it, then sent it back very fast. But Buzzard had something like a brake, with which he stopped and caught the disk.

The second time Buzzard rolled the disk very hard. It went so fast that they could not stop it, and lost their ten men. They lost three times. Thus they lost thirty men in all. Buzzard killed the thirty men, cutting them up with his flint feathers, which acted like knives.

Next morning they played with the disk again. Buzzard won twice and killed twenty men. Then they ran a foot-race. The racers went to the starting-post. On the way back, Buzzard let others go ahead for awhile. Behind him Thunder was running, who tried to kill him; but Buzzard dodged, sometimes up, sometimes down, and at last he killed Thunder, and then killed a good many others. All were angry, and a great fight followed. While the race and fight were going on, Wood-Worm had gathered all the bones of his friends into a bag, and said to the Buzzard brothers, "You go on killing. I will go home."

The Buzzard brothers fought the western people, they followed them eastward for a good while, but at last they had to go back. Wood-Worm reached home, put all the bones in water in the sweat-house, and all came to life again.

#### 4. THE HOUSE OF SILVER-FOX

When Silver-Fox left this world, he said to his sweat-house, "Nobody shall ever come in here," and he left a strong wind there to guard the place. No one dares go near this place, for a whirlwind blows up out of it, makes a noise like thunder, and only shamans can go near; but whoever enters is immediately turned to stone inside. Wolf and Silver-Fox left their power of wind there. Even now, wolves will catch people that come near; and whoever gets inside, turns to white rock.

Once a great shaman dreamed of a wolf that was in that sweat-house. He went in. As soon as he got inside, the wind stopped. He went around inside and vomited blood. He said it was an immense sweat-house, as much as a mile across inside. When he came out, he fell down nearly dead. Another shaman cured him. He had seen nothing inside but men turned to stone. Next night this shaman's hair turned as white as snow.

#### 5. FISH-HAWK AND HIS DAUGHTER

Fish-Hawk lived down at Pit River. When Sun travelled in winter, he left his daughter at home, but he carried her about with him in summer. Sun did not want his daughter to marry any poor person, but a great man, like Pine-Marten, Wolf, or Coyote. Fish-Hawk got angry at Sun because he talked in this way of poor people, so he started and went down to the ocean, to Sun's place, and slipped into the sweat-house. It was winter now, and Sun's daughter was put away inside the house in a basket. Fish-Hawk stole her, carried her on his back to Coyote's house, and hid her away. He made the journey in one night.

Next morning Sun could not find his daughter, and did not know where she had gone. That morning Fish-Hawk took the basket with the woman in it, and put it away under the rocks in muddy water, to hide it so that Sun could not see and could not find his daughter.

Sun searched everywhere in the air and on the ground, but could not find her. Then he hired all men who were good divers or swimmers to hunt in the water, for he thought she was hidden in the water. All searched until they came to Pit River. One would search part of the way, then another. Kingfisher was the last man to go in search of her. He went along slowly to look where the water was muddy. At last he thought he saw just a bit of something under the water. Then he went over the place carefully again and again.

Many people were going along the river, watching these men looking for Sun's daughter. Kingfisher filled his pipe, smoked, and blew on the water to make it clear, for he was a great shaman. Then he went up in the air and came down over the place. The people were all excited, and thought surely he would find something. He came along slowly, and sat and smoked again, and blew the smoke over the water. Then he rose, rolled up his pipe and tobacco, and put them away. Then he took a long pole, stood over the water, pushed his pole down deep, and speared with it until he got hold of the basket and pulled it out. Old Sun came, untied the basket, took his daughter out, washed her, then put her back. He paid each of the men he had hired. Part of their pay was in shells.

Kingfisher said that it was Fish-Hawk who had hidden the basket. Sun put the basket on his back and started home. He was so happy to get his daughter back that he did no harm to Fish-Hawk for stealing her.

## WINNEBAGO TALES

BY PAUL RADIN

THE first and the second of the following stories were told to me by Mr. Joseph Lamere, of the Winnebago tribe, in the summer of 1908. They were supposed to explain the origin and significance of a sacred bundle, formerly the property of one of the clans, now in the possession of Mr. Lamere.

The bundle consisted of the remains of a bird, the dried skin of a long rattlesnake, a number of cane flutes, and two old Winnebago war-clubs. The bird is known among the Winnebagoes as a large crow, but it is presumably identical with the northern raven of Minnesota and Wisconsin.

I could not obtain at the time the name of the clan to which the bundle had belonged; but, to judge from the narrative, I presume it belongs to the Waka<sup>n</sup>dja or Thunder-Bird Clan.

The third story was told by Mr. Solomon Long Tail, and the last by Sam Blowsnake.

## I. THE MAN WHO VISITED THE THUNDER-BIRDS

In the beginning, Earth-Maker (Ma<sup>n</sup>una) created the world and human beings; but these were so weak that they were powerless to repel the attacks of the evil spirits (wa<sup>x</sup>opini ci<sup>c</sup>ik) and the man-eaters or giants (wa<sup>n</sup>'geru<sup>t</sup>ge). These were invariably victorious over the people until Earth-Maker sent Hare (wacdji<sup>n</sup>ge<sup>'</sup>ga) to deliver the latter from their enemies. After many hardships Hare succeeded in ridding the world of all the evil spirits that had molested it for so long a time, and, in conjunction with the Trickster (wakdju<sup>n</sup>kaga), established the Medicine Lodge.

The story I shall tell you now is supposed to have taken place in the time intervening between the sending-out of the Trickster and Hare.

The giants had attacked a certain village, burnt all the lodges, and killed and eaten all the inhabitants with the exception of ten small boys and one little girl, whom they wished to save until they had grown older. The children thus left alone, after they had dried their tears, spent all their time in fasting and hunting. As they grew older, all they knew about themselves was that they were brothers and sister. They knew nothing about their parents, nor about the place they had come from. They had a long lodge with five fireplaces and three entrances, — one in the east, one in the west, and one in the south.

The beds were so arranged around the fireplaces that the eldest brother slept directly opposite his sister.

This sister was treated with all imaginable love and consideration by all her brothers. They would not allow her to do any work. They themselves got the fuel, built the fire, cooked the food, washed, dressed, and combed her hair. As soon as these tasks were over, they would go out hunting and fasting. One night when they were all in bed, it seemed to the eldest brother as though he heard some one talking to his sister. He kept awake all night, but was so shocked and thunderstruck that he could not utter a word. He listened again; and now there was no doubt but that some one was talking to his sister, although he could not see him. He watched carefully to see if he could detect the person or discover him when he left the lodge. At break of day, however, in spite of his struggle to keep awake, he fell sound asleep; and when he woke up, the person had gone, and his sister was sleeping peacefully. He thought this rather peculiar, but said nothing to any of his brothers or to his sister. He went hunting, as usual, in the morning, and on his return went to sleep. Again the same thing happened, and again just at daybreak he fell asleep. There seemed to him no doubt now that the person speaking to his sister had forced him to fall asleep just as he was leaving the lodge. The third and fourth nights the same thing was repeated; but at daybreak of the fifth day, to his own surprise, he remained wide awake. He sat up and looked around to see if his brothers were all in their proper places. They were sleeping soundly and peacefully. Very much perplexed, he got up, and, waking his brothers, he prepared everything as usual, and then went hunting.

It was generally their custom, when starting in the morning, to go together along a certain path for a time, and then separate. This morning, however, just before they were to separate, the eldest called out to his brothers, "Let us stop here a little and smoke before we separate. We ought to do this oftener, so that we can talk things over." So they sat down, smoked, and chatted; then suddenly he rose and said, "Brothers, I have had a reason for asking you to stop and chat to-day. I am afraid something terrible has happened. During the last four nights a man has been talking to our sister. I myself heard him. For the first three nights I thought one of you was doing something disgraceful; but I was so choked with shame, that I could not say anything to you about it. On the fifth morning, however, I heard him go out, and, sitting up, I looked at all of your sleeping-places, and took particular care to see if any of them were disordered or if any of you were disturbed in your sleep; but you were all sleeping quietly."

After he had finished speaking, the brothers discussed the incident, and finally came to the conclusion that the person who had appeared to their sister must have been some good spirit. They knew that such had happened before to other people; and in a way they felt glad that their sister had been selected, for they felt sure that it was no evil thing.

They said nothing to her, preferring not to embarrass her; nor did they question her about what the eldest brother had heard. Thus things ran along for a few months without the brothers gaining any information. Finally the sister came to them one day, and told them that she was pregnant. They did not show the least surprise, but merely thanked her for the welcome information, and assured her that they were glad to know that they would soon have a new companion. They told her to take good care of herself and to do no work of any kind.

Months ran along in this way until the time came for her delivery. As soon as she told her brothers that she was about to be delivered of a child, they built her a little camp near their own, for in those times it was not customary for Indians to be present at the confinement of their relatives. They supplied the lodge with a nice fireplace, and provided for her as best they could. When all was in readiness, she entered the new lodge where some of her younger brothers were still working. Not very long after her entrance a small iron cradle decorated in the most beautiful fashion was suddenly thrust in through the door. The brothers ran out immediately to thank the donor, but no one was to be seen. (As a matter of fact, it was the father of the child about to be born who had made the gift, but this the brothers did not know.) After a short time the brothers left the lodge, and the sister remained alone to be delivered of a boy. No sooner had the child been born than the ten brothers came in, congratulated her, and immediately proceeded to take care of their young nephew. So well did they do this, that soon nothing was left for her to do but to nurse him. The youngest brother detailed himself especially for the work of taking care of his little nephew, quitting hunting entirely, and staying home with him. Indeed, he seemed to love the little fellow more than all the others.

Thus things went along until the baby could eat, though not talk. One night the eldest brother was awakened, and, sitting up in his bed, again heard some one talking to his sister. No one could be seen, however; and as on the former occasion, so now, despite his efforts, he fell asleep at daybreak. The second night the same was repeated; but on the morning of the fifth day he remained awake, and he saw the person get up and walk out of the lodge, followed by his sister, who took her sewing-material with her.

When the brothers got up in the morning, they discussed the incident, but showed no surprise, because it did not seem strange to them that their sister should have followed her husband to his home, wherever that was. In the belief that such was the case, they went out hunting, as usual. However, when they returned in the evening, and found out that their sister had not returned, they became worried, and the eldest one said, "I think we had better try to find out where she has gone." In the morning he arose and went to seek her, the other brothers having

gone hunting, as usual. When they returned in the evening, the eldest had not returned, and they resolved to send out the next one to look for him. As the second did not return, they became very anxious, fearing that something might have happened. So they said to one another, "Let two of us go in search of our sister." So the next morning the two next in age set out, not to return. Again two were sent out, and they did not return. Only four brothers were left now; and they finally decided to leave the youngest one home to take care of their little nephew, while they would start in search of the missing ones. They did not return. Now only the youngest brother was left; and, much as he desired to start in search of his brothers, the thought of his little nephew left alone unnerved him. "No," he said to himself, "it won't do for me to leave my nephew all alone. Surely something has happened to my brothers. Yes, I am going to see what has happened to them; and if I have to die — well, all right! I don't want to live alone."

Ever since his sister had left, the youngest brother had been feeding his nephew on deer-brains. He would boil them and make a gruel out of them (this is supposed to be the most excellent food for an infant who has no mother to nurse him). The infant was still strapped to his cradle-board. So, when finally the youngest brother prepared to go in search of his lost brothers, he placed the cradle-board against the wall of the lodge, and prepared some deer-tail, which he boiled until it became soft. Then he freed the baby's arms so that they could move freely, and suspended the deer-skin from the top of the lodge in such a way that the infant could reach it whenever he wished. Then he started out.

He had proceeded only a little way when he heard his nephew crying, and, losing heart, he returned. "Don't cry, little nephew!" he said: "for if Earth-Maker will let me, I will return soon." Then he started again, and went a little farther; but he heard his nephew cry, and returned. The third time he started, he proceeded still farther, but again returned. The fourth time he started, he ran, for he did not want to be tempted to return by hearing the cries of his nephew.

He took the trail of his brothers, and followed it until he came to two camps, — a small one and a large one. He entered the first one, and found a very old woman sitting there. As soon as she saw him, she addressed him thus: "My poor grandchild, sit down here! I am very sorry for you." And then she went on to tell him what had happened to his sister and brothers. She told him that the person who had been talking to his sister the last time was a bad spirit; but that the sister had mistaken him for the father of her child, and had accompanied him to this camp. However, he was not the father, as she afterwards found out. All his brothers had been killed by this bad spirit; and she did not believe that he, the youngest, would escape their fate. The old woman then proceeded to tell him that his sister was by this time so completely under the influence

of this bad spirit, that she was as bad as he, and preferred to help her husband rather than her brother.

"Now, listen, my grandchild! The first thing that the bad spirit will ask you to do to-night will be to prepare a sweat-bath for him; and in order to do that, he will tell you to fetch a certain stone. That stone belongs to him, and it is placed there for a certain purpose. Just as soon as you touch it, it will begin to roll down the hill, and you will roll with it. That is how some of your brothers met their death. Now, you just take a pole, walk up the opposite side of the hill, and touch it with the pole, and it will then roll down the hill. As soon as it has stopped rolling, you can pick it up and take it home. When you have brought this home, your brother-in-law will tell you to get the bark of a certain very large tree. That tree belongs to him, and he keeps it there for a certain purpose. Just as soon as you touch the bark of the tree, the bark will fall on you and kill you. Some of your brothers met their death in that way. Now you take a stick and go as near as you can to the tree, and throw the stick at it. It will hit the bark, which will fall off. Then just take as much of it as you want and bring it to him. When you have brought this, he will send you out again and tell you to fetch the lodge-pole for the sweat-house. When you get to the place where he has sent you, you will find four large rattlesnakes lying curled up. These are what he meant you to get. Some of your brothers met their death there. They were killed by the snakes. So now, my grandson, take some tobacco along with you and give it to them, and ask them not to hurt you. Those snakes do not belong to him; but he is more powerful than they, and he keeps them there as his slaves. He just gives them enough to eat and to drink. However, they have never had anything to smoke, and they will be glad to accept your gift and not molest you. I shall put in my influence to help you with them, and then you will be able to take them with you. When you come to your brother-in-law's place, put their heads in the ground and twist their tails, and so you will have the finest of lodge structures. After this has been done, he will tell you to pick up the stone with your naked hand and carry it into the sweat-house. Now, you know the stone belongs to him, and his purpose is to have it stick to your hand and burn you up. That is how some of your brothers met their fate. Now, my grandson, when it comes to that point, try to find some excuse to leave him, and come over to see me before you pick up the stone."

Shortly after the old woman had finished, the sister entered, and, seeing her brother, immediately addressed him. "Brother, I have brought you something to eat." Then she handed him a wooden bowl containing a large amount of liver as dry as a bone. He took the bowl, and, as soon as he had noticed the contents, threw the bowl and liver straight into the face of his sister. "I am not accustomed to eating this kind of food," he said. "My brothers, who brought me up, never gave



me any food like this." His sister then left the lodge, and, it being supper-time, the old woman cooked him a supper of vegetables. After he had finished his supper, his sister came in again. "Tenth-Son, your brother-in-law wants you to prepare his sweat-bath. He is accustomed to use a certain stone that you will find yonder on the hill, and which he wishes you to get." Then she left the lodge. Her brother went to the hill, and, following the advice of his grandmother, ascended it on the side opposite the stone, and touched it with his stick, when it rolled rapidly down the hill.

He then carried it to his brother-in-law's lodge, but left it outside. Then he went in to inform the latter that he had brought the stone. His brother-in-law merely nodded, and told him to fetch the bark for the lodge structure. This he set out to do; and when he came near the tree, he carefully took a position of safety, and touched the bark with his stick. It fell with a terrific crash, and he took as much as he needed and carried it to his brother-in-law. The latter merely nodded when it was brought, and sent him to get the lodge-poles. When he came to the place where the snakes were confined, he took some tobacco and threw it to them. They accepted it, and allowed him to seize them and carry them to his brother-in-law. Arrived there, he stuck their heads in the ground, and twisted their tails, thus forming the poles of the sweat-bath lodge. Then he put the bark over these poles, and the structure was complete. As soon as everything was in readiness, his brother-in-law told him to place the stone in the lodge. Instead of doing this, however, he got up some excuse and went to see the old woman. She prepared something for him, rubbed his hands and arms with it thoroughly, and told him to return to the sweat-bath lodge immediately and do as his brother-in-law had asked. This he did, and, much to the disgust of the latter, the stone did not burn him in the least. Indeed, he got so provoked that he said to him ironically, "You think you are a clever fellow, don't you? I don't want to take a bath at all." And with this he went to sleep, and Tenth-Son returned to his grandmother, with whom he stayed over night.

That night the old woman gave him further advice. "Grandson, you have done nobly, and I am very proud of you; but the hardest still remains to be done. To-morrow your brother-in-law will ask you to go out hunting with him, and he will take you out a considerable distance until he shall have killed a large buck-deer, which he will ask you to pack with your bow-string so that the antlers of the deer are near your back. His intention is to have you run the antlers into your skull. If he does not succeed in that, he will step on the tail-end of your moccasin, to make you stumble and have the antlers break your back. Some of your brothers met their fate in that way." Then both fell asleep.

Early the next morning his sister came and said, "Tenth-Son, your brother-in-law wants you to go hunting with him." So he went along with

him; and after they had continued on their course for some time, the brother-in-law killed a big buck-deer and told the boy to pack it. The boy knew what was going to happen, but nevertheless he said, "I have not got any pack-string. How can I pack it?" — "Why, take your bow-string and do it. What is the matter with you, anyhow? Come, I will pack it for you," he was answered angrily. So he untied the boy's bow-string and packed the deer for him. He doubled the deer up so that his antlers were quite near the boy's back. But the boy had been careful enough to secrete a whetstone under the hair of his forehead, as his grandmother had instructed him, so that the bow-string would touch this stone instead of his forehead. When all was in readiness, they started home. The brother-in-law waited to see what would happen; but, as the bow-string did not seem to cut the head of the young man, he proceeded to step on the tail of his moccasins. To his surprise, the bow-string broke in two, causing the boy to stumble, but not injuring him, for the bow-string went one way, and the pack the other. "What did you do that for?" the boy asked. "Oh, just for fun," his brother-in-law answered. "I wanted to see what you would do." Then, much provoked, the bad spirit packed the deer with his own pack-strap, and walked home. The young boy returned to his grandmother.

The grandmother prepared the supper, and said to him, "Grandson, you have done wonderfully well. You have fared far better than any of your brothers; but to-morrow will be a very hard day, and I don't know how I am going to help you. Your brother-in-law will ask you to go out hunting again, and will send you to head off a deer. Then suddenly it will commence to snow severely; and before you are aware of it, you will be alone in the timber with no footprints to guide you. I shall not be able to help you then; but if you can think of anything that you obtained from the good spirits while fasting, or of any other way whereby you can protect yourself, do so to-night. That is all, my grandson."

In the morning, as usual, the sister came, and said, "Tenth-Son, your brother-in-law wants you to go out hunting with him." So he accompanied him, and they went along until late in the afternoon. Suddenly a bear jumped out of the brush, and, on seeing the hunters, ran away. The brother-in-law called the young boy, and said, "Now, you stay here while I take after him; and don't get frightened, because you can see my tracks right along."

As soon as he got out of sight, it began to snow and got very cold. The boy was not prepared for this, and had no extra garment. He kept in the track of his brother-in-law as long as it was visible, but the fast-falling snow soon obliterated the last trace. He was lost. He stood there without moving for some time, and then began to cry. He cried not so much for himself as for his little nephew, whom he pictured to himself left alone to starve. Suddenly he heard a voice near him. He wiped his tears away,

and there in front of him stood a tall man. "Tenth-Son, don't you know me?" — "No," answered the boy, "I never saw you before." — "Why, uncle," the person said, "I am the one whom you left in the cradle-board when you ran away from me. Your brother-in-law is right over the hill yonder, skinning the bear. You go right over there now, and you will see that he has a nice fire built for himself. He is cooking some meat. When you get there, just take the meat that he has cooked out of the fire, and eat it yourself. He'll tell you to put it away; but don't pay any attention to him, and go right on eating. Afterwards he'll tell you to take the bear and pack it; and then you just tell him you won't do it; let him do it himself. He will then threaten to kill you, but you just keep on refusing. Then he will get very angry and get ready to strike you. Just when he raises his club, call out, 'Waka<sup>n</sup> djatcora! Nephew, I'm about to be killed,' and I shall be there to help you."

So the young man did as he had been told, and found his brother-in-law busy skinning and cooking the bear. He went straight to the fire and took the cooked meat out. "What are you doing there?" said the brother-in-law. "Put that back, and don't touch it again." The young man paid no attention to him. The brother-in-law said nothing for a while. Then he said, "Tenth-Son, pack the bear for me." — "I will not," answered the latter; "do it yourself." — "If you don't do it," retorted the former, "I shall kill you." But the young fellow persisted in his refusal, and this so enraged his brother-in-law that he lifted his club to strike him. Just as he was about to strike him, the boy cried out, "Waka<sup>n</sup> djatcora! Nephew, I'm about to be killed." Immediately there stood in front of him his nephew. The nephew then addressed the evil spirit. "What are you trying to do to the boy?" he asked. "Oh, nothing," the brother-in-law answered; "I was just fooling with him." — "Well, I'll fool with you too," the nephew said. And with that, he lifted his club and struck him on the head. It was like a thunder-crash, and the evil spirit was smashed to pieces. There was nothing left of him. Then the nephew addressed his uncle. "I'll take the bear home for your grandmother." He thereupon packed the bear. "Uncle," he continued, "my mother has wronged you much, and although she was influenced, and compelled to do much of what she did, by the evil spirit, nevertheless you have a right to do with her what you will. I leave that to you entirely. If you think that you have suffered so much pain and hardship that you ought to have your revenge, you may kill her." — "Well," answered the uncle, "I have indeed grieved very much, not so much for my brothers and myself as for you; and, although I know she was influenced by the evil spirits, she must not live."

So they went home to the old woman, and then the uncle went to his sister's camp, killed her, and set the camp afire. They cut up the bear into chunks, and gave it to the old woman. Then the uncle said, "Grand-

mother, I am going to leave you;" and the grandmother said, "All right, grandson, I am going to leave you also. This is not my home. I just came up here to help you. My home is way down underneath the earth. The meat you gave me will last me almost as long as the world lasts, and all that I ask of you is to remember me occasionally by sacrificing some tobacco. I am the head spirit of the mice."

After she had departed, the nephew said, "Well, uncle, now I'll have to leave you too. I am going to my father. I only came here because my father asked me to." But the uncle said, "Nephew, if you go away, I'll go along with you. You are not going to leave me here alone, are you?" But the nephew replied, "Uncle, Earth-Maker does not permit us to take human beings to our homes, and I am sure my father would not like it. If you don't come along, I'll give you all kinds of supernatural powers. We can give greater supernatural powers for the warpath than any other spirits Earth-Maker has created. I'll also endow you with long life, and allow you to give to your children as long a life as you wish. I will also see that you have abundant game. You will only have to sit at your door to get all the game you desire. And as much wealth as you desire I will bestow on you. As Earth-Maker does not permit us to take human beings like yourself to our homes, you can only see us when we come on earth or when we appear to you in visions, when you are fasting." But the uncle continued, "No, nephew, I am going along with you. I can't live without you." As the nephew saw it was of no avail, he said, "Step in my trail four times as you are about to start." And the uncle stepped in his trail four times as he was about to start, and up they went.

They came to the western horizon. When they came pretty near the home of the nephew, the uncle saw that the country was very similar to our own. They continued until they came to an oak timber; there they stopped. The nephew thereupon took his uncle between his palms and rubbed him; and he became smaller and smaller, until he was about the size of a thunder-bird egg. Then he placed him in a nest in the fork of one of the oak-trees, and said to him, "Uncle, stay here and be contented. Don't be uneasy. I shall come back to you in four days to see how you are getting along." He then went home to his father.

His father asked him, "Well, son, what have you been doing?" He knew very well what his son had been doing, but he merely asked the question to see what answer he would get. The son answered, "Father, I have brought my uncle along with me." — "Well, where is he?" — "Over yonder in the tree. I'm going back to see him in four days." — "Well, son, it is not our custom to do what you have done; but as you have got him over here, I guess we will let it go."

After four days the nephew went to see his uncle, and he found him with his bill just sticking out of the egg, like a little chicken. "Uncle, you are doing fine; just be contented, and I will be back to see you in four

days." When he came again, he found his uncle just hatched. "Uncle, you are doing fine; just be contented, and I will be back in four days." When he came again, he found his uncle standing on the edge of the nest. "Uncle, you are doing fine; just be contented, and when I return in four days, you can go to my father's house with me." When he came again, the uncle was standing on the top of the tree, just over the nest, — a full-grown beautiful thunder-bird. "Ah, uncle, you look fine! Your feathers are far more beautiful, and you look far stronger than any of the rest of us." Thereupon the uncle jumped from the tree, and found his bow and arrows lying on the ground ready for him. He picked them up, and, together with his nephew, went to the home of Big-Hawk, the chief of the Thunder-Birds.

Here he stayed for a few days. One day he said to his nephew, "Let us go out, take a look at the country, and shoot some pigeons." So he and his nephew went around shooting pigeons with bow and arrow, and would stop to build a fire and cook their pigeons in the open.

(The main food of the thunder-birds at that time were snakes and all kinds of subterranean and aquatic animals.)

One day toward evening, the uncle, who was doing all the shooting, as his nephew only used a club, aimed at a pigeon; but the arrow missed aim, and struck a spring, where there was some white chalk. He went to get his arrow, and painted himself with the chalk that had adhered to the point of the arrow. When he joined his nephew later, the latter saw the chalk on his face, and said excitedly, "Where did you get that, uncle?" — "What do you mean?" asked the uncle. — "Why, what you have on your face. Those are the faces of the beaver, and big ones, too. You just give that to my father, and tell him that he may use half of it for himself, and give the other half to his people." The uncle said, "You are speaking foolishly, nephew; I have not seen any beaver." The nephew, however, replied, "Uncle, that is a beaver, and that is all there is to it." — "Well," answered the uncle, "you can tell your father whatever you want to, but I'm not going to give him something I have not seen." With that they started home, the nephew hurrying in order to inform his father of the great game they had discovered.

When they got home, the nephew told his father that his uncle had found a very large beaver, and had given half of it to him and half to his people, to be used at a feast. The old man was delighted at this, and in the morning he took as many people as wanted to come along, roused the beaver out of his hole, killed him, and gave a great feast. From that time on the uncle and his nephew went out to hunt beaver regularly, and each time they found more. They also discovered other animals, — leeches, and different species of worms.

After the uncle had lived among the thunder-beings for a number of years, hunting with his bow and arrow, the chief thunder-beings decided

to hold a secret meeting and discuss the advisability of keeping him among them. Big-Black-Hawk was also there. At that meeting it was decided that it would be impossible to keep the uncle with them forever. While he was unquestionably benefiting them very much, nevertheless it did not seem proper that an earth-born individual should live with thunder-beings. They did not decide upon any definite date, but they determined that he should not stay among them very much longer. When some of the younger Thunder-Birds heard of this decision, they resolved to get rid of him as soon as possible.

Now, there was a very large water-spirit who inhabited a lake near by, whose banks were so steep and precipitous that the thunder-beings could never harm him with their thunder and lightning. They would often go around to look at him, but they could never injure him.

The scheme of the young Thunder-Birds was to entice the uncle to the lake, and, while pretending to have him look at the water-spirit, push him in. So they told the nephew to come along with them, bringing his uncle. "Tell him," they said, "to take his bow and arrow along, for we are going to look at the water-spirit, and perhaps your uncle, who does such wonderful things, can devise some means of capturing the spirit."

So they all went to the lake, and while the uncle was looking at the water-spirit, they pushed him in. The bank was extremely steep, and he was immediately killed. Then they went home, leaving the nephew to weep for his lost uncle.

The nephew commenced mourning for him and walked around the lake for four years. One day while thus walking, he noticed a wing-feather drifting toward the bank. He took it home with him, rubbed it between his palms, and transformed it into a thunder-bird egg. Then he put it in the fork of an oak-tree, and he said, "Uncle, I shall be back in four days." When he returned after four days, the bill was just sticking out of the egg. "That's all right, uncle, I shall be back in four days." When he came back, the egg was fully hatched. "It's all right, uncle, I shall be back in four days." At the end of the four days, the uncle was standing at the edge of the nest. "It's all right, uncle, I shall be back in four days." In the mean time the nephew had spoken to his father, Big-Black-Hawk, and he had said, "My son, we can't have that uncle of yours around here; you will have to take him back to the place where he came from. You may tell him that he may have anything he wants."

Then the nephew went to his uncle and found him perched on the top of the tree just over the nest, but he did not look as beautiful nor as strong as he did the first time. He looked like an ordinary thunder-bird. He came down to greet his nephew, and they talked for a long time. The nephew told his uncle how he had mourned his death, but, in spite of all, his father would not allow him to stay with them. "Earth-Maker would not like it," my father says, "for he would not want human beings to live

together with the thunder-beings. Uncle, I have grieved long over what the thunder-beings did to you, and I am now going to take my revenge by telling you something. My father says that he will give you any one of the war-clubs that we possess. When you enter the lodge, you will see a large number of them hanging along the walls of the lodge. Some look much better than others; but there will be one right next to the door, that looks the shabbiest of them all. Take that one, and then you will make them weep just as they made me weep." Then they went home, and Big-Black-Hawk told the uncle that he must return to earth, but that he would give him any of the clubs that he saw suspended in the lodge.

The uncle got up, walked around the lodge, examining the clubs one after another. When he got near the door, he turned around and said, "I thank you all for giving me this club, the worst of them all, for I don't want to take the best one that you have. I shall be perfectly satisfied with this shabby one." He took it, and, just as his nephew had said, all the thunder-beings hung their heads and wept.

In the centre of the lodge there was a little bowl filled with some liquid. Big-Black-Hawk got up and presented it to the uncle, and told him to drink. As he drank he seemed to hear the voices of millions of people begging for their lives. What he drank was really the brains of all the people that he was going to kill on the warpath. "What happened while you were drinking," Big-Black-Hawk said to him, "is a vision of what that club that you took is going to do for you."

Then the nephew took his uncle, and, rubbing him between his palms, transformed him into human shape again, and accompanied him back to earth. He said to him, "Uncle, you may see me whenever you want to," and he bade him good-by and left him.

The uncle joined a tribe of Indians, and immediately began to go on the warpath; and by virtue of his wonderful club he was able to kill as many persons as he wanted to.

After he had gone on doing this for several years, the thunder-beings held another council, and Big-Black-Hawk said, "This will never do. If that man keeps on, he will soon destroy all the people on the earth. That club must be taken away from him." So he sent his son down to tell his uncle that his club would have to be changed. The nephew came to the earth, and told his uncle that he would have to take his club away from him, but that he would substitute one in its place that would do him excellent service. The uncle was very much displeased to hear this. Then the nephew called a meeting of all the different spirits of the earth. He had his uncle make a club exactly like the one that was to be taken away. He also told him to make a whistle. If ever he was on the warpath, and would blow that whistle, it would be the same as the voice of a thunder-bird, and they would send him their powers. The club, too,

would possess great powers, although it would not possess the magical power of the first club.

Then the spirits, who were assembled in council said, "We will endow him with our special powers." The snake gave him the power of concealing himself. The carnivorous birds gave the power of telling where the enemy was, and of seeing them in the night-time. "In return for this, we shall eat the flesh of the people you kill," they said. The spirits underneath the earth said, "We shall give you a medicine. If you paint yourself with it, you will have more strength than your enemies. You will be able to outrun them; and if they follow you and get your scent, this will overpower them, and they will not be able to go any farther." Then the nephew returned to his home. The war-club and the powers bestowed on the uncle were handed down from one generation to another, always remaining in a certain clan.

Thus things went on until the Indians came in contact with the whites. They saw the steel points of the whites, and thought the club would look better if it contained these points. This they decided to do after a great meeting and feast had been held.

## 2. — THE ORPHAN BOY WHO WAS CAPTURED BY THE BAD THUNDER-BIRDS

In a little village there once lived an orphan boy and his grandmother. As the boy grew up, he found a chum of the same age. One day they went out to get some hickory-wood to make bird-arrows. When these arrows were ready, the orphan boy went out hawk-hunting. He captured a young pigeon-hawk. He got fond of it, and kept it at home as a pet.

One day he put some tobacco in a little bundle and tied it around the hawk's neck. Soon after this the pigeon-hawk disappeared, but it returned not long after without the tobacco-bundle. So he put another bundle around its neck, and soon the bird again disappeared. This incident was repeated again and again.

One day long after, when the hawk was full grown, the boy again tied a bundle of tobacco around its neck, and told the bird that he thanked it that it had stayed with him so long, but now that it was full grown, if it cared to, it could go wherever it wished. Thereupon the bird flew away and never returned.

The two chums, one day, went out again to find some dogwood for pointed arrows. They went around the brush, and accidentally got separated, for it was a cloudy and rainy day. While they were separated, the bad thunder-spirits seized the orphan and carried him to their home.

The chum hunted for him a long time, but then gave up in despair and returned home. The chum returned day after day to the place where his friend had disappeared, to search for him and to mourn for him.



When the bad spirits seized the orphan, they tied him to the floor, binding his wrists and feet to stakes. Their purpose was to hold him in this position until there was nothing left in his stomach, because it was their rule that only then would they devour human beings.

While the boy was thus extended, they watched him carefully in order to prevent his escape.

One day the little pigeon-hawk thought he would go to see this person of whom the thunder-spirits were talking so much. What was his surprise to recognize in the prisoner the man who had given him all the tobacco, and with whom he had lived for so long a time.

He went out and killed some pigeons; roasted them, and put some bones and some of the meat under his wings, and went back to see the prisoner. He managed as best he could to drop some meat into his mouth. He kept on doing this every day until the bad thunder-spirits began to mistrust him. "This man," they said to themselves, "ought to be cleaned out by this time; and if he is not, that pigeon-hawk must be feeding him secretly." So the next time the hawk appeared, they decided to put him out. One of them took hold of him and pushed him towards the door. The pigeon-hawk, however, intentionally fell into the fire, burnt himself badly, and, crying at the top of his voice, ran to his brother, Big-Black-Hawk, the chief of the Thunder-Birds. "What is the matter, brother?" the latter asked. So Pigeon-Hawk told his brother the whole story as piteously as he could, — how the man who was now starving had befriended him on earth, and given him much tobacco; and how he was now a prisoner and about to be devoured.

Big-Black-Hawk got angry, and went over to the place where the prisoner lay, and told the spirits that they had done wrong in bringing this man up there to be eaten; that he had tried to be patient, and had not reprimanded them. When, however, they pushed one of their own comrades into the fire, he could no longer be quiet. They could not have their prisoner. So he cut the prisoner loose, and took him along with him.

Little Pigeon-Hawk, in the mean time, brought him pigeons, roasted them, and fed him, for he was almost starved to death. After the prisoner got stout again, he made a bow and some arrows for himself, and went out hunting with little Pigeon-Hawk.

(After a while he found some beavers and grizzly bears, and the story repeats itself as in the preceding one. The first beaver was found through accident by an arrow falling into a well and getting smeared with chalk. When the orphan found they were anxious to have these beavers and grizzly bears, he went out hunting for them regularly. Now, these animals had been there all the time, but being spirits themselves, like the thunder-spirits, they possessed the power of hiding themselves from them, although this did not protect them from the Indians.)

After a while Big-Black-Hawk told his younger brother that he would

have to bring his human friend back to the earth. "It is not that I don't like him," Big-Black-Hawk said, "but he does not belong here, and Earth-Maker would not approve of it." So Big-Black-Hawk told the orphan that he had benefited the thunder-spirits very much, but that he could not remain with them, and would have to return to his home. He gave him a club, of which, however, he was to make a substitute before he went back to earth.

Pigeon-Hawk took him back; and when he came to the earth, the orphan made a club and returned the original to Pigeon-Hawk.

The next evening his old chum came to the brush as usual, and was very much surprised to find him there. The orphan told his friend to go home and order some young unmarried people to build a lodge and have it scented with white-cedar leaves.

The chum did as he was bidden; and after that, he, and the orphan armed with his club, went to the lodge and told the unmarried young people to go out hunting and bring a large buck, for they wanted to make a feast. The orphan assured the people that they would have no difficulty in finding one; they had but to go across the hill.

They did as they were bidden, and came home with a large buck. Then he told them to invite to the feast as many people as they wished. After a few days, and when all were assembled in the lodge, the orphan told the people of his experiences in the land of the Thunder-Birds. He then told the unmarried people to get two more deer for next day's feast. The next day he told them the same. On the fourth day he told them to get four big bears. On this day he told them that he and his friend were going to look around the country the next day, and, if any young men wished to come along, they might.

They all understood what he meant; i. e. that he was going on the warpath; so a good many decided to go along. They travelled that day until noon. Then the orphan told a few of his companions to go a little way and kill some animals. At supper-time he told them the same. After supper he told his companions that he was going to attack a certain camp. The spirit-birds and other animals were helping and directing him, so that he knew he would have no difficulty in finding the camp he was in search of.

When all was ready, they started out, and killed all the inhabitants of the camp. They kept on going from camp to camp, killing all the inhabitants. After they had killed the inhabitants of the fourth camp, the orphan told his friends that he was now going to stop, and would thereafter only go on the warpath in order either to revenge some one or to attack an enemy.

## 3. HOW THE TWO DIVISIONS OF THE WINNEBAGOES CAME TOGETHER

There once was a village of Winnebagoes. The chief lived there. He ruled over all the people of that village. They did just what he asked them to do. One day a war-party started with his consent.

Now, this chief had four daughters and two sons. The old man said to his older son, "Young men of your age generally fast, and go out to the woods and pray that some great spirit may bless them; but you have never done what people of your age are accustomed to do."

It was the custom in the olden time that he who returned with a scalp should be given a wampum belt as a prize. This he had to give to one of his sisters.

The young man, the older of the two brothers, went on a warpath. When the members of the warpath came back, he was the third of those who had taken a scalp.

When Indians return from a warpath, they generally march through the village with the scalps suspended from poles.

While they were thus marching through the village, the old chief saw his son, the third in the line. So he made fun of him, and said, "As old as I am, if I were to go on the warpath, I should come back the first; and if I should go, my sisters would march around the village with the first prize." The young man felt hurt, and walked out of the ranks, homeward. When he got home, his mother had his meal ready for him, which she had cut into chunks and put into a wooden bowl. The dish was set before the young man. Before he had taken anything, the father came in, and, taking some ashes, threw some into the dish. The boy did not eat anything. Four times war-parties started out, but only at the fourth time did the boy come home first. He did not eat anything at that time. Even on the return of the fourth expedition, the father made fun of the young man. When he arrived home, the father again threw ashes into his food. Then the young man took his blanket and wrapped himself in it, covering his head; and he sat down and said not a word. As he was lying down, he thought of his father's actions. He thought that his father did not like him, and he preferred to die rather than to live. He went away toward the wilderness, taking his best clothing and bow and arrows, and blackened his face every morning. He wanted to die. He travelled four days, running all the time. Then he came to a village on the morning of the fifth day. It was just about sunrise when he came to the village. It was foggy. He went up on a hill. When he got there, he saw the village lying underneath. He saw the long pole that stood in front of the chief's house. When he first started from his home, he had made up his mind to die in the wilderness; but when he saw the village, he hated to go there and be killed. But he remembered that he had intended to go to the wilderness to die; so he grew brave again, and went to the

chief's house. He put on his best clothes and marched towards the camp.

While mourning, the perspiration had trickled over his blackened face and made long streaks. Then he went and stood in front of the chief's house. The house of the chief, in the olden days, had a shed supported on four forked tree-stumps. While he was standing at the door of the house, the chief's youngest daughter was just coming out; and when she saw this man standing in front of the door early in the morning, she screamed at the top of her voice. Then her father said, "What is the matter? Why are you yelling?" And she replied, "My brother is standing at the door." Her brother had been buried a day before that. (When a chief or any member of his family dies, the whole village generally mourns.) The old man said, "Tell him to come in." So they invited him in. As he walked, every one in the lodge looked at him, and noticed that he looked exactly like the dead person; his clothing was the same, and his movements were the same. The old man then told the public crier to announce to the people of the village that his son had come to life again; that the women should comb their hair, paint themselves, and be joyful and happy, as before. Then they sent for the partner of the boy who had died. They told him that his partner had come to life again.

In the old days the chief's house had a scaffold in the rear, on which the chief's son always slept. This scaffold was supported on four tree-stumps, and was about four feet from the ground, so that a little ladder was required to ascend to it.

Then the old chief talked to his son, and said to him, "Whenever you want to go anywhere, let your sister (waitcgěra<sup>1</sup>) and aunt (tcu'wi"<sup>2</sup>) know of it, because in this part of the world three, four, or even five pairs of moccasins would not last very long. They will make you all you need to carry on a trip."

The young man was a very lively, swift hunter. When he did not want to hunt, he would kill a few deer. One night his partner came home late in the evening, and said, "Partner, I have just been notified that a party are going out travelling, and they told me to tell some person about it, so I have come to tell you."—"All right!" was the answer. The next day, as it was just getting dark, his partner came around again, and said, "They have already gone." So both struck out on the trail immediately. They had determined upon a place to meet, and there they overtook the other members of the expedition.

On the warpath it is customary for each person to fall in line in the order of his arrival at the meeting-place. A certain distance must also be observed between him and the next person. No person was per-

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "younger sister," said by a male.

<sup>2</sup> Literally, "father's sister."

mitted under any circumstances to pass in front of those ahead of him. When resting, it was the custom to look in the direction from which they had been coming.

As the two partners had come last, they were the last in line. Then the head warrior's nephew — the one who serves him — was told to count the number of men in the party. This he did, and found the expected number. "The whole party is here," he said. Then the head warrior got up, and said, "Follow me!" and they all got up but one. Now one man was lying on his belly, who did not get up when the others did. Then some one said, "Who is that lying down?" And a few looked down on this fellow, and they saw it was the chief's son, — a very unusual thing among Indians. So one of the party said, "Say, that is this prisoner we have." This he said jokingly. Some of the others heard this remark about the so-called prisoner, and they said, "Stop saying that! for we don't know who that prisoner is. He may be our protection." Then they started to travel again. They travelled all night until morning. Then the warrior told his nephew to take the war-bundle and place it on the ground carefully and gently. Thereupon the head warrior arose and spoke. "Friends, I want to say something to you. Our chief's son is along with us, and he has only one pair of moccasins with him. We shall each of us have to give him one pair of ours." Every one consented, and the chief's son thus had plenty to wear. Then they travelled again four days and four nights. When day dawned, the old chief arose, and said, "I am going to appoint one of you to go and kill an enemy for me." So he took a handful of tobacco and walked up to an Indian named White-Eagle-Feather (*Witca'wixcepsgaga*). White-Eagle-Feather took the tobacco, and said, "You all know that I am the only one that can kill a man in the middle of his own village." The man that passed the tobacco around went to all the others, offering them the same; but they all refused. When he came to the two who had joked about the so-called prisoner, they also refused, but added, "Give it to the prisoner we have." They passed it to him, and he said, "Ha'ho', all right! I am willing to follow suit to what White-Eagle-Feather said, and I will also bring you the scalp of one who wears a medal around his neck."<sup>1</sup> Then these two started. Then the two men ran along all day until noon, when they came to a large rock; and White-Eagle-Feather said, "Here is the place where I usually sharpen my knife to cut the scalps of our enemies." And then they began to whet their knives on the rock. "Don't get too smooth an edge on your knife, but get a rough one, because you can cut the scalp off better," said White-Eagle-Feather. They travelled until sundown, and then they came to the village of their enemies. It was a very large village. They came up a long hill, and looked down upon the village. White-

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to medals that have frequently been distributed among the chiefs of Indian tribes.

Eagle-Feather said, "I can stand up erect and look at them, but they cannot see me." He looked out to find the chief's lodge. The chief's son said and did everything that White-Eagle-Feather said and did. In the evening they went down toward the village, and travelled all night among them, just as if they belonged there. They stayed until morning in front of the chief's house. The sun had come to the top of the trees. Then two people came out of the chief's lodge. Each of the two Winnebagoes then gave a war-whoop and attacked the two that had come out. The young chief killed his man first, scalped him, and took his medal, and said to White-Eagle-Feather, "I am going." White-Eagle-Feather joined him, and together they ran through the heart of the village. They ran together quite leisurely. After a while they were pursued, and the pursuers were gaining on them. White-Eagle-Feather made a jump or two and got ahead of the young man, and said, "Young man, I am going. Do the best you can." The enemy was getting nearer and nearer. As the enemy was thus gaining upon them, the two were running westward, away from the enemy's camp. White-Eagle-Feather kept ahead of him, so that there were soon two hills between them. The two hills were a long distance apart, and the young chief took a spurt and ran as well as he could. Before White-Eagle-Feather got to the third hill, the young chief had overtaken him, and in passing he said, "Young man, they are gaining upon us. I am going." With that, he sped away. In running they had circled all around the village, toward the direction in which they had entered. They travelled together all the time. White-Eagle-Feather had, up to then, been the only person who had been able to enter the enemy's village and return to his own camp safely. The young chief seemed, however, to be just as great and nimble as himself. When they came in sight of their band, the members who had been watching for them saw them running on the prairie. "Ho, ho!" they said, "White-Eagle-Feather is coming!" Such was the shout. And it was White-Eagle-Feather behind the young chief. The young chief slowed up then, and White-Eagle-Feather caught up with him. Now they were running side by side. They were then in plain sight of their band, and White-Eagle-Feather said to the young chief, "The way we shall do is this: if I get in first, I shall call for my first prize; then, when you get in, you can call for yours. That is the way we generally do here." So the young chief said, "I am going to get the first prize," and he ran as well as he could. The young chief got there first. The pipe was lighted, and held up to him to smoke. He took only three or four puffs, and called for the first prize. So they brought it to him, and put the wampum around him. Then White-Eagle-Feather entered. After both had finished smoking, White-Eagle-Feather arose, and said, "I wish to tell you all something. As long as I have been with you, for these many years, I have been the only one who has been able to enter the village of the enemy. Whenever

a man went along with me, he was killed, and I was the only one that returned. For that reason I always thought I was the bravest man. I have changed my mind now. This young man here has been made fun of because he was a stranger to us; but I say he is the bravest man among us, and I shall make friends with him." Then the young chief arose, and said, "Friend, the great spirits above, on this earth, and below the earth, call me 'the Yankton' (iha<sup>n</sup>ktuha<sup>n</sup>'ga). My name is not Prisoner-Man. White-Eagle-Feather wants to make friends with me, and I am going to make friends with him."

Then they went home from the camp. It took six days to reach their village. They danced with their two scalps. Thus they danced all summer. After a while, the young chief married. White-Eagle-Feather also married. Both had sons. Both lived together in the same lodge. When enemies intended to come to the village, these two men in their dreams would have knowledge of it, and make preparations to defend themselves. Then the great spirits told this young chief to go home to his brother and sister, because the two of them, who were both younger than himself, were sick and pining for him. (He had been away from his people for many years.) He returned home with White-Eagle-Feather. When they got there, in the night, the old man said, "Oh, my son!" but the old woman took a wooden poker and hit him with it, saying, "You have no son. You abused your own son, and made him leave us for a long time. Whenever an enemy came, he knew it beforehand through his dreams, and was able to warn the people, and they were able to make preparations to meet the enemy." He stayed with his people for four years, and after that he induced the two tribes to move together. From that time on, the members of White-Eagle-Feather's band formed part of the Winnebago tribe. It was really the two parts of the Winnebago tribe that had thus come together.

#### 4. THE ORIGIN OF THE THUNDER-BIRD CLAN AND OF THEIR SPIRIT ABODE

In the beginning Earth-Maker was sitting in space, when he came to consciousness;<sup>1</sup> and nothing else was there, anywhere. He began to think of what he should do; and finally he began to cry, and tears began to flow from his eyes and fall down below him. After a while, he looked below him, and saw something bright. The bright objects were his tears,

<sup>1</sup> The origin myth of the Winnebago medicine-lodge begins with the same words. The phraseology is extremely similar, as are the incidents, up to the point where the four thunder-birds are created. Every incident up to that point, with the exception of the tears forming the seas, is found in the former legend. The wishing for light is not mentioned there, and the earth is created by Earth-Maker, and is not the result of a wish. — The phraseology of the translation is strongly influenced by the translator's acquaintance with biblical English, and does not correspond strictly with the Winnebago text. It is not to be taken as any evidence of missionary influence upon the contents of the myth.

that had flowed below and formed the present waters. When the tears flowed below, they became the seas as they are now. Earth-Maker began to think again. He thought, "It is thus: if I wish anything, it will become as I wish, just as my tears have become seas." Thus he thought. So he wished for light, and it became light. Then he thought, "It is as I supposed, the things that I wished for, came into existence, as I desired." Then he again thought, and wished for the earth, and this earth came into existence. Earth-Maker looked on the earth, and he liked it; but it was not quiet, it moved about, as do the waves of the seas. Then he made the trees, and he saw that they were good, but they did not make the earth quiet. Then he made the grass to grow, but the earth was not quiet yet. Then he made the rocks and stones, but still the earth was not quiet. However, it was nearly quiet. Then he made the four directions (cardinal points) and the four winds.<sup>1</sup> On the four corners of the earth he placed them as great and powerful people, to act as island-weights. Yet the earth was not quiet. Then he made four large beings and threw them down toward the earth, and they pierced through the earth with their heads eastwards. They were snakes. Then the earth became very still and quiet. Then he looked upon the earth, and he saw that it was good. Then he thought again of how things came into existence just as he desired. Then he first began to talk. He said, "As things become just as I wish them, I shall make one in my own likeness." So he took a piece of clay (earth) and made it like himself.<sup>2</sup> Then he talked to what he had created, but it did not answer. He looked upon it, and saw that it had no mind or thought; so he made a mind for it. Again he talked to it, but it did not answer; so he looked upon it again, and he saw that it had no tongue. Then he made it a tongue. Then he talked to it again, but it did not answer; and he looked upon it, and he saw that it had no soul; so he made it a soul. He talked to it again, and this time it very nearly said something. But it did not make itself intelligible, so Earth-Maker breathed into its mouth and talked to it, and it answered.<sup>3</sup>

As the newly-created being was in his own likeness, Earth-Maker felt quite proud of him, so he made three more just like him. He made them powerful, so that they might watch over the earth. These first four he made chiefs of the Thunder-Birds; and he thought, "Some will I make to live upon the earth that I have made." So he made four more beings in his own likeness. Just like the others he made them. They were bro-

<sup>1</sup> The cardinal points and the winds have separate names, but these are interchangeable. Only one personage is meant.

<sup>2</sup> In the origin myth of the medicine-lodge, man is created from the rib of Earth-Maker, mixed with earth and rolled into a ball.

<sup>3</sup> In the creation myth of the medicine-lodge, the senses are infused into the clay image by Earth-Maker first touching his own mouth, ear, etc., and then touching the corresponding organ of the image.



thers, Ku'nuga, He'na'nga, Ha'kaga, and Na'yi'ga.<sup>1</sup> He talked to them, and said, "Look down upon the earth." So saying, he opened the heavens in front of where they sat, and there they saw the earth (spread out below them). He told them that they were to go down there to live. "And this I shall send with you," he added, and he gave them a plant. "I myself shall not have any power to take this from you, as I have given it to you; but when, of your own free will, you make me an offering of some of it, I shall gladly accept it and give you what you ask. This shall you hold foremost in your lives." It was a tobacco-plant that he had given them. He said also, "All the spirits that I create will not be able to take this from you unless you desire to give it by calling upon them during fasts and offering it to them. Thus only can the spirits get any of it. And this also I send with you, that you may use it in life. When you offer anything, it shall be your mediator. It shall take care of you through life. It shall stand in the centre of your dwellings, and it shall be your grandfather." Thus he spoke to them. What he meant was the fire. And then he gave them the earth to live on. So the four thunder-spirits brought the four brothers down to the earth. The oldest one, Ku'nu, said while on their way down, "Brother, when we get to the earth and the first child is born to me, I shall call him King (chief) of the Thunders, if it be a boy." On they came down towards the earth. When they got near the earth, it began to get very dark. Then the second brother said, "Brother, when we get to the earth and a child is born to me, if it is a girl, it shall be called Dark." They came to a place called Within-Lake at Red Banks, a lake near Green Bay. On an oak-tree south of the lake is the place where they alighted. The branch they alighted on bent down from their weight. Then said the third brother to his brothers, "The first daughter born to me shall be called She-who-weighs-the-Tree-Down-Woman." Then they alighted on earth, but the thunder-spirits did not touch the earth. Then said the fourth and last brother to his brothers, "Brothers, the first son that is born to me shall be called He-who-alights-on-the-Earth." The first thing they did on earth was to start their fire.

Then Earth-Maker looked down upon them, and saw that he had not prepared any food for them, so he made the animals, that they might have something to eat. The oldest brother said, "What are we going to eat?" Then the youngest two took the bow and arrows that Earth-Maker had given them, and started towards the east. Not long after, the third brother came into view with a young deer on his back; and the youngest brother also came with a young deer about two years old on his back. The deer that were killed were brothers, and those that killed them were also brothers. They were very much delighted that they had obtained food. Then said they, "Let us give our grandfather

<sup>1</sup> These are the names for the first four sons among all Winnebagoes.

the first taste." Saying thus, they cut off the ends of the tongues, and the heart, and threw them into the fire with some fat. The first people to call on them were the War-People (wo'nayirê ua'ñkcik<sup>1</sup>). They came from the west. Then came four others. They were the Thunders. Thus they were called, the youngest brothers. Then came those of the earth.<sup>2</sup> Then came those of the Deer Clan. Then came those of the Snake Clan. Then came those of the Elk Clan. Then came those of the Bear Clan. Then came those of the Fish Clan. Then came those of the Water-Spirit Clan, and all the other clans that exist. Then there appeared on the lake a very white bird, Swan they called it; and after that, all the other water-birds that exist came. And they named them in the order of their coming, until the lake was quite full. Then the people began to dress the deer-meat. Suddenly something came and alighted on the deer-meat. "What is that?" they said. Then said Ku'nuga, the oldest brother, "It is a wasp; and the first dog that I possess, if it is black, Wasp I shall call it." Thus he spoke. "And as the wasp scented and knew of the deer-dressing, so shall the dog be towards other animals; and wherever the dog is, and animals are in the windward, he shall scent them." They made a feast with the deer for Earth-Maker, and threw tobacco into the fire and offered it to him. And to the other clans they showed how fire was to be made, and gave them some. "For," they said, "each of you must now make fire for yourselves, as we shall not always lend you some." There the people made their home. It was just the time of the year when the grass comes as far as the knee (summer).

One day they reported that something very strange was near the camp; but they said to themselves, "We will leave it alone." In a little while it moved nearer. Thus it moved toward the camp, and soon it began to eat deer-bones. They allowed it to become one of the clans, and took it into their house. It was the dog or wolf. They killed one of them, and made a feast to Earth-Maker, telling him all about what they had done. In the beginning the Thunder clansmen were as powerful as the thunder-spirits themselves. It was the Thunder-People who made the ravines and the valleys.<sup>3</sup> While wandering around the world, the Thunder-People struck the earth with their clubs and made dents in

<sup>1</sup> I strongly suspect that these War-People really represent the Hawk Clan. The few Indians among the Nebraskan Winnebagoes who were referred to me as "War-People" belonged to the Hawk Clan. According to one informant, the third of the original Hawk brothers was the progenitor of the War-People.

<sup>2</sup> Here my informant refers to the second "phratry" of the Winnebagoes. The first "phratry" comprises the Thunder, Eagle, Pigeon, and Hawk people.

<sup>3</sup> According to others, the Thunder-People were merely transformed thunder-beings who took human shape at the general meeting of all the animals, near Red Bank, Green Bay. However, one other member of the Thunder-Bird Clan told me the story of their origin substantially as it is found here. They were called Thunder-People because they imitated the actions of the thunder-spirits.

the hills. That is the reason that the upper clans are chiefs of all the others, and that the least of all are the Dog-People. So it was. One day the oldest of the brothers lay down and did not rise again, and he did not breathe, and he became cold. "What is the matter with our oldest brother?" the three others said. Four days they waited for him, but still he did not arise. So the second brother was asked by his youngest brother what the trouble was. But he did not know anything about it, and told him to ask his third brother; but he did not know, either. Then the two older brothers asked the youngest one; but he did not know, either. Then they began to mourn for him, not knowing what to do or think. They fasted and blackened their faces, as we do now when we are mourning. They made a platform and laid him on it. When the snow<sup>1</sup> fell knee-deep, the three brothers filled their pipe and went towards the place of the coming of the daylight, the east. There they came to the first being that Earth-Maker had placed in the east, the Island-Weight, as he was called. They came to him weeping, and went into his tent, turning the stem of their pipe in his mouth. They said, "Grandfather, our brother Ku'nu has fallen, and is not able to rise again. Earth-Maker made you great, and endowed you with all knowledge, and thus you know all things." He answered, and said, "My dear grandsons, I am sorry, but I do not know anything about it; but as you have started to find out, I would refer you to the one ahead of me (the north). Perhaps he can tell you." So, weeping, they started for the next one. When they got there, and told him their troubles, he told them he could not help them. "But," he said, "perhaps the one ahead of me knows." So they started for the third one (the west), but from him likewise they could learn nothing. He also referred them to the one ahead (the south). When they reached the fourth and last one, they entered the lodge, and, behold! there sat the three to whom they had gone before.<sup>2</sup> Here they asked the last one for help; and not only he, but the other three also, answered them, "Grandsons, thus Earth-Maker has willed it. Your brother will not rise again. He will be with

<sup>1</sup> In ritualistic tales the word "snow" is expressed by the term "the body of the nephew," meaning the rabbit. The rabbit, the creator of the medicine-lodge, is known as hitcu'cge'-gikara'djire'ra ("him whom they call the nephew"); and when this phrase is used for him, it is always symbolical of snow. The term "hare" (wacdjig'e'ga) itself is never used with such a meaning. "Snow knee-deep" is also the name of one of the four divisions of the year, to which our seasons conform only in a rough way.

<sup>2</sup> The visit to the four cardinal points also occurs in the creation myth of the medicine-lodge. There the rabbit seeks to discover whether death cannot be recalled. He has caused it by disobedience of his grandmother's orders. However, there the first three give him no chance to talk, but calmly tell him that they know what he has come for, and that they can give him no information, referring him to the one ahead in each instance. The last one, however, instead of answering his question, simply tells him that if the preceding three spirits, all of whom are so much more powerful than he, could not give him any information, how could he be expected to.

you no more in this world. And as long as this world lasts, so it will be with human beings. Whenever one reaches the age of death, one shall die, and those that wish to live long will have to attain that age by good actions. Thus they will live long. Into your bodies Earth-Maker has placed part of himself. That will return to him if you do the proper things. This world will come to an end some time. Your brother shall keep a village in the west for all the souls of your clan, and there he shall be in full charge of all of you. And when this world is ended, your brother shall take all the souls back to Earth-Maker; at least, all those who have acted properly. Thus it was. Now you may go home and bury your brother in the proper manner." The Thunder-People thanked the four spirits and left their tent. When they got home, they took their brother's body, dressed him in his best clothes, and painted his face. Then they told him where he was to go, and buried him with his head toward the west, and with his war-club. They placed the branch of a tree at his grave, and painted a little stick red<sup>1</sup> and tied it to the tree, so that nothing should cross his path on his journey to the spirit-abode.<sup>2</sup> If any thing or animal should cross his path on that journey, he must strike it with his club and throw it behind him, so that those relatives he has left behind on earth might derive blessings in war and attain long life. He would have his pipe and food along with him on his journey, and thus the things that he throws behind him will be a blessing for those still remaining on earth. Also the life he leaves behind him (i. e. the years that, had he lived to a normal age, are still due him) and the victories that he might have gained, — all these he is to give to his relatives. The riches he might have had, — or, in fact, anything that he could possibly have had, — he is asked to give to these relatives. Then they will not feel so unhappy and lonesome. Such is the story up to the time that the spirit starts on his journey to the spirit-land.

The Winnebagoes always encouraged one another to die on the war-path, because, if one dies in battle, the person would really not lose consciousness, but simply live right on in the spirit, and death would seem to him as if he had stumbled over some object. So they would say. If you wish to have a happy life as a spirit, do not die in your house. If you die in your house, your soul will wander all over the earth in want, and when people eat at the four-nights' wake, you will not get anything. If they drink water, you will remain thirsty. It is said that

<sup>1</sup> The oldest brother, according to many Winnebagoes, is supposed to have had red hair.

<sup>2</sup> The remainder of this myth is practically a summary of "The Journey to the Spirit Abode," as related on the last night of the four-nights' wake. It does not belong to what goes before, but is merely a descriptive detail added by the informant. The foregoing myth is related at the winter feast given by the possessors of the sacred bundles of the Thunder Clan. Each clan has its own origin myth and winter feasts.

people not dying on the warpath will, as spirits, have to content themselves by pointing to food and drink, and licking their fingers. Those that die in battle have a village four days' distant from the general village of the souls. They are in need of nothing, as they plant and raise their own food, and have so many clothes that they look as if they were covered with furs. They play ball and have lots of fun, ride horseback, and dance. If any of them should desire to return to the earth and become alive again, they can do so. The wounds, however, from which they died, remain with them in the spirit world. Those who lost their scalps are without scalps. Some are without heads, and some without scalp-locks. They can see their relatives here on earth whenever they wish to. So the people encouraged one another to die bravely and on the warpath.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
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## TWO TAHLTAN TRADITIONS

BY JAMES TEIT

THE Tahltn tribe, a branch of the Nahanni, belongs to the Athapascan family. They differ from the main body of the Nahanni, having adopted much of the culture of the Tlingit, whom they adjoin on the north and northwest.<sup>1</sup> The bands living farther east retain the simple culture probably original to them; although still farther east, near the Mackenzie River, they appear to be under the influence of a different culture. The Tahltn occupy a considerable extent of territory around the head of the Stikine, Tahltn, and Nahlin Rivers. They extend north to Teslin, and east to Dease River. The Nahanni depend almost entirely on hunting and trapping, and many bands are still in a comparatively primitive condition. Although more than half the interior of British Columbia is inhabited by Athapascan tribes, practically nothing is known of their mythology, customs, and beliefs, excepting the Carriers, who have been studied by Father Morice, and the Chilcotin, who have been studied by Father Morice, Drs. Farrand and Boas, and by the writer.

The Taku are a branch of the Tlingit. The term is applied by the whites to the Tlingit of Taku River and the interior generally, although those of Atlin are usually called Tagish. Tlingit-speaking people occupy the whole northwestern interior of British Columbia, south to and including the valley of the Taku and its tributary, the Nakina. This includes Atlin and Teslin Lakes, the Nasutlin River to its head, and the Big Salmon River to its mouth in the Yukon territory. These people have intermarried to some extent with Athapascan tribes. They depend on hunting and trapping as much as the Tahltn, whom they resemble very much in culture. Some families from the interior make periodic trips to the coast, following the Nakina River to its mouth, and then take canoes down the Taku River to Juneau.

## STORY OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE TAHLTAN AND THE TAKU

A desultory warfare between the Tahltn and Taku had continued for several years. A number of people on both sides had been killed. The Taku had almost exterminated a large camp of Tahltn at the mouth of Salmon Creek, and the Tahltn had on one expedition killed many Taku on the Taku River. The nearest village of the Taku was at the mouth of the Nakina, and the village of the Tahltn closest to it was Tagoon on the Nahlin River.<sup>2</sup> It was springtime, and the people of

<sup>1</sup> See "Notes on the Tahltn Indians of British Columbia" (*Boas Anniversary Volume*, pp. 337 *et seq.*).

<sup>2</sup> Both these villages are now deserted, and their sites are visited only occasionally by members of the respective tribes.

Tagoon were short of food. Four men from Tagoon went down to within the confines of the Taku country to catch spring salmon. They said to their friends, "If we do not return within three or four days, you may assume that the Taku have killed us."

These men discovered a fishing-place of the Taku. Signs of people were still fresh; and fishing utensils, such as poles and spears, were lying about. They helped themselves to these, and began to fish. One of the men fished right at this spot; and his three companions, on the stream a little above. While they were thus engaged, a large party of Taku observed them. They went down to the stream and surrounded the men. Some of them crept unobserved to a rock overlooking the place where the lone man was fishing, and threw rocks into the water all around him. When he ran away, the party amused themselves by throwing stones at him from all directions, before they finally seized him. His companions also took flight, but were intercepted; and, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides by many people, they considered it useless to resist, so they threw away their arms, and allowed themselves to be taken. The four captives were tied each with a squirrel-skin rope around his neck and waist. A man held the end of each rope, and they were marched down to the Nakina village, where the party was going to take their canoe to go down the Taku River. Some of them belonged to the lower part of the river, and others to the interior.

The party held a consultation as to how they should deal with their prisoners. Some said, "Let us kill them at once." Others said, "Let us take them to the place where the Tahltan massacred so many Taku, and let us kill them there. They will be a sacrifice to our dead." Still others said, "Let us take them to the coast and make slaves of them." The chief decided to take them down the river. The day they were to embark they were led to the canoes in the same fashion as before; but the people, while preparing for leaving, did not watch them closely. One young man who was being brought down behind the others, and was being led to the canoe, managed to loosen the squirrel-skin ropes attached to his neck and waist. Suddenly he disengaged himself and ran off at top speed. The Taku chased him, but he was too swift-footed and enduring for them, and got away by running uphill. In vain they fired arrows at him.

The other captives were taken in the chief's canoe, and were closely watched on the way down the river. On reaching their destination, they were allowed the liberty of walking around where they chose, for it was considered impossible for them to escape to their tribe from that distant place, and through such a difficult country, without being overtaken or dying on the way. They were also given plenty to eat, for a well-fed slave was of more value than one half famished and miserable-looking. Their clothes were taken from them, and each was furnished with a

goat-wool blanket, their only clothing. They were not supplied with any moccasins, for fear that they might try to make their escape.

The Taku held another consultation, and it was decided that at a certain time when the people were ready the captives should be taken up the river, and killed at the exact spot where the Taku had been slaughtered by the Tahltan three or four years previously. They were to be offered as sacrifices at this place with much ceremony, and many Taku were intending to witness their deaths. An old man and an old woman had given the prisoners this information, so they made up their minds to escape at the first possible chance. They commenced to cache all the old moccasins that they found. One woman who took pity on them cached moccasins, knives, and flint and steel for them in different places, and told them where to find them.

One night they ran away, and in the morning met an old man who had been friendly to them returning from a hunt. He hailed them, and offered them meat and other assistance; but they were afraid, and hurried on without heeding him. The men had made their escape just when the Taku were about to ascend the river to execute them.

The Taku were much disappointed, and a large party followed the fugitives for several days without being able to overtake them. For five days the three men travelled without eating and without stopping. On the fifth day they came to a place where beaver were numerous. They caught four, and, after eating, they continued their flight.

On arriving opposite Tagoon, they found the people of that place all away. Before leaving, they had destroyed the bridge across the river. They went farther up to other places, but no one was to be seen. All the Tahltan of Nahlin and Chesley Rivers had gone east and south for fear of the Taku, and had destroyed the bridges across these rivers. The men proceeded up the north side of the main streams, and, crossing at a shallow place, went up on Level Mountain. Here, from an eminence, they saw smokes of camps in various directions.

Approaching the nearest one, they came upon a woman wailing, and lamenting the loss of her husband. It happened that this was the camp of the wives of these three men. Believing themselves widows, they had come up here together to snare ground-squirrels for winter use. The husband of the woman approached her. He was naked excepting a piece of goat-wool robe around his shoulders. The men had from necessity cut up their robes for use on their feet, and each now had only enough left to make a kind of cape. When the woman saw her husband, she believed him to be a ghost, and she excitedly called to the other women. When they realized that these were really their husbands, they were overjoyed, and made a signal fire to call the people together. They came, and, after listening to their story, agreed that they would go on an expedition against the Taku.



The following spring, when the snow was well crusted and snowshoe-walking good, the Tahltan assembled, and, with the four men as guides, went on the warpath against the Taku. While still within the confines of the Tahltan country, they met two caribou chased by two Taku men. They killed these men on the spot. On the fourth day the Tahltan reached the place where the Taku had camped the previous night. The Taku had broken camp when the hunters did not return, fearing an attack by the Tahltan.

The next day they had difficulty in following them, as the Taku had all separated in twos and threes, going in different directions. They found, however, that all met again at night, and camped together. After following them for three days, they found them encamped. The Taku evidently thought they had travelled far enough away to be safe, and had constructed a large sweat-house, in which all the adult men were now sweating, the rest of the party being in the camp near by. The men had all their weapons hanging in a bush near the sweat-house, their clothes and some tools being scattered around. Unperceived the Tahltan surrounded them. A boy who was playing around shooting arrows fired an arrow, which fell among the Tahltan. When he came forward to pick it up, he noticed the enemies in hiding. He made no cry, however, but, seizing his arrow, was about to run back with it, when a Tahltan clubbed him.

The Tahltan ran to the sweat-house, threw it down, and dispatched all the inmates excepting one man, who seized a fire-drill and managed to get away. While the Tahltan were slaughtering the men who were sweat-bathing, a Taku woman who was near by seized a spear from the bush, attacked the Tahltan from behind, and killed two of them before they could dispatch her. Some of them pursued the man who had escaped, and soon overtook him on the ice of a lake, and killed him. He had no chance to make his escape, as he was naked, and without snowshoes could make no headway in the deep snow. They killed the whole Taku party, including the children, and spared only four young women, whom they told to seek out their tribe and relate the fate of their friends. They spared them because the four Tahltan men had been well treated and helped to escape by a woman. From this place the Tahltan party returned.

As soon as the ground was free of snow, a large party of Taku, including a few women, invaded the Tahltan country, bent on revenge. The Tahltan made signal-fires all over the country, and assembled a party equally as large as that of the invaders. The latter crossed Chesley River at the ford near the mouth of Salmon Creek, and the two parties met on an open flat near the crossing. The Tahltan party had women with them, who were prepared for battle also. The parties talked to each other from a distance; and the chief of each, armed only with a knife, went forward, and they met halfway. The Tahltan chief was the father

of the present chief, who is now a very old man. The people of each party held their weapons in hand, ready to attack each other. The chiefs sat down, and, taking sticks, counted the numbers slain on each side since the war began. The chiefs sometimes brandished their knives, and several times nearly fell a-fighting before a satisfactory arrangement was reached. During the war a larger number of Taku had been killed than of Tahltan; and since the life of each man, woman, and child on both sides was reckoned at a certain price, the Tahltan had to pay a considerable amount to the Taku. On the conclusion of the agreement, the Tahltan feasted the enemy, and each of the parties gave a dance.

When they parted, one important man of each party went with the other to stay for one year as hostage. At the appointed time the following year the two tribes met again at the same place and exchanged hostages. Each side feasted the other and exchanged a large number of presents. The Tahltan paid the blood-money they owed, and a peace was consummated between the two tribes which has lasted to the present day.

#### THE THREE SISTER ROCKS

There are three large rocks in the Stikine River between Glenora and Telegraph Creek, known to the whites as "Three Sister Rocks." The Tahltan tell the following story of their origin. Once a long time ago in the Tahltan country a number of people were living together. A girl of one family was discovered to have had connection with a dog, and this made her relatives and the other people so ashamed that they deserted her. After they had gone, she and the dog lived together as husband and wife. After a time she gave birth to three pups, — two males and a female. When they had grown to be big, the mother suspected the boys of having connection with their sister, and to make certain of this she smeared gum on the girl's hands at bedtime. Next morning she discovered the marks of their sister's hands on the backs of both the boys. This confirmed her suspicions. She then left home with her husband and children, and journeyed north. Reaching the Stikine River, she crossed over to the north side, and then asked the children to follow. They crossed one above another in the stream, all holding hands. The father stayed on the south bank of the river and watched them. The youngest boy was downstream, his elder brother farthest upstream, their sister being between them. When they were in the middle of the river, their mother called to them to let go the youngest. They did as directed, the current taking him downstream. At the same time the other two disjoined hands; and immediately the whole group, including the parents, were transformed into stone. The dog-children now form the rocks in the river known as "The Three Sisters." The smallest rock is more detached and farther downstream. The rocks on each side of the river opposite are the Dog and the Woman.

## SHAWNEE FOLK-LORE

BY J. SPENCER

IN the autumn of 1858 I was appointed to the Shawnee Indian Methodist Mission, where I remained for two years. During this time, Charles Bluejacket, my interpreter, a man of consistent piety and of a fine and well-cultivated intellect, frequently talked to me of the ancient customs and manners of his people, and of their former rites and ceremonies. Many of the folk-tales which appear in this paper were told me on these occasions, but a few I have gathered from other trustworthy sources.

## SHAWNEE TRADITION OF THEIR ORIGIN

The Shawnee tradition of the creation and the antediluvian period, as told to me, agrees in all essential points with the Mosaic record. The first real divergence is in connection with the Flood. The tradition gives an account of the white man's great canoe, and of the saving of a white family, just about as the Bible has it; but, in addition, it states that an old Indian woman was also saved. After the Flood she lived in a valley, with a hill intervening between her and her white brother and his family, over which she could see the smoke rise from the white man's wigwam. When the sense of her loneliness and destitution came over her, she began to weep very bitterly. There then appeared a heavenly messenger, and asked her why she was so sorrowful. She told him that the Great Spirit had left her white brother his family, but she was just a poor old woman alone, and that there was to be an end of her people. Then said the visitor, "Remember how the first man was made," and then he left her. From this she knew that a new creation was meant: so she made small images of children from the earth, as directed, as the Great Spirit had made the first man. When, however, she saw that they had no life, she again wept. Again the messenger appeared, and inquired the cause of her grief. She said she had made children from clay, but that they were only dirt. Then said the visitor, "Remember how the Great Spirit did when the first man was made." At once she understood, and breathed into their nostrils, and they all became alive. This was the beginning of the red men. The Shawnees to this day venerate the memory of the one they call their Grandmother as the origin of their race.

*Told by* CHARLES BLUEJACKET.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Charles Bluejacket was born on the Huron River, Michigan, in 1816. He was the son of Jim Bluejacket, a war-chief, and grandson of Wey-zah-pih-ehr-senh-wah, the Bluejacket who had been stolen in his young boyhood from a Virginia family. At the time of capture he wore a blue jacket or blouse, hence the name of the family. He became a

## HOW THE SHAWNEES REACHED THIS CONTINENT

The tribe, in their journeyings, came to a great water. This water, according to one tradition, they crossed on the back of a turtle; but according to another legend, a stranger appeared to them in a boat, and offered to take them across to the other shore. His boat was so small that all at first hesitated to enter it. Finally one stepped into it, and immediately the boat expanded in size. This encouraged others, and at each addition of a passenger the boat continued to grow larger. Finally, when all had entered the boat who wished to, the stranger brought them safely to the hither shore, and then disappeared. From this place they wandered in a southerly direction until they reached the southern part of what is now the United States; hence their name, Shawnee, properly Shawano, commonly interpreted "Southerners."

It is understood that the great water here referred to was far to the north.

## DIVISIONS INTO PHRATRIES

The Shawnees have five divisions, which may be regarded as phratries, or perhaps as originally distinct tribes; and the members of these divisions occupied different sides of the council-house in their public assemblies. They claimed that they could tell to which division any one belonged by his general appearance. In some sense each division maintained its identity. The names of these divisions are Chilacahtha (Chillicothe), Kispokotha (Kispogogi), Spitatha (Mequachake), Bicowetha (Piqua), Hathawekela (meaning uncertain). They claim to be the Elder Brother among the Shawnees, as being the first created of the tribe Piqua. ("Handbook of the American Indians.")

All of these divisions are supposed to have a legendary origin. We give that of the Piqua band as follows:—

In ancient times the Shawnees had occasion to build a large fire; and after it had burned down, a great puffing and blowing was heard, when up rose a man from the ashes: hence the name Piqua, which means "a man coming out of the ashes."

Told by J. B. FINLEY.<sup>1</sup>

famous war-chief. Charles came with his tribe from Ohio to Kansas in 1832. At an early period of his life he embraced Christianity, and ere long became prominent in church affairs. For many years he filled the important position of both church and government interpreter. In 1859 he was licensed to preach by the Methodist Mission Church, and not long after was elected head chief of his tribe. He died at Bluejacket, Oklahoma, Oct. 29, 1897, at the age of eighty-one years. The Bluejackets were members of the Rabbit Clan.

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. James B. Finley was a noted missionary of the Methodist Church among the Wyandots, to which tribe he had been sent by his church in 1821. During his long residence among the Indians he became conversant with other tribes, especially with the Shawnees. The Piqua legend he quotes in his book *Life among the Indians*, from an unpublished manuscript.

## CLANS

Originally the Shawnees were divided into twelve clans: viz., Rabbit, Raccoon, Panther, Turtle, Wolf, Deer, Turkey, Snake, Bear, Wildcat, Eagle, and Owl. All of these clans had a mythological origin; but it would be tedious to give these myths, even if we knew them. We give one, however, taken from Huron Wyandotte Mythology, which will be found to be similar to all others.

## HURON LEGEND OF THE SNAKE CLAN

An old woman and her grand-daughter lived in a lodge in the pine-woods. From the best hunters and greatest warriors of the tribe the young woman had offers of marriage. She was haughty, and would speak to none of her people. These women were of the Deer Clan. So it seems she (the young woman) was wandering about her lodge in the wilderness of the pine-woods. She saw in the distance a fine-looking young man. He approached her with insinuating addresses. She desired him much. He carried her away to his own lodge. They lived there for some time. His mother lived in their lodge.

One day she went into the woods. She left him lying down. She came back to the lodge and looked among the skins where he was lying. There was a great heap of snakes. When she looked again, there was one snake, — a big snake. She cried aloud and was terrified. His mother said to him, "Why did you do this?" (i. e. turn into a snake).

She turned about, and fled for life towards the seacoast. When she reached the coast, she found a man in a canoe, who told her to jump on board. When she had done so, he paddled at lightning speed to the other shore.

When the man and the young woman in the canoe had gone some distance, they heard the snake man coming in pursuit, calling to his wife, and entreating her to return. He came to the water and waded in a way, in his effort to follow her, always crying out to her to return. When the snake man went into the water in pursuit, the Black Cloud rolled across the sky, and Heh-noh slew him with a fiery dart.

The man with whom she embarked conveyed her safely to the other shore. Upon her arrival there, she saw a man, who said, "Follow me." He took her to a medicine-man. Her children were called snakes; and from these is descended the Snake Clan.

An old chief explains that Indians do not believe that they really descended from animals, but that animals are merely regarded as emblems of their clans. These animals are not regarded in any sense as sacred, and were never worshipped by the Shawnees.

*Told by W. C. CONNELLY.<sup>1</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> William E. Connelly, author of *Wyandot Folk-Lore* and other works of value, is

## JOURNEY OF THE SOUL

When a member of the tribe died and was buried, it was the ancient custom to keep a fire burning for three nights at the head of the grave of one just dead. A small opening was made from the mouth of the dead to the surface by inserting a long rod through the newly filled grave, then withdrawing it. Provisions were also kept at the head of the grave for three nights. They explained this custom by saying that it took three days and nights for the spirit to reach the spirit land.

*Told by CHARLES BLUEJACKET.*

## FEASTING THE DEAD

It was a custom to feast the dead to keep off sickness. It was believed that if the dead were neglected, they would become angry and return to earth and afflict their friends with various forms of disease in revenge for the neglect. So strong was the belief in this superstition, that even Christian Indians would sometimes practise it secretly, of course, in times of much sickness. The writer learned that in one instance an official member of his church, because of much sickness in his family, placed food for the dead under a bed in his home, to placate his angry dead relations, whom, according to their ancient belief, he had neglected.

*Told by CHARLES BLUEJACKET.*

## THE GREEN-CORN FESTIVAL

No one was allowed to use any corn, even from his own field, until the proper authority was given. When the corn was sufficiently advanced for use, the one who had the authority fixed the date for the corn feast and dance. On this occasion great quantities of roasting-ears were prepared, and all ate as freely as they desired. After this feast, all could have what they wished from the field. This was probably the most highly esteemed peace festival. Very properly it might be called "the feast of first-fruits." Another feast was held, but probably not so universally, in the fall, — a feast of in-gathering; and another in the spring at planting-time, to secure the favor of the Great Spirit, that they might have a bountiful crop. These were all religious festivals, and were accompanied by chants and dancing.

*Told by CHARLES BLUEJACKET.*

## A RELIGIOUS CUSTOM

Once a year, at stated periods, the women carried wood and made a big fire. At midnight the chief brought out a mysterious bundle and took from it some great long feathers. The men dressed themselves in still a comparatively young man, with a bright literary future. He is a member of the Wyandot tribe by adoption. His home is in Topeka, Kansas.

these (putting them in their hair was the usual custom) and sang. If, while they were singing, they could hear the Mother Spirit sing, that was a sign that the world was not coming to an end that year.

*Told by* NANCY CHOUTEAU.<sup>1</sup>

#### HOW THE WILDCAT GOT ITS SPOTS

A long time ago a Wildcat pursued a Rabbit, and was about to catch him, when the Rabbit ran into a hollow tree. The Wildcat took a position in front of the entrance, and told the Rabbit that he would remain there until the Rabbit, from hunger, would be compelled to come out; that he need not think of escape. After a time the Rabbit said he would come out and let the Wildcat make a meal of him on one condition, and that was that the Wildcat should make a fire in front of the tree, saying, that, as soon as a bed of coals sufficient to roast him had been prepared, he would come out and be roasted; that he did not want to be eaten raw.

The Wildcat built the fire as directed; and when the sticks were burned to coals, he settled himself on his haunches and notified the Rabbit that all was ready, whereat the Rabbit gave a spring, striking all his feet into the coals, knocking them into the face and over the breast of the Wildcat, and then escaping. This burned the hair in spots in the cat's breast; and when it grew out again, it was white. This is why the wildcat has white spots on its breast.

This story was told by a member of the Rabbit Clan as a good joke on the Wildcat Clan.

*Told by* CHARLES BLUEJACKET.

#### WHY THE DEER HAS A SHORT TAIL

Once there was a brother and sister who lived alone in their lodge. The brother said one morning, "I want to hunt, for we must have some meat." He put some water in a shell in a corner of the lodge, and told his sister not to drink it, for, if he were killed while out hunting, the water would turn red, and thus give her warning. Then, telling her not to parch the little ears of corn, he went off into the forest.

After her brother had gone away, she began to think, "What is the mystery about this corn, that I should not pop it? But I am going to see." So after a while she got down the little ears of corn, and shelled the kernels off the cob, and began to pop the corn. It popped, and the little grains became large and white, and smelled good. She popped and popped; and the little lodge became fuller and fuller of the white corn, until finally, when it was all popped, she was crowded back against the wall. Then she heard the deer coming, for they smelled the corn. They

<sup>1</sup> Nancy Chouteau was born in Wapakoneta, Auglaize County, Ohio, in 1831. Her father, John Frances, was an hereditary chief. She is still in excellent health, and resides with a daughter in Kansas City, Missouri.

crowded up to the door and began to eat. More deer came, little and big; and they ate and ate, and finally they had eaten all the corn. Then they looked around to see if there was anything else they could eat. She had hidden under a skin in a corner; but they saw the skin move, and they told her to come out, and then they put her on the antlers of the big deer. Then they all went off together, the big deer first, they following.

When the brother came back, he saw what his sister had done, and he called up everything; and two big black snakes came to help him find his sister. He said, "Put your teeth together, and help me find my sister." They did so, and carried him fast to find his sister. They were the evil spirits. They knew the way the deer went, and followed all day and all night, and the next day they saw the deer. When the deer saw the pursuit, they all gave up and stuck their heads in the ground, and the brother overtook them and got his sister. He then kicked the tails off of the deer and made them short. This was the punishment they received.

Because his sister had disobeyed him, he painted her legs red; and she turned into a duck and went and swam in the creek. He himself turned into a wolf and went off hunting. They never turned back into people again.

*Told by* MRS. J. A. STINSON.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE SERPENT TRADITION

Our old men (meaning the elders and wise men in the far remote past) used to tell our people that a great serpent would come from the seas and destroy our people. When the first European vessel came in sight, the Indians saw the pennant, with its forked end darting and moving like the forked tongue of the serpent. "There," said they, "is the serpent our old men have been telling us about!"

When the old men first tasted rum, tears ran down their cheeks. "This," they said, "is what will destroy our young men."

*Told by* CHARLES BLUEJACKET.

#### LEGEND OF GREED

The white man asked us for a small piece of land, — a piece that a string cut from a buffalo-hide would reach around. We told him, "Certainly, we will gladly make you so small a grant as that!" whereat the white man began to cut a very small strip from the edge of the hide, cutting around it. This he kept on doing, going round and round, until the hide was all converted into a very long string that surrounded a large piece of land.

*Told by* CHARLES BLUEJACKET.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Julia A. Stinson is a greatly respected member of the Shawnee tribe, a member of one of the head families of her people.



## WITCHCRAFT

The belief in witchcraft was universal among the Indians. If a person became sick of some disease out of the ordinary, or if the disease did not yield to the treatment of the medicine-man, the conclusion was frequently arrived at that the patient was bewitched; and the supposed witch must be put to death, else the sick person would not recover.

A case that occurred many years ago among the Shawnees will illustrate this. A man was sick with what was supposed to be consumption; and the famous prophet, brother of Tecumseh, was called to treat the patient. He soon pronounced it a case of witchcraft, and so reported to the council of chiefs and head men, who, on the evidence of this magician, found the wife of the sick man guilty of witchcraft, and condemned her to death. It was with great difficulty that her friends, after offering to die in her place even, were able to save the woman's life. These medicine-men and witch doctors exercised in the long ago great influence among their people, who held them in great respect and awe. In fact, they exerted more influence than any other class, not excepting the chiefs and other head men.

*Told by* HENRY HARVEY.<sup>1</sup>

## LEGENDARY ORIGIN OF THE KICKAPOOS

In the early days ten Shawnees went on a bear-hunt, and were gone many days. When the hunt was finished, they made, as was their custom, a bear's-foot feast. With the Indian the bear's feet, and especially the fore-feet, are a great delicacy. When Indians went on a hunt, the feet of the bears killed were carefully saved for the feast at the termination of the hunt. On the occasion of which I am telling, the feet, as was the custom, were put in a kettle and hung over the fire to cook. It took quite a time for them to cook, as it does hogs' feet. While they were cooking, the hunters lay down to sleep, — three on one side of the fire, and seven on the other. Some time in the night one of the seven men awoke and examined the feet to see if they were cooked enough to eat, but, finding they were not, lay down again and went to sleep. After some time one of the three awoke and examined the feet to see if they were sufficiently done; and he found that they were. He roused his two companions, and they ate all they wanted, and again lay down and went to sleep. Not long after that, one of the seven examined the feet; and when he found them ready to be eaten, he woke his friends, and then the three on the opposite side of the fire, and told them to get up and they would have their feast. The three told them they had had what they wanted, and that the seven could have what was left. So they began to eat, but soon discovered that their companions had eaten the fore-feet,

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Shawnees*, p. 169. Henry Harvey is a Quaker missionary to the Shawnees.

and had left only the small hind-feet for them. This made the seven so angry that they drove the others from camp, forbidding them ever to return to the Shawnee tribe. So they went off for themselves, and from them originated the Kickapoo tribe.

*Told by LENEXA.<sup>1</sup>*

#### SONGS AND MUSIC

The Indian songs, for the most part, are improvised for the occasion. Funeral songs consist of recitations of the virtues and good acts of the deceased. War songs consist of a recount of great feats done in battle. It is claimed by some that there are religious songs of a much higher order, that have been so closely guarded that no white man has ever come in possession of any of them; but of this there is no certainty.

Their music consists usually of a low guttural chant, accompanied by a rude drum.

SLATER, MO.

<sup>1</sup> Lenexa was the second wife of Head-Chief Blackhoof, and one of the prominent women of her tribe, and a prominent member also of the Methodist Mission Church.

## BALLAD-SINGING IN NOVA SCOTIA

BY W. ROY MACKENZIE

[Mr. Mackenzie has noted down the following facts and observations at my request. They are not only interesting in themselves, but they make up an important document as to ballad tradition in general. The conditions in Nova Scotia have been such as to render the evidence which he has collected highly typical. Several processes which we are often obliged to infer or to conjecture with respect to the course of tradition through long periods of time, have there gone on with such rapidity that their history may be followed by means of the recollection of living persons. No student of the popular ballad can fail to see the large significance of Mr. Mackenzie's notes. — G. L. KITTREDGE.]

THE north-shore counties of Nova Scotia have been, until recently, a peculiarly rich field for the ballad-seeker. Unfortunately, most of my seeking has been done recently, but, even so, I have found a few old men and women who still sing the ballads that were current in their youth, and who, in their attitude of mind as well as in their accurate memories of the old days, still represent the traditions of an elder time.

Summer before last I ran across a Mr. Henderson who, by his own account and by that of his neighbors, had been a famous ballad-singer in his day. Though he has been living now for several years in Tata-magouche, Colchester County, he was brought up in the West River district, Pictou County, which was settled, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, by Highland and Lowland Scotch. He is now over eighty years old, and during his youth ballad-singing was a well-known and recognized form of entertainment throughout the country districts of Pictou County.

One day, when Mr. Henderson was vainly attempting to recall the words of a song which had been popular in his youth, he apologized to me for his present lack of memory, and, as an offset, explained that he had once had a better memory for ballads than any other man in the West River district. To prove this he went on to describe a signal victory which he had once gained in a big ballad contest.

Pictou town is placed on the seacoast almost directly opposite Charlottetown, the capital of Prince Edward Island, and, "in the old days," practically all the travelling between the two provinces was by way of Pictou. One winter, when Mr. Henderson was a young man and was still living at the West River, he drove to Pictou to take the boat for Charlottetown. A storm came up which made it impossible for the boat to leave at the regular time, so Mr. Henderson spent the night at an inn along with several other people who had driven in from the country on the same errand. After supper the company gathered in the big living-room, and one of them proposed a ballad-contest, or "sing-ing-match." (The word "ballad" was apparently very seldom used.)

This was to last all night if necessary, and if it did, so much the better. Every one assented eagerly and the contest began, one singer "matching" another until long after midnight, when all were "sung out" except Mr. Henderson and another man whose name he did not know. The unknown held out for some time longer, but finally had to admit that he was beaten, whereupon Mr. Henderson exclaimed, with a fine assumption of surprise and disappointment, "What, man? Don't say ye're through already! I hae fifty more on the tip o' me tongue."

This is the story as I received it — though in less picturesque language — and the old man during the narration showed a fire of enthusiasm which made it quite clear to me that the supremacy thus gained was one not to be lightly esteemed. Indeed, I have more than once, in my conversations with old men and women throughout Pictou and Colchester, been assured that the man who, forty or fifty years ago, had the biggest stock of "old songs" in his district was to be regarded with a good deal of veneration.

The West River district, which I have mentioned several times, is one of the Scotch settlements that were opened up during the latter half of the eighteenth century.<sup>1</sup> To this district Mr. Henderson's parents came about 1820. According to his account, they brought from Scotland a collection of broadsides which they prized very highly, and were in constant receipt of newly-printed broadsides from the old country. Also, they "kept the office" at the West River (which meant simply that the mails were brought to their house for distribution), and Mr. Henderson remembers that ballad sheets were continually arriving from Scotland, for people throughout the district, and that they were always hailed with joy. I am taking West River as the typical Scotch settlement, which it was; so it may be seen that, what with the ballads brought out in the memories of the emigrants and in broadside form — which were continually added to by newly-printed broadsides from Scotland — the north-shore settlers of Nova Scotia, during the early years of the nineteenth century, were fairly familiar with ballad-music.

It will seem strange, then, when I go on to say that one may now travel these districts from side to side and find scarcely a man or woman of Scotch blood who has even a speaking acquaintance with the ballad. The usual reason given is, of course, that ballad-singing as an active form of entertainment has been shamed out of existence by more up-to-date music and forms of amusement. For my particular field, how-

<sup>1</sup> The historical events mentioned in this sketch are treated more specifically by the Rev. George Patterson, D.D., in his *History of the County of Pictou*, Montreal, 1877. In my treatment of the French element in the population, I have not agreed entirely with Dr. Patterson's account; but the French settlements belong mainly to the neighboring county of Colchester and to the extreme western part of Pictou County, and therefore are not treated with special care in the work mentioned. For the history of the Scotch settlements in the eastern part of Pictou County Dr. Patterson's work is authoritative.

ever, this explanation is not enough. I have visited many sections which have not yet been changed by the uplifting influence of modern songs and latter-day amusements, and even here the most cheering answer I could receive, except in rare instances, would be, "Ach, yes! Me feyther knowed some o' yon songs, but he never sung them unless he was feelin' guid." Now, this state of "feelin' guid" is very far removed from the Scotchman's ideal state of ethical goodness. The phrase, in fact, savors unmistakably of alcohol, and is about the strongest one employed by these people to denote a state of boisterous hilarity, a very rare condition with the self-respecting Scot.

In short, the explanation that I have been leading up to is, that the fanatical religious feeling of the Scotch<sup>1</sup> is largely responsible for the decay of ballad-singing among them. The first settlers who came out, during the last part of the eighteenth century and the first of the nineteenth, were not deeply religious: on the contrary, they were for the most part — and this applies especially to the Highlanders — an active, roystering class of men, who cheerfully travelled miles to congregate for an evening's revelry, and drank gallons of Jamaica rum at a barn-raising. Later on, when preaching became the regular thing throughout the country districts, they became as a class fanatically religious, and the ballads, now regarded as profane and immoral, gave place to the Psalms of David. William MacKay, a resident of Lime Rock, Pictou County, told me that his father, though possessed of a long list of ballads which he had learned in his youth, would neither sing them himself nor allow them to be sung in his house, and, furthermore, had warned his children against polluting their mouths with such profane music. Of course no district was entirely free from unregenerate Scots, who, when they combined a distaste for religion with a taste for music, still kept alive a few of the old songs.

What I have just said applies mainly to the purely Scotch districts, set back from the seacoast. In the settlements directly on the coast the history of the ballad is somewhat different, and is affected by an influence that I have not mentioned before, namely, that of the French-Swiss emigrants who came to Nova Scotia some few years after the first Scotch settlements were made. These were formerly French Huguenots who went from their own land to Switzerland, and afterwards migrated to Nova Scotia, taking up land along the north shore near the settlements made by the Scotch. A few years later we find communities, along the coast, of Scotch and French-Swiss together. The latter usually refer to themselves as Swiss, so I adopt the rather clumsy term, French-Swiss, by way of compromise. The language they spoke was a dialect of French. They are notably a music-loving people, and in a

<sup>1</sup> It must be understood that when I use the word "Scotch," I apply it only to the descendants of Scotch settlers in Nova Scotia.

great many cases they acquired ballads from their Scotch neighbors, and retained them, while the Scotch abandoned them altogether.

Of course this did not all happen on a summer's day. The French-Swiss had their own language, which was not English, and it was reserved for their children, who acquired the English language, and dropped their own, to set in motion the shifting process that I have mentioned. This race has always been socially inferior to the Scotch element, and it was as servants in the houses and on the farms of the latter that the second generation of the French-Swiss learned many of the ballads which were in vogue with their masters. An old man of this nationality, Edward, or rather "Old Ned" Langille, of River John, Pictou County, told me that his father — who was a son of one of the first settlers — had been a famous ballad-singer, and had learned most of his songs while in the employ of a Scotch family. Old Ned himself retained many of these ballads, and was always very eager to sing them up to the day of his death, which came two summers ago, and was apparently hastened by a resolution which I had made in the spring to get his entire stock of ballads during the summer. He had followed the example of his father in shunning the alphabet, so that the ballads, in this case, were purely a matter of oral tradition. Some few ballads well worth the saving have, I fear, gone down to the grave with him.

In these mixed settlements, then, there is an additional reason why ballad-singing was dropped by the Scotch. The French-Swiss learned the ballads so eagerly and sang them so often that they soon had a monopoly of this kind of music, since the Scotch began to regard as beneath their dignity a form of amusement regularly practised by their servants.

Of course one cannot discuss the decline of ballad-singing in any district without taking into account the influence which I mentioned at the beginning of my sketch, that is, the influx of up-to-date songs and of up-to-date amusements in general. I have a very good illustration of this influence in the case of Mr. Henderson himself, who, without despising the ballad either from a religious or a social point of view, has nevertheless allowed his ancient store of ballads to slip gradually away from him. He moved from the West River to Tatamagouche when he was between forty and fifty years old, and since that time has taken a fairly prominent part in the village life at Tatamagouche. Possessed of a good voice and a fondness for performing at the little social entertainments and local concerts of the village, he soon outgrew such an antiquated practice as ballad-singing, and the few ballads that he can still sing he has retained almost by accident. "The Blae-berry Courtship," for instance, a rather long ballad which I got from him last summer, he remembered, as he told me, because an old friend of his — a woman living at the West River — had been very fond of

it, and had always asked him to sing it for her on his visits to his old home.

Living a mile or so outside of Tatamagouche is an old man of French-Swiss descent, Robert Langille, who has been a ballad-singer all his life. Last summer, though he was eighty-six years old, he still sang with unabated energy, and remembered perfectly many of the old songs which had been current in his neighborhood when he was a boy, and which he had had special opportunities of learning, since he was one of the old race of cobblers who went from house to house to do their work. He has taken no active part in the life of the community, and has lived now for years in a quiet spot outside the village with his two sisters. To these three old people ballad-singing is still a live form of entertainment, and "Old Bob" has always had the most appreciative kind of audience in his own household. Here, then, living within two miles of each other, we have two types that are specially interesting in the present history of the ballad, — the singer who has outgrown the ballad, and the singer to whom the old songs are forever young.

But the broadsides, where are they? I have asked this question so often that it looks back at me now from the sheet like an old friend. Mr. Henderson must again adorn my tale. In his home there was an unusual collection of broadsides, but to-day he cannot account for one of them, nor does he regret the fact. Indeed, why should he? I have said that these broadsides were greatly prized by the Henderson family, but that was in the days when it meant something to know more ballads than your neighbor. The housemaids were finding a real and practical use for the Percy Manuscript when it was taken from them, and the old ballad-sheets were in at least as convenient a form for household use as the Percy Manuscript.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

ADDITIONAL CATCH-WORDS. — In a previous compilation of mythological catch-words "already suggested,"<sup>1</sup> I confined my attention almost exclusively to those intended to designate North American motives. In the following list I include a number of terms used by Mr. Joseph Jacobs,<sup>2</sup> Miss M. R. Cox,<sup>3</sup> and Andrew Lang,<sup>4</sup> translations or equivalents of designations employed by Frobenius<sup>5</sup> and Stucken,<sup>6</sup> and several new catch-words proposed by the writer.

*Jacobs*

*Advice disobeyed.*

*Confused identity.*

*Grateful animals.*

*Magic bean-stalk.* Applicable to any magically rising resting-place transporting the hero to an upper world.

*Resuscitation.*

*Thyestian dish.* A character is served with the flesh of his relatives.

*Fecjojum* (Frobenius's Menschenwitterung). The ogre scents the presence of a human being.

*Cox*

*False or substituted bride.*

*Revivified bones.*

*Villain Nemesis.*

*Menial hero, or heroine.*

*Counter-tasks.* The tester is himself subjected to trials.

*Eating-taboo.*

*Lang*

*Nuptial taboo.* The hero is enjoined from intercourse with his wife for a limited period of time.

*Skin-shifter.* The hero, by donning and doffing an animal skin, assumes and discards the character of the animal.

*Frobenius*

*All-devourer* (All-Verschlingen). The monster has swallowed *all* the people. They are subsequently rescued by the hero.

*Hydra* (Drachenköpfe).

*Tell-tale hand-mark* (Handabdruck). A clandestine lover is identified by the mark made on his robe or skin by his mistress's hands.

*Arion.* The hero is borne home on a water-animal's back.

*Land-angler* (Landangelmythen). The hero (Maui), throwing out his fish-hook, captures a whale, from which the earth develops.

<sup>1</sup> "Catch-Words for Mythological Motives," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1908, vol. xxi, pp. 24-27.

<sup>2</sup> The International Folk-Lore Congress, 1891, "Papers and Transactions," London, 1892, pp. 87-98.

<sup>3</sup> Marion Roalfe Cox, "Cinderella," London, 1893.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction to "The Most Pleasant and Delectable Tale of the Marriage of Cupid and Psyche," London, 1887.

<sup>5</sup> Leo Frobenius, "Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes," Berlin, 1904.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Stucken, "Astralmythen," Leipzig, 1896-1907.



*Polycrates.* A fish swallows a ring or gem which is ultimately recovered.

*World-parents* (Welteltern). Earth and sky, the parents of the world, are originally joined as mates; they are separated.

*Sham doctor* (Trugheilung). The hero, in the guise of a physician, kills the injured enemy.

*Old-woman ally* (Hilfsalte).

*Hot-rock missile* (Glutstein). The monster is killed with a heated rock.

*Eye-opening injunction* (Augenöffnungsverbot).

### Stucken

*Pandora's casket.*

*Lemnos.* All the women live segregated from the men (Blackfoot).

### Newly proposed

*Star-husband.*

*Trickster's handicap.* The trickster who has obtained food by his cunning, stakes it on his winning a race against an apparently inferior opponent (*Hare and Tortoise* type). In order to equalize the chances, he weights one of his legs and loses the race.

*Guardian buttocks.*

*Lecherous father.* Coyote and his daughters.

*Disguised flayer.* The flayer disguises himself in his victim's skin.

*Piqued buffalo-wife.* A buffalo-cow married by an Indian is offended by his (or her rival's) actions, and departs with her child for the buffalo-camp, where the pursuing husband is subjected to tests.

In a recent contribution to the *Journal*, Professor Kroeber comments on several of the catch-words suggested by the writer.<sup>1</sup> I gladly acknowledge the justice of his criticisms, with, however, two exceptions. A catch-word *must* be brief, it *ought* to be self-explanatory; and it is desirable that motives varying from the norm, but obviously related in essence, be designated by a relatively slight modification of the *terminus technicus*. *Old Man of the Sea* is long, and requires reference to Sinbad for perfect clearness, which would render the phrase altogether too cumbersome. *Burr-woman* is not only short and unequivocal, but admits of a change to *Burr-man* or *Burr-rock*. As for *Invisible missile*, I admit that the term is not wholly unambiguous, but believe its brevity adequately compensates for the deficiency, in view of the fact that the "much more common shamanistic belief" referred to by Professor Kroeber is not so common as the crucial point on which a story of comparative interest hinges.

Robert H. Lowie.

NEW YORK CITY.

A TEWA SUN MYTH. — The following myth was given me by Clara True, white teacher at Santa Clara pueblo, N. Mex., and was obtained by her from José de Jesus Narangho, and again from Francesco Narangho.<sup>2</sup>

Montezuma, the Sue-Boy, had for his mother a poor and despised Indian girl. Every fall the people of the pueblo went to the mountains to gather

<sup>1</sup> "Catch-Words in American Mythology," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1908, vol. xxi, pp. 222-227.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards governor of the pueblo.

piñon nuts. The girl and her grandmother lagged behind, knowing that they were not welcome among the others. One day, as they travelled, a beautiful vision appeared before the girl, and asked, —

"Why do you make this journey?"

"To gather piñons," she replied.

He gave her a nut, saying, "Here is a piñon worth all the rest."

She took it and swallowed it whole.

"Do not go to the mountains. Turn about and go home," said he.

They did so; and when they arrived at the house, they found it full of new, strange, white-people's food and furniture. From that time all their wants were miraculously supplied, to the great amazement of their neighbors.

In time a baby was born to the girl, — Montezuma, the Sun-Boy. The people paid little attention to the lad; but before he was twelve years old he had developed great skill — supernatural skill — with his bow; and he was always better dressed and better fed than the others. The men called him to their council meeting, and questioned him about it. He said he did not know whence he got either the food and clothing or the unusual power.

"If you have the power in yourself, perform us a miracle," they said; "bring the buffalo."

"Buffalo will be here to-morrow," he replied.

The people stationed their best hunters at the four corners of the pueblo with bows and arrows. Montezuma stood on the house-top. Just as the sun came over the hilltops, the sunrise was "dirty with buffalo."

The buffalo rushed onward and trampled to death the men stationed to kill them. Regarding this as a punishment for their unbelief in Montezuma, the people elected him chief.

That was in an old pueblo where Ojo Caliente now stands.

Montezuma's rule was so wise that Santa Clara, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Nambé, and Pojoaque put themselves under his dominion. Under him they became rich and powerful.

But at last he began to prophesy changes, — the coming of new, noisy conveyances, and of a strange, all-conquering race. The Indians would be subdued by a people coming from the south.

"We will resist them," said the people. "Give us your help to drive them back."

"If you can stand the test I will prepare for you, I will consent to your meeting them with force," said he.

The test took place at San Juan. He gathered all the principal men about him. Then he disappeared. Presently he reappeared, coming through the trap-door in the roof, strangely garbed, booted, and spurred (like a Spanish cavalier). With him came an assemblage of attendants, similarly dressed; and following these came a company of beautiful women, in queer, gay attire. At sight of all this, the Indians were so terrified that they fell over each other in trying to escape from the house.

Then Montezuma came again in his own person.

"I knew beforehand," he said, "that you could not endure the test. If you are so terrified by the mere vision of the conquerors, what will you be by the reality?"

"I must leave you now," said he, "to seek a people greater in strength and numbers. Endure all things, and keep the peace. You will have a long period

of trouble and persecution; then will come peace and prosperity. Some time during the latter period I will return."

He went south, taking with him a wife. As they journeyed, the woman was playing with two pebbles, tossing them up and catching them. Near the boundary of Old Mexico, on the Rio Grande, the pebbles went up, and came down huge boulders. They are there yet.

In the south he ruled over a more powerful people, and now and then the Pueblo people used to hear of his greatness. But at last the Spaniards invaded his domain, and though he met them in person, he could not withstand them. They pressed him so closely that he jumped into a lake and escaped through one of its subterranean passages. No one knows where he went; but he will come again, as he said he would. This is the time of peace of which he told them, and he may soon be here.

Miss True told Francesco that Montezuma had been killed by the Spaniards; and he became greatly disturbed, pacing the floor, rubbing his hair, and vehemently declaring, "It's a lie, a d—d Mexican lie! . . . If you don't believe this story, I can show you the big rocks on the Mexican border. I have seen them many times."

*Clara Kern Bayliss.*

MACOMB, ILL.

A KWAKIUTL FRAGMENT. — Klalis (Whale-on-the-Beach), living near Puget Sound, gave me the following about the thunder-bird.

A man Thunder-Bird, ancestor of all the Thunder-Birds and of the Indian gens of that name, lived on a mountain on the shore of the Sound. When he pulled down the visor of his cap, it became a beak, and he was a bird. When he pushed up the beak, it became a visor, and he was a man. It thundered and lightened all the time in those days, and the people were much oppressed by it.

But the Thunder-Man had children, and he began to fear that they might fall off the mountain and be killed. So he changed his family into birds, and they flew down to the valley to live.

He and one of his sons flew across the Inlet to fish for salmon. The fishing was poor. A man living on that side of the Inlet came to him, and said, — "What are you doing here? This is my land."

"It is my land, too," said the Thunder-Man.

"You cannot live here," said the man.

"Where shall I go?" asked the Thunder-Man.

"Go up the river, where the fishing is good."

So the Thunder-Man got a canoe and took all his family and his goods up the river; and there he lived, and became the progenitor of the Thunder-Bird gens of Indians. But he sent two of his children back to live on the mountain-peak, telling them never to make thunder except when some of that gens was dying.

Since that time it seldom thunders and lightens around Puget Sound; but whenever it does, one of the Thunder-Bird family dies. And if any one looks up into the sky when it is thundering, he will die.<sup>1</sup>

*Clara Kern Bayliss.*

MACOMB, ILL.

<sup>1</sup> This is the tradition of one of the Ninkish clans. — ED.

PRIMITIVE WARFARE AMONG THE NATIVES OF WESTERN ALASKA. — Before the coming of the Russians, the natives of the Kadiak, Shumagin, and Unalaska Islands were at war with one another. Between the Kadiaks and the inhabitants of the two other groups there existed a very bitter feeling of hatred, which has not yet died out entirely. In the early Russian times several white men brought a party of Unalaskans to hunt at Kadiak; but at sight of them the natives of that island became so indignant and enraged that it was thought best not to land the imported hunters.

The way the war was carried on may be seen from the accounts of the fights here presented. Bows and arrows (now rarely seen among the Aleuts of the Shumagin and Unalaska Islands), spears, and knives were the weapons employed. Open fighting was avoided as much as possible. There were many causes for war, the chief being booty and women. Judging from the accounts here given, one might be led to believe that victory was always on the side of Unga. Such was probably not the case, since it is well known that the Kadiaks are more warlike than their opponents west of them. All these stories were told to the writer at Unga by the people of that region; and they probably did not think it worth while to tell of their defeats, although, when hard pressed, they did admit that occasionally they were defeated, but they could not recollect the details.

*Unga versus Kadiak.* — When the men went hunting, those who remained in the village kept a lookout for enemies. As it often happens, the guard became careless, especially toward the time of the home-coming of the hunters. On one of these nights a party of Kadiak warriors surprised a village on Unga, killing some of the people, and taking the pretty women captive. Learning that the Unga men were expected back almost any minute, the Kadiak fighters lost no time in departing with their prizes for home. By evening they came as far as Korovin'sky Island, and there camped.

In the mean time the Unga hunters returned, and, on learning the state of affairs, started in pursuit, barely catching sight of the enemy. Landing on another part of Korovin'sky Island, the Unga hunters hauled up their boats and cautiously went to the encampment of the Kadiaks, whom they found singing, dancing, and making love to their captives. When the victors finally fell asleep, the Unga men sneaked to the beach and cut big gashes in the bottoms of the Kadiak bidarkas. At the break of day they gave their war-cry, arousing the sleepy Kadiak braves, who fled helpless to their boats, and were allowed to escape. When they had gone a short distance, and were yet in sight of land, the bidarkas, filled with water, began to sink, taking the warriors with them. Some time later the Unga men went to the defenceless village from which their enemies had come, and destroyed it, sparing the young women only.

*Cross Island.* — Cross Island is a high grass-covered rock of about one hundred yards in circumference, and not much more than seventy-five feet off the eastern side of Unga Island. At the present time it is visited by the Aleuts for the purpose of gathering sea-gull eggs, but formerly they went there for refuge. Whenever the men left Unga for a hunting or warring expedition, and there was danger of attack, the women, children, and other non-combatants would betake themselves to the top of the island. This rock stands straight out of the water, and the only way to reach the top is by a difficult and dangerous climb. Provided with food, and rocks for repelling the enemy, the

besiegers could hold out for a short time at least. The great drawback to the island is its lack of fresh water, necessitating a trip to Unga.

One time when the Unga hunters were away, those on watch espied a fleet of bidarkas coming from Unalaska. Immediately the alarm was given, and the whole population of the village hastened to Cross Island for safety. There they were found by the Unalaskans, who realized that it would not be easy to take the place by storm, and therefore concluded to wait until those on the rock were out of water, when they would be compelled to surrender. These tactics, however, failed; for one old man who was on Cross Island would, during the night, be lowered to the water by the women by means of ropes, and then, quietly swimming over to Unga, would fetch back one or more seal-bladders filled with water. Each day the Unalaskans asked the women to give themselves up and come ashore for fresh water. In reply the besieged opened one of their water-bags and wasted its contents, to show that they had water to spare and to mock those on shore.

Several days passed in this manner until the Unalaskans, losing patience and fearing the return of the Unga men, resolved to take the place by assault. From driftwood they formed shields to protect their heads from the rocks, and crossed over to the island. The old man of whom mention was made, when he saw what was going on, left instructions with the women how to meet the attack; while he went over to Unga, taking with him, concealed under his parka, a bow and arrows and other weapons. The Unalaskans were too busy to pay any attention to him, except to tell him that they would look after him on their return.

Notwithstanding their shields, many of those who attempted to reach the top were injured by the rocks thrown on them. As they were nearing their goal, the women and children rolled heavy stones in their path, knocking the men off their feet to the rocks below. The attack was a failure. Those who were uninjured and able started back for the Unga shore to their boats. But this the old man prevented by shooting at them his bows and arrows, killing some, and keeping the others out in the water until they were drowned. In this way the whole party of Unalaskans were killed.

*Pirate Cove.* — Pirate Cove, on Popof Island, although one of the smallest, is probably the safest harbor in the Shumagin Islands. It was so named by white men on account of the large quantities of human bones found there. Before the coming of the Russians, its banks were inhabited by a numerous and warlike people. The speed of their boats, their skill in fighting, and their cruelty, made them the terror of the surrounding villages, particularly those of the mainland. Woe to the bidarka which came within their reach! They did not always wait for the enemy to come to them, but would attack him at his home, killing the men and taking the women prisoners. They did not come out of these fights uninjured, yet, on the whole, they had the better of it. Their arrogance and cruelty increased with their success, and the people of the neighboring villages determined to unite in self-defence.

As usually happens in such cases, their victories made the Pirate Cove Aleuts careless and less cautious. One night a large party of warriors, chiefly from what is now known as Chicago Bay, surprised the village while the inmates were asleep in their huts, and surrounded each barabara without a struggle. Those who tried to get out through the hole in the roof were knocked in the head and forced back. Gathering dry grass and setting it on fire, the

[illegible][illegible]

1. The first step in the process is to identify the problem or issue that needs to be addressed. This involves gathering information and understanding the context of the problem.

2. Once the problem is identified, the next step is to define the objectives and goals of the project. This helps to clarify what needs to be achieved and provides a clear direction for the team.

3. The third step is to develop a plan or strategy to address the problem. This involves breaking down the problem into smaller, manageable tasks and determining the resources needed to complete them.

4. The fourth step is to implement the plan. This involves putting the strategy into action and monitoring progress to ensure that the project is on track.

5. The final step is to evaluate the results of the project. This involves assessing the outcomes against the objectives and goals to determine the effectiveness of the intervention.

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 the paper discusses the journal's commitment to
 transparency and accountability, emphasizing the need for
 open access and the sharing of research data. The fifth
 part of the paper discusses the journal's commitment to
 the future of management education, highlighting the
 need for innovation and the development of new
 research paradigms. The final part of the paper
 discusses the journal's commitment to the management
 education community, highlighting the need for
 collaboration and the sharing of resources.

The following table shows the results of the regression analysis for the dependent variable "Number of children in the household" (N = 1,000). The independent variables are "Age of the head of household" and "Gender of the head of household". The table includes the coefficient estimates, standard errors, t-statistics, and p-values for each variable.

Variable	Coefficient	Standard Error	t-statistic	p-value
Age of the head of household	0.001	0.000	1.2	0.23
Gender of the head of household (Male = 1, Female = 0)	-0.05	0.02	-2.5	0.01
Constant	1.5	0.1	15.0	0.00

The regression results indicate that the number of children in the household is positively related to the age of the head of household, but the relationship is not statistically significant at the 5% level (p = 0.23). The gender of the head of household is negatively related to the number of children in the household, and this relationship is statistically significant at the 5% level (p = 0.01). The constant term is positive and statistically significant (p = 0.00).

[illegible]

She had not been long at home when the Copper-Islanders decided to give a "play," as was the custom. To this celebration the people of Bering and Rat Islands were invited. These plays were held in a large barabara built for this particular purpose. When all were assembled, the villages took turns in dancing and singing. As a rule, the songs were improvised on the spur of the moment, and consisted chiefly of a sing-song recital, illustrated by gestures, of the important happenings in that particular village since the last "play." The Bering-Islanders sang of the loss of their man, and the sorrow it caused to his relatives, especially his wife. She was present and listened; and when she could restrain herself no longer, she, loosening her hair, rushed into the middle of the hall, and began to sing. With the help of her gestures, she sang and acted the whole tragic drama, — the invitation, the berry-picking, the murder, the disposition of the corpse, — leaving out nothing, and concluding by giving the reasons for the deed and her bitter disappointment.

The chiefs at once sent several men to Bering Island, who returned with the head of the murdered man, found where she had described. Her guilt being certain, the married men and women gathered again in the dance-hall to deal with the murderess. The head was placed in the centre, and around it the guilty woman danced, sang, and acted her degenerate story from beginning to end. When she had finished, the men undressed her completely, and tied her to a post near to the dead head, which faced her. Then they began to kill her slowly, first cutting off her breasts; and in the same deliberate and cruel manner they proceeded to cut off other parts of the body, especially the more sensitive. Every piece of flesh cut off was placed on the head of the man. It is said that she lived even after her intestines were removed, and until her heart was touched. While she was being unmercifully butchered, not a tear or complaint escaped her. So long as she could sing, she was heard to say, "I killed him for my lover. I lost both of them. Do what you please with me."

*F. A. Golder.*

BOSTON, MASS.

PAPAGO COYOTE TALES. — The following Coyote tales were told by Juan Dolores.

*Coyote.* — Tsi'ihö came out after the Flood before Coyote, and is therefore the older brother of Coyote and the people. When Coyote was young, the people grew jealous of him and tried to kill him. In consequence he went through many dangers, suffered heat and cold, hunger and thirst, but finally married. He then retired from activity and took up his abode in a beautiful spot in the east. His experiences and escapes gave Coyote wisdom and knowledge, and many people came to him for advice and information about the future. From these people he received presents when they profited from his instruction. Thus he lived at ease with his wife and son.

This son Coyote brought up carefully, attempting to prepare him for the difficulties of his life. But the young Coyote never grew wise or brave, nor was he a good hunter. His only good features were that he was handsome and a good runner. But he thought himself wise, refused to listen to his father any longer, and would not believe what the people told who visited his father. Life soon became too commonplace for him, and he decided to visit the four corners of the earth.

So the young Coyote left home and went among strange people. His appearance and his father's name won him friendship; but he was foolish and unhandy, and soon found himself in trouble. Ashamed, he went elsewhere. But wherever he came, he lost the friendship of the people through some foolishness of his own, and was compelled to go on. After many exciting dangers, he returned home no wiser than he had started out. Tear-marks were under his eyes, and his tail hung low. His whole appearance showed that he had been having hard times. His house was empty, and no one could tell him where his family was gone. He nosed along the road from village to village, looking for them. At last, hungry and thirsty and in sorrow, he lay down in the shade to review his past life.

From beginning to end everything had been hard. Everywhere he had met misfortune. Looking into the future, he saw his dead body lying by the road. The birds were eating his flesh, and there was no one to mourn for him. As he lay thus, thinking he was about to die, a new thought came to him. He remembered many a sweet piece of meat hung within his reach in the villages near by. To steal was the precious thought. Once more Coyote braced himself, and determined to try this new way of living. That night he stole the meat of his neighbors; and to-day he goes from village to village, stealing, and living much easier than when he used to hunt deer from morning till night.

*Some of Coyote's Adventures.* — A short time after Coyote married, he became careless about his appearance, and grew sleepy, lazy, and indifferent. There came a time when he had to provide for four children. To hunt deer was hard work, so he and his wife went about visiting relatives. When they were given food, they always called the children, so that they could eat too. The women said many ugly things about them, and these finally reached the ears of his wife. One night she became enraged at what was told her. She ordered Coyote to hunt. She refused to continue begging, and said, unless he decided to provide for her and the children, she would return to her father. Coyote's pride was touched at being ordered about by a woman, and being spoken to in such harsh terms.

In the morning he went out. He said, "I will not chase deer all day. I will kill birds or little beasts, for any meat is sweet when one is hungry. I will play my tricks and catch game."

He walked along and soon came within sight of a flock of quail. He commenced singing a song something like —

"Little quail, what are you thinking about, flying away so quickly?"

This song he repeated until all but one quail had flown. He stopped singing then, and said, —

"That is good, one is left. I shall catch it and make a meal of it."

He set about his self-imposed task, caught and devoured the bird, well satisfied with a good meal.

For a time he rested, and then went leisurely along until he came to a grassy valley. There he came on a gathering, and sang a song, as follows: —

"Little rats, little rats,  
There you are running,  
One stumbles and falls,  
It is crippled and cannot run."

In this way Coyote is enabled to catch a rat. But not satisfied with one as



a meal, he repeats the luring chant three times more, and each time successfully catches food. On four rats he has fed this time, satisfied his hunger, and goes on.

He leaves the valley and climbs the mountain. There he comes to a cave which is full of flies. He tells them, "Flies, you are making fun of me."

They answer, "No, uncle, we are singing because we are glad to see you. We need some help. Panther comes here to sleep. When he goes to sleep, if any one by accident touches his whiskers, he wakes up, growls, paws over the cave, and kills many of us."

The flies, knowing Coyote, are ready to trick him, and instead of a song of welcome, they hum, and ask Coyote to dance. The dance excites Coyote and makes him dizzy. During the singing and dancing, Coyote is asked continually not to forget to lend his aid in killing Panther. The words fascinate him, and he helps chant the verses.

"Flies, flies,  
Are closing up the cave,  
Closing up the cave.  
Whoever flies out  
Must keep a straight path,  
For the opening is narrowing."

He is unable to distinguish how their numbers lessen, and how, at the end of each rhythmic bar, several flies escape through the narrow opening, until the last one wings his way out, leaving only a little air-hole.

Only when the last fly is gone, and the victim is left alone, does he come face to face with the fact that he has been unaware of all that transpired about him, and that he is inclosed in the cave. He is compelled to wait for Panther, and hopes to be released unharmed on the plea of relationship.

Panther comes. Seeing the cave closed up except for a little air-hole, he looks in and sees Coyote, his uncle, — his mother's brother. Anger overcomes him, and he accuses Coyote of having closed the cave. He roars and paws the ground, and in his rage breaks into the cave, catches Coyote, and is about to kill him. Coyote begs to live a moment longer. He wants to pray to Tsi'ihö to care for his wife and his children. He tells his nephew, —

"Listen until you hear a whistle. Then rush behind the brush and kill me quickly."

Coyote then goes behind a bush, making a pretence of prayer. On his way he catches a ground-squirrel, and carries him to a safe hiding-place. After some moments he buries the squirrel upright in the ground. Coyote then says, "Be quiet, I will return." He runs off, and escapes. The little squirrel remains quiet for some time, then becomes restless and wishes to free himself from the ground. He is unable to effect it himself. In ground-squirrel fashion, he emits his call, which is like a low whistle. This attracts Panther, who follows the sound, and to his astonishment sees the embedded squirrel. He roars, "What are you doing here?" In a feeble trembling voice the squirrel explains. Panther is satisfied, and the squirrel is turned loose.

After all this escapade, Coyote gets thirsty. He looks for water. He comes to a dried-up pond. In a crack in the mud is a cricket singing a song. Coyote thinks the cricket is making fun of him, and decides to look for the little chirper, but it is a vain endeavor. He is about to turn away. This encourages the cricket, which again sings, this time in truth making fun of the trickster.

In one verse he ridicules his eyes because they are all tear-stained. In the second he makes fun of his tail, which is scraggy and turned downward, instead of as in early youth, thick, bushy, and carried erect. Gleefully the cricket continues his song. Coyote, not able to resist the temptation, returns to seek the mocker anew. Again thwarted, he determines not to turn again, but to continue his way into the valley.

He walks along listlessly, and unobservant that it has rained and snowed in the high mountains, and that the water is rushing down into the valley. He walks along drowsily and tired, heedless of the fact that the water is about to overtake him. Suddenly he looks around, and to his consternation sees what is happening. In haste he climbs a tree and sits waiting for the waters to recede. While he is perched there, a Crane flies into a neighboring tree. Gleefully the bird sings, —

“It is going down,  
It is going down,  
It is getting less,  
It is getting less,  
It has gone down.”

To prove that such is the fact, each time that he comes to the word “down,” he stretches out his foot and brings up some mud to show that the water is receding. Coyote repeats the bird’s song, and imitates the action. Having shorter legs, and being in a higher tree, his efforts are of no avail, and he remains treed. When the water is low enough, the Crane steps down and invites his neighbor to do likewise. Unwilling to be taunted, Coyote accepts the invitation. But the water is still high and the current strong, and he is carried along with the stream. He is almost drowned. He calls for help. Out of sheer pity the Crane comes to his rescue and carries him ashore. Coyote thanks him, and explains that the accident is due to the Crane’s having longer legs than he.

Many insincere thanks are spoken by Coyote to his rescuer, and he says, “Since you have saved my life, I will try to do something good for you some of these days.”

*Henriette Rothschild Kroeber.*

TWO SOUTH-AFRICAN TALES. *Tink-Tinkje*.<sup>1</sup> — The birds wanted a king. Men have a king, so have animals, and why should n’t they? All had assembled.

“The Ostrich, because he is the largest,” one called out.

“No, he can’t fly.”

“Eagle, on account of his strength.”

“Not he, he is too ugly.”

“Vulture, because he can fly the highest.”

“No, Vulture is too dirty, his odor is terrible.”

“Peacock, he is so beautiful.”

“His feet are too ugly, and also his voice.”

“Owl, because he can see well.”

“Not Owl, he is ashamed of the light.”

<sup>1</sup> A South-African bird-story, translated from the Dutch. The tink-tinkje is a bird belonging to the Finches. It is commonly known in South Africa as Tink-tinkie, more on account of its chirp than its small size.

And so they got no farther. Then one shouted aloud, "He who can fly the highest will be king." — "Yes, yes!" they all screamed, and at a given signal they all ascended straight up into the sky.

Vulture flew for three whole days without stopping, straight towards the sun. Then he cried aloud, "I am the highest, I am king!" — "T-sie, t-sie, t-sie!" he heard above him. There Tink-tinkje was flying. He had held fast to one of the great wing-feathers of Vulture, and had never been felt, he was so light. "T-sie, t-sie, t-sie! I am the highest, I am king!" piped Tink-tinkje.

Vulture flew for another day, still ascending. "I am highest, I am king!" — "T-sie, t-sie, t-sie! I am the highest, I am king!" Tink-tinkje mocked. There he was again, having crept out from under the wing of Vulture.

Vulture flew on the fifth day straight up in the air. "I am the highest, I am king!" he called. "T-sie, t-sie, t-sie!" piped the little fellow above him. "I am the highest, I am king!"

Vulture was tired, and now flew direct to earth. The other birds were mad through and through. Tink-tinkje must die because he had taken advantage of Vulture's feathers and there hidden himself. All flew after him, and he had to take refuge in a mouse-hole. But how were they to get him out? Some one must stand guard to seize him the moment he put out his head.

"Owl must keep guard, he has the largest eyes, he can see well!" they exclaimed.

Owl went and took up his position before the hole. The sun was warm, and soon Owl became sleepy, and presently he was fast asleep.

Tink-tinkje peeked, saw that Owl was asleep, and, z-zip! away he went. Shortly afterwards the other birds came to see if Tink-tinkje were still in the hole. "T-sie, t-sie, t-sie!" they heard in a tree; and there the little vagabond was sitting.

White-Crow, perfectly disgusted, turned around and exclaimed, "Now, I won't say a single word more!" And from that day to this, White-Crow has never spoken. Even though you strike him, he makes no sound, he utters no cry.

*The Lion and Jackal (a Misplaced Trust).* — Lion had just caught a large Eland which lay dead on the top of a high bank. Lion was thirsty and wanted to go and drink water. "Jackal, look after my Eland, I am going to get a drink. Don't you eat any."

"Very well, Uncle Lion."

Lion went to the river, and Jackal quietly removed a stone on which Lion had to step to reach the bank on his return. After that Jackal and his wife ate heartily of the Eland. Lion returned, but could not scale the bank. "Jackal, help me!" he shouted.

"Yes, Uncle Lion, I will let down a rope, and then you can climb up."

Jackal whispered to his wife, "Give me one of the old thin hide ropes." And then aloud he added, "Wife, give me one of the strong buffalo ropes, so Uncle Lion won't fall."

His wife gave him an old rotten rope. Jackal and his wife first ate ravenously of the meat, then gradually let the rope down. Lion seized it and struggled up. When he neared the brink, Jackal gave the rope a jerk. It broke, and down Lion began to roll, — rolled the whole way down, — and finally lay at the foot, near the river.

Jackal began to beat a dry hide that lay there, as he howled, cried, and

shouted, "Wife, why did you give me such a bad rope, that caused Uncle Lion to fall?"

Lion heard the row, and roared, "Jackal, stop beating your wife! I will hurt you if you don't cease. Help me to climb up!"

"Uncle Lion, I will give you rope." He whispered again to his wife, "Give me one of the old thin hide ropes," and shouted aloud again, "Give me a strong buffalo rope, wife, that will not break again with Lion."

Jackal gave out the rope; and when Lion had nearly reached the top, he cut the rope through. Snap! and Lion began to roll to the bottom. Jackal again beat on the hide, and shouted, "Wife, why did you give me such a rotten rope? Did n't I tell you to give me a strong one?" Lion roared, "Jackal, stop beating your wife at once! Help me instantly, or you will be sorry!"

"Wife," Jackal said aloud, "give me now the strongest rope you have!" and aside to her, "Give me the worst rope of the lot!"

Jackal again let down a rope; but just as Lion reached the top, Jackal gave a strong tug and broke the rope. Poor old Lion rolled down the side of the hill, and lay there roaring from pain. He had been fatally hurt.

Jackal inquired, "Uncle Lion, have you hurt yourself? Have you much pain? Wait a while! I am coming directly to help you." Jackal and his wife slowly walked away.

*James A. Honeÿ.*

## BOOK REVIEWS

ANCIENT TALES AND FOLK-LORE OF JAPAN. By RICHARD GORDON SMITH. 361 pp. London, A. & C. Black, 1908.

Among the early English books on Japan which awoke the consciousness of the West to the existence of a remarkable people was Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan." Those factors in civilization which we have reckoned as among the highest — patriotism, heroism, devotion — were here revealed in a people which we had regarded as barbarous. Since the appearance of this book, hundreds, nay, thousands, of volumes have appeared, treating of every possible phase of Japanese life and history. Even the Yoshiwara has lately been dealt with in a monographic and sumptuous manner.

In the "Ancient Tales and Folk-Lore of Japan," Mr. Smith has given in an attractive way a large number of folk-lore tales, which have a peculiar vividness from the fact that in his extensive travels in Japan the author has gathered these stories from the lips of "the fisher, the farmer, the priest, the doctor, the children, and all others from whom there was a possibility of extracting information." He has pursued his quest in a true collector's spirit, and one can imagine his feelings of exultation in securing new forms of fairy and ghost stories. We are not surprised at this spirit when we learn that he collected and dredged in the Inland Sea for the British Museum, adding by his work many new forms to science. Animated by the collector's spirit, he has brought together a remarkable collection of ghost and love stories, which are presented in such a way that the reader realizes that he has literally been told them by the many persons he encountered in his travels. Through these stories one is brought to realize that high ethical principles are cultivated, virtue is rewarded, heroic deeds, self-sacrifice, and honor are adored, by the people. A Daimyo's treasurer, Fujisuna, in the thirteenth century, lost half a cent in crossing a bridge. The whole village was turned out to find it; and when found, Fujisuna, out of his own pocket, gave thirty dollars for a merrymaking, — a lesson in stern honesty that might impress some of our bank trustees. A man of high rank wishes to marry a fisher-girl, but she protests that one of so lowly an origin should wed one so far above her in the social scale. In the love stories human nature is shown to be the same the world over. In spite of the almost universal belief in ghosts by the people, certain ghost stories are explained in the discovery of a luminous fungus or noise made by rats. A carp gives a lesson in perseverance. Infidelity is regarded as the worst of sins. In "The Spirit of Yenoki" (p. 359) the behavior of wanton girls is rebuked, and virtue is inculcated.

The interest and beauty of these stories are enhanced by the fact that the common people tell them and remember them, and for centuries the memories of virtuous and heroic deeds are kept alive by decorating the tombs or praying and making offerings at the shrines of these noble spirits. There is nothing in our civilization paralleling the adoration the masses in Japan feel for the attributes of the great characters who form their history, and the marvel of it is that the country boy and fisherman have preserved and transmitted these stories from generation to generation. Fancy our surprise to have a wood-cutter tell us a long story of an event that happened in King Alfred's

time! and yet this is precisely what may be met with among the common people of that remarkable country.

The book is interesting throughout. Some of the stories are heartrending, others are delightful, but all breathe the Japanese spirit. The volume is illustrated by colored pictures, and many of these are as weird as the stories they portray.

*Edward S. Morse.*

EACHTRA AN MADRA MAOIL. EACHTRA MACAOIM-AN-IOLAIR. (The Story of the Crop-eared Dog. The Story of Eagle-Boy.) Two Irish Arthurian Romances, edited and translated by R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M. A., F. S. A., London, 1908. (Publications of the Irish Texts Society, vol. x.)

The two romances published in this, the latest volume issued by the Irish Texts Society, are taken from Egerton MS. 128, written in 1748, and now preserved in the British Museum. The editor, very properly disregarding the vagaries of the eighteenth century scribe, has conformed the spelling of his edition to the model of Father Dinneen's Dictionary, calling attention in footnotes or Appendix to numerous cases in which the original MS disagrees with the printed text. Words not found in Dinneen's Dictionary are given in the glossary. The English translation, which faces the Irish text of each page, though not absolutely literal, appears to be sufficiently close for ordinary purposes.

It is to be regretted that the editor did not indicate at least the more important variants in the character and arrangement of the incidents in MSS. other than Egerton 128, several of which are known to exist. Slight differences of this kind are sometimes highly illuminating to the student of folklore, to whom the volume will chiefly appeal.

The stories of the Crop-eared Dog and of Eagle Boy, in their present form, are conventional, long-winded accounts of other-world journeys, enchanted princes, and wicked magicians, intermingled with battles, sieges, and combats galore. Tales are interpolated within tales, and these again in the general thread of the narrative, so that the result is quite bewildering to the reader unacquainted with the methods of the Celtic story-teller. The frequent repetitions and the long strings of alliterative epithets — the latter nearly always an indication of decadence in Celtic romance — also detract considerably from the effectiveness of the stories for the English reader. And yet these fanciful Irish tales have a literary value of their own. In so far as they represent, even remotely, the unconscious art of the fireside narrator, they are worthy to rank as literature in a broader sense than mere conformity to artificial standards could make them.

Although the Egerton MS. is not earlier than the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the stories themselves doubtless belong originally to a much older period. Their immediate connection with the romances of the *matière de Bretagne* cannot with certainty be traced beyond three or four proper names, such as Arthur, Galahad, Lancelot, and Camelot, and perhaps a few stock situations such as that of the maiden held captive by giants and liberated by the hero. A number of motifs, though common to the Irish stories and to the French and English romances of Arthur, are more likely to be derived immediately from Irish tradition than from England or the Continent. For example, the tree and fountain on the Plain of Wonders, Gala-

had's other-world journey to the Dark Island, with its beautiful flora and its fair palace, furnished with abundance of pleasant food, the helpful animal guide, the soporific melody of the Knight of Music, and the wonderful fairy boat owned by the princess of Tir fo Thuinn, though commonplaces of mediæval French and English romance, are also found in Irish tales which certainly antedate the earliest preserved Arthurian stories. In the light of these facts, it seems highly probable that in the stories of the Crop-eared Dog and of Eagle-Boy we have a body of genuine Irish tradition worked over in accordance with the general mediæval tendency to connect all sorts of stories with Arthur and the Round Table. The chief influences in this reworking seem to have been the rambling prose romances recounting the exploits of Galahad, who supplanted Perceval in the thirteenth century. Regarded from this point of view, the stories are of considerable importance, and students are under many obligations to Mr. Macalister for rendering available additional data toward establishing the relation of Celtic to mediæval romance.

*Tom Pecte Cross.*

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY. Edited by FRANZ BOAS. Volume I. FOX TEXTS, by WILLIAM JONES. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1907 [1908]. Pp. 383.

IBID. Volume II. WISHRAM TEXTS, by EDWARD SAPIR, together with WASCO TALES AND MYTHS, collected by JEREMIAH CURTIN and edited by EDWARD SAPIR. Leyden, 1909. Pp. xv, 314.

These two volumes are striking evidence of the new life of the American Ethnological Society; and the promise of a long series of such texts under the competent editorship of Dr. Boas is welcome news to Americanists, and in particular to those engaged in the study of the languages and literatures of the American Indians north of Mexico. The need for the publication of native texts is great; that for their record in the field still greater, by reason of the rapid disappearance of many Indian tribes and the increasing corruption and disuse of aboriginal speech. This is especially true of some of the Algonkian peoples, among whom Dr. Jones, the author of "Fox Texts," had so successfully labored. His transfer to another field of labor, and his subsequent death in the Philippine Islands, have deprived Algonkian linguistics, ethnology, and folk-lore of an investigator who, by his Indian ancestry and his scientific training, was so well qualified for the exceedingly difficult work which it was hoped he was to make the task of his whole life. This volume must, therefore, in some measure at least, serve as his monument. The six sections contain respectively native texts (in phonetic transcription) and English translations of five historical tales (pp. 8-37); twelve miscellaneous myths and traditions (pp. 38-135); twelve parables (pp. 136-181); nine stories of fasting, visions, and dreams (pp. 182-227); seventeen stories of the culture-hero, Wisa'kâ (pp. 228-379); and four prayers (pp. 380-383). Some necessary comments and explanations are added in footnotes. The material here published formed "part of a mass of information obtained during the summers of 1901 and 1902, in connection with ethnological work done for the American Museum of Natural History, New York, and for the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington;" and "what was imparted was done in friendship and by way of a gift, not all at once, but at leisure and bit by bit." Dr. Jones

was, indeed, fortunate in gathering such valuable material from the Foxes, who "are conservative to a degree perhaps not surpassed by another Algonkin people within the borders of the United States, unless it be their kindred, the so-called Mexican band of Kickapoos," and who "still cling to the life of the past with all that firm tenacity which has been their predominating trait ever since the day they were first known to the French, who found them a proud, formidable people up and down the western shores of Lake Michigan." Between the Foxes and the Ojibwa, with whom one would naturally compare them, certain differences in tale-telling exist. The Foxes, Dr. Jones tells us, "prefer the brief story and like to tell a tale in as short a form as it can be told;" while the Ojibwa "have a fondness for the long narrative; the more evenings it takes to finish the story, the better it is. The Ojibwa likes detail, is inclined to be digressive, and in temperament is more given to the display of fancy and emotion. In consequence the Ojibwa tale moves more slowly by reason of its garrulity; but it is of more value for the greater amount of information it reveals." This view the experience of the reviewer among the Canadian Ojibwa in general confirms. The Foxes prefer to tell many tales in one evening ("round the circle go the stories one after another") rather than to stretch one tale over many evenings; and the result of this method of procedure is "a tale generally so elliptical that it would not be altogether clear to an outsider who was not familiar with its setting;" while the "habit of rapid narration tends to develop a traditional stereotyped style, of which the best examples in the text are the stories of the culture-hero playing the rôle of the guest and the host." The present collection contains both fireside tales, whose only object is the common human one of "pure trifling merriment," and others "seriously meant to convey information and moral instruction." As to the English version of these Indian texts, the author says, "It is not an easy thing to convey the sense of Algonkin by means of an absolutely literal rendering. Yet the translation here offered is in a way fairly close; in some instances it may be too free, while in as many others it may be so close as to obscure the full sense of the original." On the whole, we may be sure, however, from the author's qualifications for the task, that he has acquitted himself well; and his untimely death prevents, in all probability, the larger tasks he had set himself ever being accomplished—by others. The historical tales relate to the contests of the Foxes with the Peorias and allied tribes, contact with the French, etc. For the central Algonkian term for "French" (p. 9) Dr. Jones offers no exact etymology, simply noting that it "refers to something wooden." The feebleness of the political bond between the Foxes and the Sauks appears more than once in these tales (e. g. p. 34). The myth of "The Woman and the Dog" is a comparatively brief and simple version of a theme found in much more complicated form among the Athapaskan Dog-Ribs, and elsewhere in Arctic America.<sup>1</sup> Another tale with northern affinities is that of the snaring of the sun (p. 79). The tale entitled "They that chase after the Bear" (pp. 70-75) is an interesting "nature-myth." It "attempts to account for some of the stars in the sky, and to explain the cause of the change of color of the leaves in autumn," and is evidently known to a number of Algonkian peoples besides the Foxes.

The wife-hunt of the mystery-endued youth, and the visit of the Red-Earth

<sup>1</sup> See F. Boas, "Dissemination of Tales among the Natives of North America," *Journ. Amer. Folk-Lore*, 1891, iv, 13, 20.



(Fox Indian) among the pigmies, also invite comparison with the lore of other tribes. In the tale of "The Ten that were Brothers together" (pp. 78-101) occur "the three well-known literary elements; viz., the trials of the youngest-born, the rolling skull, and the magic flight." Of the story of the old woman in love with her son-in-law, an Ojibwa version has been recorded by Schoolcraft. The myth of how "an opossum becomes disliked because of his pretty tail" (pp. 110-113) is, according to the author, "the only example of the trivial anecdote taken down in text." The tale of "The Grizzly Bear and the Skunk" (pp. 112-121), like corresponding myths of the Kootenay, and other tribes of the Rocky Mountain region, emphasizes the power of so small a creature to inspire fear in one so much larger than itself. The raccoon stories belong also to the Ojibwa, and a version of the tale of the "playing dead" of the raccoon was obtained by the writer of these lines from the Mississagas of Skugog, Ontario, in 1888. The "parables" treat of such topics as ability to banter and to receive banter gracefully; the moral weakness of some women and its cause; the unfaithful wife and her punishment; infidelity in love (especially in the case of human with superhuman or *manitou*); unnatural harlotry; ill-treatment of step-children; evil effect of improper preparation of holy food (the tale "Why an Old Man slew his Grandson" is impressive to the Fox mind); the desecration of the sacred bundle (e. g. by a wife to secure unnatural relation with a bear); the feebleness of absolute self-reliance unaided, and the necessity of supernatural help, especially in great crises, etc. In the stories of fasting, visions, and dreams, stress is laid upon the unwisdom and the danger of fasting overlong, etc. Other tales (e. g. the story of "The Two Youths that married the Daughters of Mesōswa," dreaded daughters of a dreaded father) speak of "the wonderful power obtained by two youths from transcendent sources while undergoing the ordeal of fasting." Again and again the serviceability of dreams and the danger of despising them are brought out.

In the "Stories of the Culture-Hero" (pp. 228-379) we are in the familiar cycle of the Algonkian demi-god and buffoon all in one. The Wisa'kā of the Foxes (his name occurs once as Wisa'kā'tcagwa, p. 356) corresponds to the Wisaketchak of the Crees, the Manabush (Manaboju, Naniboju) of the Menomini, Ojibwa, etc., the Glūskāp of the Micmacs, etc. His visits to the beaver, the skunk, the duck, the kingfisher, etc., are all related. Eight of the tales consist of two parts, — "the first, in which the culture-hero figures as the guest; and the second, in which he tries to play the host, but fails." In the Wisa'kā stories "the culture-hero moves, now as a buffoon doing tricks to others and having them done to him, and now as a benefactor and as an altruistic character; sometimes he is peevish and whimpering like a spoiled child, and stoops to acts most degrading for the accomplishment of an end; and again he rises to the dignity of a wise, all-powerful deity." The Foxes represent him almost always as dwelling with his grandmother (Earth), and only once (p. 233) is he spoken of as the father of children, — otherwise he is a bachelor, like the Micmac Glūskāp. Although (p. 348) he is said to have created the people, "his relation toward them is that of a nephew; he created them in the image of his mother." The "Story of Wisa'kā," given on pp. 336, 379, belongs with the tale of Manabush as recorded from the Menomini by Hoffman, and that of Naniboju from the Ojibwa by various authorities. Dr. Jones states that "it is the most sacred myth of the Foxes; and with the Sauks

it is the myth on which rests the *midēwiwin*, a religious society which preserves the most sacred forms of religious worship." This holds, too, of the Menomini and Ojibwa. This great myth,<sup>1</sup> which is really a sort of "dramatic rhapsody," consists of two parts, the first of which treats of "the struggle of the culture-hero with the manitous, in which the death of his mother, the flood, and the defeat of the manitous are the leading events;" and the second of "the pacification of the culture-hero by the manitous, and the restoration of peace, preliminary to setting the world in order for a home of the people." In Dr. Jones's pages we have here for the first time the extended native text of this notable myth in an Algonkian dialect, — fragments only in Ojibwa, Mississauga, Menomini, etc., having been recorded or published before. It will serve well as a basis for future comparison and interpretation. The tale of the catching and strangling of the *ducks*, who are made to dance with their eyes shut by Wisa'kü (pp. 278-289), is told by the Ojibwa and Mississagas of Naniboju and the *turkeys*; the present writer obtained from the latter the native text of a portion of the myth.

The volume closes with a few prayers (spoken when a boy burns an offering of tobacco to a snake, when boys burn tobacco as an offering to the thunderers, when a woman cooks food for the ghosts), and "the words spoken to the dead." The prayer to the thunder "was one of the most fervent appeals that could be made by boys down to the time of men now of middle age," but it has now come to be "more or less a conventional thing." It was taught the boy by his father or some elder.

The second volume consists of native texts and English versions of Wishram myths (pp. 2-173), customs (pp. 174-193), letters (pp. 194-199), and non-mythical narratives (pp. 200-231) obtained by Dr. Sapir, for the most part in July-August, 1905, on the Yakima Reservation, in southern Washington, — with supplementary Upper Chinookan texts (pp. 232-235) collected by Dr. Franz Boas in 1892; also the English texts only of Wasco tales and myths (pp. 239-314) collected by Jeremiah Curtin in 1885 at Warm Spring Reservation, Oregon. The Wishram Indians, able still to speak their mother-tongue, a dialect of Upper Chinookan, number about a hundred and fifty; while the Wascos, who have the same language, are more numerous. The bulk of the material from the Wishram was obtained from "Louis Simpson, a fair example of the older type of Wishram Indian, now passing away." He is about seventy or seventy-five years old, a "civilized" Indian; superficially a convert to the ways of the whites; but, "judging by the contents of his mind, however, he is to all intents and purposes an unadulterated Indian; he implicitly believes in the truth of all the myths he narrated, no matter how puerile or ribald they might seem." Peter McGuff, the source of most of the rest of the material, "may serve as a type of the younger generation of Indian, though only a half-blood (his father was a negro, his mother is a full-blood Indian). His texts have "a certain number of un-Wishram phonetic peculiarities," due to long contact in early life with the Cascades Indians on the Columbia. Having been trained in the Agency School, he "reads and writes English well." The translation of the Wishram texts into English is quite literal, "corresponding paragraph for paragraph, and, in the main, sentence for sentence, to the Indian original."

Of the myths, the great majority are stories of Coyote as culture-hero, trans-

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 1891, ix, 193-213.

former, trickster, etc. "The conception that keeps them together is that of Coyote travelling up the great Columbia River as, in the main, corrector of the evils of the mythic or pre-Indian age, the order of the separate incidents being determined by the topographic sequence of the villages at which they are localized" (p. 2). In the Wishram Coyote cycle, the establishment of taboos, so marked a feature in the Coyote myth in Chinook and Kathlamet (as reported by Boas), is not strongly marked. So, too, in the Kootenay cycle, in which the travelling of Coyote (the myths commonly begin "Coyote was travelling") is the first incident of the story, as in Wishram. Some of the chief deeds of Coyote, according to the Wishram, are putting fish into the Columbia, making fish-trap and salmon-spear, killing the child-stealing woman-demon, transforming the mountain-monster, attempting to become the sun, visiting the land of ghosts, enslaving the wind, etc. Other animal-characters in Wishram mythology are the antelope, deer, skunk (younger brother of the, coyote), eagle, weasel, raccoon, salmon, sparrow-hawk and chicken-hawk, bluejay, beaver, black and grizzly bear, rabbit, fox, crow, rattlesnake, crane, etc. In the Wasco stories appear also the dog, elk, seal, fish-hawk, mountain-sheep, panther, wild-cat, etc. As Dr. Sapir points out (p. 264), "the mythological importance of Coyote increases as we ascend the Columbia and approach the Great Basin area, his place on the coast (Chinook and Quinault) being largely taken by Bluejay." In the footnotes the author refers to the chief published analogues of these Wishram myths, so few comments in this relation are needed here. The present writer, from his study of the Kootenay "Coyote cycle" (texts in manuscript), is, however, able to add a few things. The child-stealing woman-demon of the Wishram and Wasco corresponds to the owl-kidnapper of the Kootenay, and in both cases she is killed by Coyote or by children. Being burned to death when her house is set on fire, or by being pushed over into the fire-pit, is one of the devices employed. In the Wishram myth the child-stealer is the wife of the Owl, who is made gray by Coyote throwing at him some of the ashes; in the corresponding Kootenay myth the pest of mosquitoes sprang up from the ashes of the Owl-Woman, blown about by the wind. In a number of other tales there are rather close correspondences with Kootenay, as to animal-characters, incidents, etc. From the Wasco material may be cited, in this respect, Coyote's making of birds from ashes (p. 267), the ascent to the sky on an arrow-chain (the Kootenay myth was published by Boas in 1891), the substitutes for the misbehaving sun (p. 308), etc. Concerning the chief figure in these myths, Dr. Sapir writes (with reference to Louis Simpson, his principal informant): "Coyote he considers as worthy of the highest respect, despite the ridiculous and lascivious sides of his character; and with him he is strongly inclined to identify the Christ of the whites, for both he and Coyote lived many generations ago, and appeared in this world to better the lot of mankind" (p. xi).

The texts relating to "Customs" treat of marriage, childhood, death, medicine-men, clothing, first salmon-catch, erection of stagings at Cascades, right to fish-catches, training for strength at Cascades, winter-bathing, rainbow and moon signs, Shaker grace at table. The "winter-bathing" was the penalty imposed upon a boy who had fallen asleep while listening to the myths told by the old men in winter (p. 189). With the Wishram the appearance of a rainbow signified that a woman would give birth to a child; stars close to the moon signify approaching death. The Shakers are probably the

most religious of the three Christian sects (the other two being the Catholics and the Methodists) now represented among the Indians of the Yakima Reservation, — “a number of Wishram hymns and religious texts are in use among them.” The four “Letters” given on pp. 194–199 “were translated into Wishram by my interpreter, Peter McGuff, from the English versions, given unaltered above, written by Indians who have been to school.” On p. 196 is given a Klickitat (Sahaptian) version of one of these letters. The “Non-Mythical Narratives” are concerned with a quarrel of the Wishram, a personal narrative (by Louis Simpson) of the Paiute war (pp. 204–227), a famine at the Cascades, a prophecy of the coming of the whites, etc. The material in Wishram published by Dr. Sapir forms the only extensive record of this language in existence in print, and it is satisfactory to learn that a complete study of it is soon to appear from his competent hand.

The typographical execution of these two volumes is good; and the method adopted of printing native text and English version on opposite pages is to be commended, as it will enable the publication of texts in certain Indian tongues where as yet an exact interlinear translation is impossible.

*Alexander F. Chamberlain.*

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## THE SECRET LANGUAGE OF MASONS AND TINKERS

BY A. T. SINCLAIR

MANY years ago, when I was looking up gipsies on the roads, I occasionally ran across Irish tinkers. Some of these travel about in their wagons, and camp out, and often several families together. Many people think they are gipsies, and so call them. Indeed, I have seen magazine articles describing them as such. In and near cities the tinker is usually seen alone, ready to mend tin-ware and umbrellas, and do other odd jobs of repairing. Some peddle laces and dry goods, and are prosperous, and one well-known Boston prize-fighter was a tinker. As I had heard they had a jargon, I was interested to know whether it was gipsy, and learned considerable of it from them. They generally know a few gipsy words; but their talk, I discovered, was not at all like Romany. What it was, puzzled me. During a summer spent at Scituate, Massachusetts, I learned to speak Irish from the quaint, picturesque Irish colony of some six hundred "mossers" there. They gather the Irish moss on the rocky sea-bottom when the tide is low. As early as three o'clock in the morning the women wade into the water nearly to their necks, in order to obtain it; while their husbands row off in their dories long distances for the same work. They gather it, dry and cure it, just as they did on the rocky islands and shores of their old home in the west of Ireland. Irish is the language they talk among themselves, and many speak no other tongue. It is an interesting settlement transplanted to America, and full of the tales of fairyland, chivalry, and the music and folk-lore of Erin. The tinker's jargon, I saw at once, was not Irish, but sounded like some Gaelic dialect.

Since then I have noticed in some publications statements that this tinker's talk, called "Shelta," was the language of the old Irish bards, but I was very sceptical about their truth.

Within two years two important articles were called to my attention, — one by Professor Kuno Meyer, the distinguished Irish scholar ("Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society," January, 1891, vol. 2, No. 5, p. 257); the other, by Mr. John Sampson (ibid. October, 1890, No. 4,

p. 204). The latter has collected from tinkers a large number of Shelta words, and shown that they are either Old-Irish or a corruption of it. Professor Meyer has conclusively proved that this Shelta is an artificial language, formed by the old bards from very old Irish, which has been handed down, and is now spoken by tinkers. On p. 265 Professor Meyer states as follows: "There is, or was, spoken within the memory of men now living, a Gaelic idiom in Ireland, called 'béarla lagair,' or 'béarla lagair na saor,' an artificial or technical cant, jargon, or gibberish used by masons and pedlers, beggars, etc." — "Judging from the few words of this idiom given, etc., this speech seems by no means a mere artificial cant, or jargon like Shelta." — "It would be of great interest and might be of considerable value if this idiom, supposing it still to be in existence, were written down by some Irish scholar before it wholly disappears."

On mentioning the subject to some old Irish masons here in Allston, I was surprised to find they could speak this language which they called "Bearla lagair na saor;" and what interested me, perhaps even more, was the fact that they had a mass of folk-tales and traditions connected with their craft and with Gobân Saor, the bard mason, who, they say, founded this talk. At first I was very incredulous, for I was well aware of the exuberance of the imaginations of many of the Celtic race; but I found that over a dozen of these masons, unacquainted with each other and questioned independently, all told exactly the same stories and full details. In addition to this, a large number of other old Irishmen knew there was such a mason's talk called "Bearla lagair," and many of these same traditions and folk-tales. It is clear that such was common knowledge among large numbers in Ireland.

This mason's talk is a secret language spoken only by stone-masons, they all claim. Apprentices obtained from a master-mason first papers, second papers, and finally a third paper, called an "indenture," and an increase of wages with each paper. No apprentice was entitled to his indenture until he could speak the "Bearla lagair." They were forbidden to teach it to any one not a mason, even to a member of their own family. No stone-mason would work on any job except with members of the order. This language identified them. They also had secret signs, methods of handling their trowels, squares, and other tools, ways of pointing, and laying and smoothing mortar, which indicated a member, without a word being spoken. Meetings were held, from which strangers were excluded by posted sentinels. Any member who had broken a rule of the craft could be tried and punished. Some of these rules were designed to protect the health; and the tradition is, that in olden times masons had the right to, and did, punish occasionally with the death penalty. They were a powerful order, and at that time contained a large class of the most intelligent men of the time. The mason's trade was perhaps the most important craft.

When the ancient monasteries and churches were building, these stone-masons assembled from far and wide, and with their families camped out near the work.

Sometimes they remained many years on one job. They paid no rent or taxes, and governed themselves. Their temporary habitations were not huts, but tents made of bent saplings covered with oiled cloth.

The architects then were themselves masons, who, by their talent, skill, and ability, rose to be designers of the artistic and elegant edifices now seen in ruins all over Ireland. It was then, and has been ever since, an inherited trade handed down, with its secrets, from father to son. The father of Gobân Saor was himself a famous mason and architect. The poet-mason surpassed even the father in skill and renown, and was also a famous bard. The traditions as to the time when he lived vary from before Christ to the seventh century. He is said to have travelled extensively in Ireland, England, and on the Continent, designing splendid edifices, and at times working as a common mason.

There are many homely folk-tales about him. For one Irish king he erected a palace so beautiful that the king determined to murder him, so that he never again could build anything to equal or surpass it. Gobân Saor suspected this design, and delayed completing entirely the edifice. Upon the king's complaining, he said he required a special tool to finish certain work, and would go home and procure it. The king offered to send a messenger for the tool; but Gobân Saor objected that his wife would not deliver it to a mere messenger. Finally the king decided to, and did, send his only son, who went and told his errand to the wife. Her husband had sent him for "the crook and twist tool." She was an exceedingly bright woman, and, knowing there was no such tool, at once suspected that her husband was in trouble. But she quickly said to the son, "The tool is in a large chest in the cellar; come down and help me get it." They went down; but the chest was so high, she asked him to jump into it and take a tool she pointed out to him. Just the moment he was in, she shut down and fastened the top of the chest. Then she said, "You will stay there until your father sends my husband home," which the king did immediately when apprised of the predicament of his son.

The myth about how this wife was obtained for him by his mother is as follows: His mother had learned that there was a girl in a certain town who was remarkable not only for her beauty, but also for her accomplishments, household skill, good sense, and quick wit. She determined to secure her as a wife for her son Gobân. She did not know the girl's name, or the exact locality, so she sent Gobân to the town with a very large fine sheepskin, and directed him to sell it and to bring back the price, and the skin with it. The son again and again visited the town, and tried shop after shop; but everybody laughed at him, and said he

was a foolish youth to expect the price and the skin also. Finally one day, after poor Gobân was completely discouraged, he called at a house where he found a lovely maiden pulling the wool from sheepskins with her servants. Gobân was a handsome young man; and she smiled on him, and said, "Come back here at six o'clock, when we are done work, and I will accept your terms and give you your price and also the skin to take home with you." He gladly appeared at the appointed hour, and the maiden took the skin and gave it to her servants. While she for twenty minutes delighted him with her smiles, wit, and entertaining conversation, the servants had pulled all the wool from the skin. Then she turned to him, and said, "Here is your price, and here is your skin. Take them both home with you." His mother at once realized that the girl she wished was discovered. The happy pair were soon after married, and on many occasions her quick wit and sound sense were most valuable to her husband, as in the case of the wicked king.

Sometimes a love of adventure led the Gobân Saor to wander incognito as a common workman. His renown as an architect and artistic sculptor was widespread. One simple story which amuses these workingmen is this. The Gobân Saor once, in a foreign land, applied to the master-builder of a cathedral for work. "What can you do?" asked the master. "Try me and see," was the laconic reply. Then the builder placed him in a work-shed alone by himself, and, pointing to a block of stone, said facetiously, "Carve from that a cat with two tails." The shed was fastened at night, and the next morning Gobân had disappeared. When the master unfastened the shed and looked in, he found that the block of stone had been most beautifully carved into a cat with two tails. With an exclamation of surprise, he ejaculated, "It was the Gobân Saor himself! No other human being could do such superb work, or so quickly."

The Gobân Saor is one of the famous mythical Irish heroes. Sometimes he is styled the Vulcan of Irish mythology in books; but the masons claim him as *their* hero, and he is so spoken of and considered by the Irish peasantry. The shrewdness of the mother seems to have been inherited by his daughter. To her, tradition ascribes the invention of the use of a line to build a wall straight. Before, they were laid by the eye. Her father was one day teaching a son how to do this, and correcting him. She was knitting, and, passing him a long strand of yarn, said, "Give him the line, father." Such little incidents related by masons, although not particularly interesting perhaps in themselves, illustrate the regard and reputation in which the great bard-mason, the founder of Bearla lagair, is still held.

It is said by them that at one time during the Middle Ages the Irish masons were the most skilful artisans in Europe, and in large numbers went to England and the Continent, where their services were eagerly



accepted. They were welcomed everywhere by other masons, as the whole craft were bound to assist one another. Common signs and secrets enabled all to recognize one another. They also say that the early Irish monks who Christianized Germany, etc., took with them Irish architects and masons to erect monasteries and churches. Some assert that the masons in England, Scotland, and parts of the Continent understood some of this secret language. It is a fact that some stone-masons in Germany thirty years ago had a secret trade-talk, and in Belgium a tinker class have a jargon which some have supposed may be Shelta. Professor Ernst Windisch of the University of Leipzig, in the "*Gaelic Journal*," vol. i, p. 165, tells us that Irish missionaries "swarmed" into Gaul, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland, and northern Italy, from the sixth to the tenth centuries.

It must be borne in mind that I am simply giving traditions as told me by a large number of men independently, some of whom could not read or write; and all agreeing. I am not vouching for the real facts. It is noticeable, however, that many of these traditions are confirmed by historical records, as that masons camped out with their families, and assembled from long distances in some large work, etc. We also see now in existence ruins of the old round towers and other buildings, in which the mortar is still so hard that it cannot be picked. The secret is now lost; but the tradition is, the mortar was left in clay pits for a year or more, and was mixed with blood. John's Court is a long, low old ruin with one hundred windows, never roofed in, so called, the story runs, because the owner would employ only masons named John. One day the blood to mix with the mortar gave out, and they asked him for more. When he brutally told them to kill a peasant and use his blood, they, in a rage, killed him, and the building was left as it was, unfinished.

The men here who speak this mason's talk best are old men. A few of middle age know some of it. But all are stone-masons who learned their trade in Ireland. Irish stone-masons who learned the craft in America never speak it, and many never heard there is such a talk. Many people do not notice such things. Within a year I have been told of several small gangs who talked the Bearla lagair every day among themselves on large jobs,—one in Bangor, Maine, also others in Belmont, Auburndale, Providence, etc.

The masons are an intelligent class of men, agreeable to meet when not busy; but the itinerant tinker is generally a different character. In Ireland they bear a hard reputation, as quarrelsome, hard drinkers, and given to every kind of deception and low trick. A woman with a sick baby appears at some respectable farmhouse and begs to be taken in for the night. As soon as all are asleep, she gets up and opens the door, and the house is filled with the whole ragged and perhaps drunken band. Sometimes even the poor farmer and family are practically driven out

for the night. The first tinker I met refused to tell me one word of Shelta until a light luncheon in a saloon loosed his tongue. Even then he would not talk until he had asked the saloon-keeper if it was safe to talk with me. Some of the better class, however, who sell laces and dry goods, are prosperous and more agreeable.

All over Ireland they wander about with their wives and children, camping out. They mend tin, iron, copper ware, and crockery with wires and cement, and cast copper, iron, and brass articles, such as flatirons, iron pots and kettles, socks, and sole plates for ploughs, more durable than others, little brass ornaments, etc. Secrets of trade have been handed down. They use a black substance, perhaps bone charcoal, which makes a very hot fire, and fuse a new leg on a cast-iron pot. Tools such as mason's chisels they sharpen by sprinkling on them a kind of sand, which makes a very durable cutting-edge. Masons have told me this secret was by tradition the same as that used in olden times to sharpen bronze swords, etc., and that these tinkers are the descendants of the old Irish metal-workers, who made the elegant old Irish objects of various metals.

Another of their trades is dealing in horses; and they understand all the arts of fixing horses up to show spirit, and pass off worthless animals as good on the unwary. Sometimes several hundred assemble at fairs, and the inevitable drunkenness and fighting ensue. Dr. Thomas Wilson<sup>1</sup> states, "The Archæological Museum in Dublin is probably the richest in gold objects of any in Europe" (bracelets, collars, brooches, etc.). "In prehistoric times as well as early Christian times, the metal-workers of Ireland were of a high order, and possessed of a degree of skill greater, probably, than any in Europe at the same period. The display in the Museum of Science and Art in Dublin, of gold, silver, and bronze work, dating earlier than the eleventh century, will demonstrate the truth of this proposition" (p. 541). "The most elaborate, as well as the most beautiful instruments of music belonging to prehistoric times were the bronze and gold trumpets or horns of Scandinavia" (p. 527). Some were eight feet in length, with bell mouths ten inches in diameter, and most elegantly engraved with elaborate figures, men, animals, birds, etc. Many similar bronze horns (indeed, nearly all of those found in the British Isles) have been discovered in Irish bogs. It was a debatable question whether these were of Irish or Scandinavian make. An article on "The Main Features of the Advance in the Study of Danish Archæology," by W. Dreyer,<sup>2</sup> indicates that these Danish gold horns (*Luhrs*) were of Celtic design, like many other objects found in Denmark.

The fact that these tinkers of to-day speak a language as old as these

<sup>1</sup> "Prehistoric Art," *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution*, 1896, p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> *American Anthropologist*, 1908, pp. 526, etc.

famous jewellers and metal-workers tends to confirm the tradition that they are their descendants, retaining some of the old trade secrets.

The hedge schoolmasters, some horse-trainers, the professional match-makers, sieve-makers, hacklers, bag-pipers, story-tellers, itinerant knife-grinders, and other classes who always have wandered about in Ireland, living largely upon the well-known hospitality and open houses of the Irish farmers, often speak the mason's talk. Among these, the above traditions about masons and tinkers are current, and other people know of them. Some of these hedge-schoolmasters were learned men. They passed from town to town, teaching under the hedges such scholars as came to them. Owen O'Sullivan the Red was one, who lived over a century ago. He was celebrated also as a poet, and one story told of him illustrates his erudition. An Irish gentleman was visiting a family in England. Over a bottle of port after dinner one day the two fathers were boasting of the learning of their children. A bet was made as to which family was the more highly educated. The English children wrote sentences in several different languages, which were sent to the Irish family, who could not read them all, but left them in despair on the dinner-table. O'Sullivan, *incognito*, was then working on their farm, and, passing through the dining-room, casually took up the paper and looked at it. A daughter, happening to observe this, told her mother she thought he could read it. He was called in, and did read it all, and then wrote the answers and other questions in many languages, one of which was the Bearla lagair. The English children could not read the mason's talk, so the Irish family won. That O'Sullivan was a master of the Bearla lagair is the common report.

As before stated, Professor Meyer and Mr. Sampson have abundantly shown that Shelta, the tinker's jargon, is mostly an artificial language formed from very old Irish. Some of it is back slang; also syllables are prefixed, added, inserted in a word, and various other artifices are resorted to. The Bearla lagair, or mason's talk, is plainly founded on the same Old-Irish, but has a very large number of its words not disguised. The number of words for one thing is often very large. My conclusion is that both *talks* are the same, except that the masons use a very much larger proportion of undisguised Old-Irish words in their ordinary conversation. In this view I am confirmed by a nice, well-educated, old Irish gentleman, Mr. Jeremiah Shaw of Allston, who all his life has been deeply interested in Irish studies. He reads, writes, and speaks New-Irish perfectly, and knows Old-Irish well. From his boyhood he has collected, from hearing it, Irish folk-lore of all kinds, and has collected and copied manuscripts. He understands the Bearla lagair thoroughly. He studied it four years in Cork from two itinerant knife-grinders, Driscoll and Kearney; from a mason, Crowley; and later in Killarney during a year with a horse-trainer, O'Shea, who spoke it well. All these

spoke it exactly alike. Driscoll called the language "Shelta." Everywhere he travelled in Ireland, and this was much, he often had the opportunity of speaking the Bearla lagair, and improved it. He confirms the above traditions given me by the masons. I prepared a list of over three hundred words found in the articles of Professor Meyer and Mr. Sampson, and went over this list with those masons who know the talk best.

They knew more than nine tenths of these words, and said they had often heard them used by masons. They pronounced many of them slightly different from the way I read them, but perhaps no more so than would be expected, considering that I could not be quite sure of Mr. Sampson's manner of speaking them, and the inevitable uncertainties in taking down any such tongue. They always insisted on their own pronunciation, and would not vary it to suit my list, but they very frequently gave me several other words for the same things. The various disguises of the words they spoke of themselves, and said masons did the same even with New-Irish words to conceal them. All these artifices were well known to them; but they asserted that the masons do not use so many perverted words, but rather archaic words handed down, which have dropped out of New-Irish. Mr. Shaw confirmed all these statements, and generally volunteered the same without any hints from myself. Great care was always taken not to suggest anything, or lead any of these informants. Mr. Shaw's view is that some of these words are older than the oldest known Irish; and he states which these are, and his reasons. Some words are made up of several Old-Irish roots put together.

A few words of mason's talk must suffice here. In selecting these, I have largely desired to give words common to Shelta, in order to show the similarity of the two.

The following phonetic system of pronunciation has been employed:—

#### Consonants.

The consonants are pronounced as in English, except *kh*, which has a guttural sound like that in German *nach* or Scotch *loch*.

#### Vowels.

â, like *aw* in *paw*.

ă, like *a* in *hat*.

ĕ, like *a* in *fate*.

ě, like *e* in *pét*.

ī, like *ee* in *meet*.

ī, like *i* in *pīt*.

ō, like *o* in *nose*.

ô, like *o* in *not*.

ũ, like *u* in *rule*.

u, like *u* in *put*.

ũ, like *u* in *but*.

ā, like *I*.

ōī, as in *loiter*.

Vowels without accent have an intermediate sound. The acute accent ' marks the accented syllable.

Búa, *woman*.

Dārċ, *rūsk, eye*.

Shŭrkā, *brother*.

Shĕst, *coarse grass*.

Shĕrŭkh, *rye grass*.

Sŭbli, *a walker, an itinerant mason, any person always moving as a boy*

Mĭshĕ, *I myself*.

Dútshě, <i>you yourself.</i>	Kŭrn, <i>a glass.</i>
Gâp, <i>kiss.</i>	Kŭĕnig, <i>eat.</i>
Lôkh, <i>man.</i>	Dig, <i>drink empty.</i>
Ôglôkh, <i>a young man (ôg, young).</i>	Ôkh, <i>horse.</i>
Glômôkh, <i>fool (glôm, yell).</i>	Mărkôkh, <i>rider (mărk = man).</i>
Lěôkh, <i>fighter.</i>	Dăv, <i>bull.</i>
Kam, <i>son.</i>	Fôshg, <i>sheep.</i>
Túki, tŭkĭn, lăkĭn, <i>girl.</i>	Ān, <i>bread.</i>
Lăiba, lôba, <i>hit (a back-handed blow).</i>	Lôkh, <i>milk.</i>
Lŭg, <i>boiled meal.</i>	Kru, <i>skin.</i>
Nôk, <i>mountain head, or top.</i>	Găl, <i>bright, white.</i>
Fě, <i>meat (New-Irish, sinew, vein).</i>	Mŭrŭkhô, <i>dark, black.</i>
Bĭle, <i>mouth.</i>	Wĕnĕ, <i>dark green, green.</i>
Mĭar, <i>destroyer, bad luck, devil.</i>	Rŭ, <i>red.</i>
Ād, <i>two.</i>	Ār, <i>great.</i>
Chĭmân, <i>stick (Kŭmân, N. I. curling-stick).</i>	Nĭ, <i>small.</i>
Shĭhŭkh, <i>whiskey (a large number of other words also).</i>	Dărk, <i>knife.</i>
Vălĕ, <i>town.</i>	Ēôlôr, <i>mortar.</i>
Răhŭg, răhĭlân, <i>car=an Irish cart.</i>	Gĕŭg, <i>arm.</i>
Tĕs, <i>bread.</i>	Drĭn, <i>back.</i>
Dôlĕ, <i>a bread-trough.</i>	Pĕd, <i>leg.</i>
Lămăřĕ, slămăřĕ, <i>bag.</i>	Lăpĭn, <i>web-foot, shoe.</i>
Lămpĭl, <i>any receptacle for the hand (pĭl, hole).</i>	Brăt, <i>coat.</i>
Khŭakh, kŭrn, măkhĭn, mŭrnân, pĭgĭn, <i>cup</i>	Trus, <i>trousers.</i>
Knap, <i>hunchback = the Shelta word nŭp.</i>	Knu, <i>finger-nail.</i>
Tŭlŭp, <i>belly.</i>	Gărnôir, <i>cutler.</i>
Lĭma, <i>milk.</i>	Āĕ, <i>circle, wheel.</i>
Grĕ, <i>rise.</i>	Kărŭb, <i>cart.</i>
Grĕŭg, <i>hurry up.</i>	Ô, <i>song, poem.</i>
Mălya, <i>clinched hand.</i>	Kyărlan, <i>music.</i>
Dŭd, <i>hand.</i>	Shin, <i>sing. (I have heard tinkers say, 'Shina Shelta?' = "Talk Shelta?")</i>
Ŝmĭr, mĭrk, <i>bone.</i>	Skrŭgal, <i>throat.</i>
Āmŭrk, <i>marrow.</i>	Lŭiv, <i>grass.</i>
Dăřĕ, <i>say.</i>	Ārŭ, <i>a horn of any kind.</i>
Thôber, <i>road.</i>	Kruh, <i>harp.</i>
Dĕshĕ, <i>yes.</i>	Lômara, <i>wool.</i>
Nĭdĕsh, <i>no.</i>	Kôrâ, <i>priest.</i>
Mănărŭn, <i>room.</i>	Rĕhăilăkh, <i>stopping-place (rĕ, stop; hăil, home; âkh, idea of stopping).</i>
Mănôrin, <i>a middle room.</i>	Năkht, <i>night (German Nacht).</i>
Rĭstan, <i>prison.</i>	Lŭndra, <i>a bright light, sun.</i>
Găhĭr, <i>father.</i>	Rĕ, <i>moon.</i>
Ēsht, <i>ear, listen.</i>	Ān, <i>sword.</i>
Kôb, <i>lip, mouth.</i>	Bini, <i>talk, melodious.</i>
Dĕd, <i>tooth.</i>	Ūn twĕdĕ dŭt na bĭni? = <i>do you speak</i>
Bôs, <i>fist, hand.</i>	<i>Mason's talk?</i>
Krub, <i>cloven hoof, foot.</i>	Mĭnkŭr, <i>low people, "small-fry" (mĭn, small, fine; kŭr, rubbish).</i>
Dli, <i>locks, hair.</i>	
As, <i>the noise of falling water, water.</i>	

A folk-lore legend gives some points which bear upon the age when Gobân Saor lived, and indicate an original identity between the languages of metal-workers and that of the masons. The story is weird and ghastly, but characteristic of the times, and of many Old-Irish myths.

The manuscript from which the translation is made was copied forty years ago, from an old manuscript, and the language is that of centuries ago. I cannot learn that it has ever been published.

Forthaid Caille, a well-known king, and a noted warrior of the third century, is supposed to address the wife of Ailille MacEagain, with whom he had a tryst. He had eloped with her. The injured husband had challenged him to battle, and both had fallen in the combat at Feic-a-pool, in the Boyne near Slane. Faithful to his promise made before the battle, Forthaid, or rather his spirit, met and thus addressed her: —

“Woman, do not speak to me. Not with thee is my mind. My mind is still upon the slaughter at Feic. My blood-stained corpse lies by the side of Leitlir da M’buch. My unwashed head among the Fianna amid the fierce slaughter. It is folly for one making a tryst not to consider the tryst of death. My last resting-place had been marked out at Feic. My destiny was to fall by foreign warriors.” Forthaid directed her not to await the terror of night on the field among the slain, but to return to her house, taking with her his arms, his crimson tunic, his white shirt, his silver belt, his shield with the bronze rim, by which they used to swear true oaths. She would find them all on the battlefield. In the course of his address Forthaid mentions the four-cornered casket made in the time of King Art by Turke the father of Gobân Saor out of a bar of gold which Dinole the Smith had brought across the sea. Many battles he said had been fought by the “King of Rome in Latium to obtain possession of it. It was revealed to Find after a drinking bout.” Finally he enjoined upon the woman to raise a conspicuous tomb to him, as it would be visited by many.

It is worthy of note that this was in the third century, and the father of Gobân Saor depicted as a worker in gold. Another folk-tale of a more cheerful character is a new version of the Mermaid myth. This also is from a manuscript.

They entered a passage and saw before them, seated on a rock, a woman adjusting her tresses. As soon as she saw them, she was alarmed, and quick as lightning disappeared in the sea. In her haste she forgot her mantle, and Donald instantly seized it and held it in his grasp. “That was the mermaid, or sea nymph about whom we have heard so much,” said Donald, “but this is the first time I have ever laid my eyes upon her: although I have been to sea, early and late.” Scarcely had he spoken these words and while they were yet beneath the cliff, when the woman returned and demanded her cloak. With this request Donald refused to comply, and the mermaid threatened to send a mighty wave against the cliff that would overwhelm them, and sweep them into the ocean. This threat did not in the least daunt Donald, for he had often heard that a mermaid had no more power after she had parted with her mantle. When the men reached the road she was still following them, and imploring Donald to return the garment, but her cries and supplications did not in the least weaken his resolve to retain it, and he folded it inside his outer cloak. The woman’s great distress moved the other men to pity, — pity perhaps not unmingled with fear. Old Donough acted as spokesman and remonstrated with Donald. “It is not lucky for you, Donald,” said he, “to keep such a strange thing, and it is not safe or wise for you to bring it into your house, and the mermaid, the poor thing, will drop dead if you keep that mantle.” —

"Luck or ill luck," replied Donald, "I will not part with the mantle: and as soon as I reach home I will lock it in a trunk." The men were grieved at Donald's strange behavior, but save an exchange of ominous looks they did not venture any further persuasions. When the mermaid understood that there was no prospect of obtaining her garment she regained her composure, and followed Donald meekly to his house, where henceforth she took up her abode. Donald was at this time thirty years of age, and though there were hundreds of good-looking young women of his acquaintance he was yet a bachelor. For a man in his station in life he was the richest man in the barony. As already stated, the mermaid made Donald's home her abode, and there was not in his household any maid so skilful, so deft, or so zealous in the discharge of her duties. She was a beautiful woman and Donald became enamored with her when first he saw her seated on the rock beneath the cliff. The attachment of Donald for the mermaid was discussed far and near, and many predicted the mermaid would take Donald to Tirnanóg, as Niad had taken Ossian a thousand years before. Donald and the mermaid were married, and there was not in all Kerry a more lovable couple than they. Nor had he any reason to regret his choice, for the mermaid was a good wife and an exemplary mother, and time only enhanced her in his esteem. They had now been married over thirty years, and were blessed with a large, grown up family. The daughters were like the mother, remarkably handsome, and there was not living at that time any woman who approached them for beauty. The sons were tall and stalwart, as they inherited their father's passion for the sea. They were leaders in every manly exercise, and there were not in all Ireland more skilled and fearless seamen. The sons and daughters were a credit to their parents and their happy home was the rendezvous of scholars, bards, poets, and musicians. Everything prospered with this worthy family, and with wealth came the desire for social distinction. To satisfy this desire they purchased a fine residence in the capital city of the province. All arrangements having been completed, the moving day arrived, and moving then was even a more formidable task than now, for the vans of over two hundred years ago were rather primitive and the ideal roads of to-day were then unknown. The family were seated in their coaches ready for the journey when the mother alighted from her coach and returned to the house presumably for something she had forgotten, or perhaps to take a look at the interior of a home in which she had lived so many years and where she had spent the happy days of her youth, where her children had been born, and where she had resided until she arrived at a serene and contented old age. On passing through one of the now almost empty rooms — empty of everything worth moving — she noticed that a large trunk containing miscellaneous old articles had fallen to pieces and the contents were scattered broadcast over the floor. She stooped and picked up what appeared to be an old dust-covered, well-worn garment. And no sooner did she grasp it than she laughed so loudly that her laugh was heard all over the village. If Donald had forgotten the magic mantle, not so had the mermaid. In an instant she regained her former youth and beauty. She no longer cared for husband and children, and swifter than the velocity of March winds she returned joyfully to her beloved Tirnanóg on the blue rim of the Western Ocean.

This charming folk-tale was told and taken down forty years ago in New-Irish from the lips of a hedge-schoolmaster, a story-teller who

knew Bearla lagair, in an ancient house on a large farm of five hundred acres, half-way between Cork and Killarney. It illustrates well the character of the myths which always have fascinated the Irish common people. Many of these story-tellers not only inherited the legends, but also the language of the old bards, who mystified the peasantry by their artificial learning, and retained it, as do the masons, as a secret tongue.

All the traditions, folk-tales, customs, habits, and other material given in this paper, unless otherwise stated, have been gathered by myself from a very large number of Irish people, mostly in Boston and its vicinity. I have devoted much time to the investigation. Only a brief reference has been made to my large collections of words, phrases, and other matters in regard to the masons' and tinkers' languages. I know of no publications treating on the subject of Shelta except those of Meyer and Sampson above mentioned, and some by Leland; and I have simply attempted to compare my own material with these.

I have found nothing about Bearla lagair except the few lines of Meyer and two or three brief references, stating that there was such a jargon, and giving a few words.

Two things have particularly impressed me in investigating this subject. One is that such an ancient language is still spoken in America, and few have even suspected it; the other is that here is a rich mine of new, unpublished folk-tales, romantic, chivalric, beautiful, and fascinating, easily worked and studied.

Some words used by Shakespeare, and marked in the Century Dictionary as "origin unknown," are found in Shelta, or mason's talk. Leland remarks, "Shakespeare, who knew everything, makes Prince Hal declare that he could drink with a tinker in his own language."<sup>1</sup> An unpublished Irish manuscript which I have seen contains "An Old Bard's Advice to his Son," which is singularly like "Polonius' advice to his son Laertes" (*Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 3). The former has all the ideas of the latter, and many additional, and the language is older than Shakespeare's time. It is impossible now to do more than throw out these hints; but these studies are most interesting to the English scholar as well as to the student of folk-lore.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, New Series, July, 1907, vol. i, No. 1, p. 74.

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## NATIVE BALLADRY IN AMERICA

BY PHILLIPS BARRY

"THOSE who hold to the doctrine (more or less modified) of the communal origin of ballads, are inclined to doubt the existence of native American balladry."<sup>1</sup> And it is quite true that out of the abundance of folk-song now circulating in this country, — a statement of fact no longer to be regarded with incredulity, — the greater part is British, comprising specimens not only of the so-called "popular" ballad,<sup>2</sup> but also of the later balladry native to Britain, which — granting that in origin, as is by no means certain,<sup>3</sup> it may sometimes have been different — is in its present condition "communal." Yet there is a certain proportion which is of our soil. The value of this small proportion, though of meagre worth when judged by literary standards and contrasted with "Earl Brand" or "King Estmere," — beside which it may well seem but trivial stuff, — is great when approached from the viewpoint of the seeker after truth, by reason of the light it sheds on the process by which ballads come to be.

"Das Volk dichtet" is as true as ever. Yet not of communal *composition*. "It is unlikely that even the simplest of our extant ballads were made in this fashion."<sup>4</sup> The process is rather one of individual invention, *plus* communal re-creation. One needs only to observe, as a matter of every-day life, how the story of the most commonplace event, when told by one person to another, changes its form, and gathers about itself incidents with which the original event had nothing to do.<sup>5</sup> So with a ballad, the individual invents, — composes; the community edits, and recomposes. In a word, the part of the folk in the process of ballad-making is *accessory after the fact*. That a given version of a ballad differs from another is due to the fact that every version has been through a process, lasting, it may be, for years or generations, of re-creation in the minds of the folk-singers.

It is the subsequent history that distinguishes "Sir Patrick Spens" from "The Wreck of the Hesperus."

A few facts concerning our native balladry, with selected specimens of ballads, may here be put in evidence.

<sup>1</sup> H. M. Belden, "The Study of Folk-Song in America," *Modern Philology*, April, 1905, ii, 4, p. 576.

<sup>2</sup> The following items, corresponding to numbers in Professor Child's collections, have been recorded in America: Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 18, 20, 26, 27, 45, 49, 53, 68, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 84, 85, 93, 95, 106, 110, 155, 162, 181, 188, 200, 209, 210, 214, 221, 243, 250, 274, 277, 278, 279, 281, 285, 286, 287, 289, 295.

<sup>3</sup> That is, raising the question whether or not the original text was committed to writing.

<sup>4</sup> G. L. Kittredge, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, p. xix.

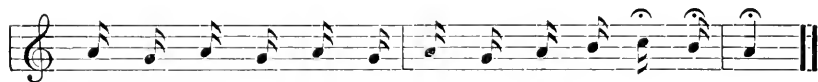
<sup>5</sup> Compare John Byrom, *The Three Black Crows*.

## I. SPRINGFIELD MOUNTAIN

This trivial ditty, *communal*, as far as its present condition is concerned, and thereby, except by reason of its lesser age, not less deserving of the epithet than "Lord Randall," is one of the few ballads that can be traced back to its origin. The author is said to have been Nathan Torrey, of Springfield, Mass., who composed the ballad about the year 1761.<sup>1</sup> It is now widely current among folk-singers;<sup>2</sup> and a great many versions have been recorded, all differing more or less from one another, as well as from the original.<sup>3</sup> The following, with its quaint Æolian air, is worthy of inclusion here.



On Smith-field Moun - tin there did dwell A come - li youth I



knew full well - el - el - el - el. Ri tu ri lu ri la.

I. On Smithfield Mountain  
There did dwell  
A comeli youth I knew full well  
ell ell. Ri tu ri nu ri na.

<sup>1</sup> This is the account given by David A. Wells at the Springfield anniversary banquet, May, 1886 (*Springfield Republican*, Oct. 4, 1908). J. G. Holland, however, ascribes the authorship to "a young woman to whom the unfortunate man was engaged to be married" (*History of Western Massachusetts*). The incident celebrated in the ballad is the death from a snake-bite of Timothy, son of Lieutenant Mirick, of Springfield Mountain, now Wilbraham, Mass., Aug. 7, 1761.

The original version of the ballad is of course unobtainable. Three crude versions, which are unquestionably not far removed from it, give nine stanzas which may safely be assumed to have come from no other source. These versions are, —

(a) Mr. Wells's version, according to his belief the most authentic (*Springfield Republican*, June 6, 1886).

(b) Mr. Holland's version, "an authentic copy preserved in the family" (*Ibid.*).

(c) A version contributed by Miss Cordelia Fuller of Danbury, Conn., to the *Springfield Republican* (Oct. 4, 1908), as learned from her grandmother.

The distribution of stanzas is as follows: —

(a) Stanzas	1	2	3	9	—	6	—	8
(b) " "	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
(c) " "	1	2	3	4	5	—	7	—

Variations in language are very slight. All three give the name Mirick, or Merrick. Two (a and b, in stanza 8) give the date.

Whether the author was Torrey or the unknown "young woman" matters little. The important point is the fact of the tradition of individual authorship of the ballad.

<sup>2</sup> As far west as Wisconsin.

<sup>3</sup> W. W. Newell, "Early American Ballads," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xiii, pp. 107-112; see also my article, "Traditional Ballads in New England," *Ibid.* vol. xviii, pp. 295-302.

2. One Mondri mornin  
He did go  
Out to the medder for to mow  
ow, ow. Ri tu ri nu ri na.
3. Scarce had he mowed  
Across the fiel  
When a pizen sarpint bit his heel  
eel, eel. Ri tu ri nu ri na.
4. "Oh, Maury Ann  
Oh don't you see  
A great big sarpint done bit me  
me me. Ri tu ri nu ri na."<sup>1</sup>

## II. FAIR CHARLOTTE

No printed version of this ballad has ever been discovered, and there is no reason to believe that any exists. Its origin, therefore, goes back to some village poet or folk-singer. That the recorded versions do not differ so widely from one another, as is the case with "Springfield Mountain," is no doubt due to the fact that the process of re-creation by the folk has not extended over so long a period of time, covering, perhaps, a period not exceeding forty years. I have records of "Fair Charlotte" from Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. It is current also in the Western States.<sup>2</sup>



Fair Char-lotte lived by the moun-tain side, In a wild and lone-ly



spot. No dwelling was for three miles round, Beside her fa-ther's cot.

1. Fair Charlotte lived by the mountain side  
In a wild and lonely spot,  
No dwelling was for three miles round  
Beside her father's cot.
2. And yet on many a wintry night,  
Young swains would gather there,

<sup>1</sup> "Springfield Mountain," J, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, contributed by S. A. F., Providence, R. I.

<sup>2</sup> H. M. Belden, *l. c.* p. 576. "Young Charlotte, well known in Missouri, reported by Professor Lewis of Chicago as known to him in childhood (though by another name) in New Jersey, . . . and recently communicated to me from Wisconsin."

Her father kept a social board,  
For she was very fair.

3. Her father loved to see her dress  
Gay as a city belle,  
She was the only child he had,  
And he loved his daughter well.

4. It was New Year's night, the sun was down,  
Why looked her anxious eye  
So oft from the cottage window forth,  
As the evening shades drew nigh?

5. At a village inn, fifteen miles off,  
Was a merry ball that night,  
The winds without were as cold as death,  
But her heart was warm and light.

6. How brightly beamed her laughing eye  
As the well-known sound she heard,  
When driving up to the cottage door  
Young Charlie's sleigh appeared.

7. "O daughter dear," her mother said,  
"This blanket round you fold,  
It is a dreadful night without,  
And you'll catch a fatal cold."

8. "Oh, no, no, no!" fair Charlotte said,  
And she laughed like a gypsy queen,  
"To ride in blankets muffled up,  
I never can be seen."

9. "My silken cloak is quite enough,  
You know, 't is lined throughout,  
Beside, I have a silken shawl  
To tie my neck about."

10. Her bonnet and her shawl were on,  
She stepped into the sleigh,  
And away they ride by the mountain side,  
And over the hills away.

11. There's life in the sound of the merry bells,  
As over the hills they go,  
What a creaking noise the runners make,  
As they bite the frozen snow!

12. Along the bleak and dreary way  
How keen the winds do blow,

- The stars did never shine so bright,  
How creaks the frozen snow!
13. Along the bleak and dreary way  
Five lonely miles they passed,  
When Charles in a few and frozen words  
The silence broke at last.
14. "Such a night as this I never knew,  
The reins I scarce can hold,"  
Fair Charlotte said in a feeble voice,  
"I am exceeding cold."
15. He cracked his whip, and urged his team  
More swiftly than before,  
Until five other lonely miles  
In silence they passed o'er.
16. "How fast," said Charles, "the freezing ice  
Is gathering on my brows,"  
Fair Charlotte said in a feeble voice,  
"I'm getting warmer now."
17. Away they ride through the frozen air  
In the glittering starry light,  
Until at length the village inn  
And the ball-room was in sight.
18. They reached the door, young Charles stepped out,  
And held his hand to her,  
"Why sit you there like a monument  
That hath no power to stir?"
19. He called her once, he called her twice,  
She uttered not a word,  
He held his hand again to her,  
But still she never stirred.
20. He took her hand within his own,  
It was cold and like a stone,  
He tore the veil from off her face,  
The moonlight on it shone.
21. Then swiftly through the lighted hall  
Her lifeless form he bore,  
Fair Charlotte was a stiffened corpse,  
And words spake never more.
22. Now, ladies, when you hear of this,  
Think of that dreadful night,

And never venture so thinly clad  
On such a winter's night.<sup>1</sup>

### III. FAIR FLORELLA

Similarly, of this ballad, no printed copy is known. Doubtless it originated in the same way, as the composition of some humble folk-singer, from whom it was transmitted to others. As is the case with the preceding, it has obtained a wide currency, and shows evidence of a process of re-creation rather more extensive. I have noted down four versions in New England, two of which are here printed. The ballad is current in the West and South in versions differing widely from any hitherto recorded in the Eastern States.<sup>2</sup>

#### FIRST VERSION



1. Down by yon weeping willow,  
Where flowers so sweetly bloom,  
There sleeps the fair Florilla,  
So silent in her tomb.
2. She died not broken-hearted,  
Nor sickness e'er befell,  
But in one moment parted  
From all she loved so well.
3. One night the moon shone brightly,  
And gentle zephyrs blew,  
Up to her cottage lightly  
Her treacherous lover drew.
4. He says, "Come let us wander,  
In those dark woods we'll stray,  
And there we'll sit and ponder  
Upon our wedding-day."

<sup>1</sup> "Fair Charlotte," D, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*. From N. A. C., Rome, Pa., as learned "from a schoolmate, some twenty-five years ago, or perhaps more" (March 12, 1907).

<sup>2</sup> G. L. Kittredge, "Ballads and Rhymes from Kentucky," *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. xx, p. 264.

5. "Those woods look dark and dreary,  
I am afraid to stray,  
Of wandering I am weary,  
So I'll retrace my way."
6. "Those woods, those gentle zephyrs,  
Your feet no more will roam,  
So bid adieu forever  
To parents, friends, and home."
7. Down on her knees before him  
She begged for her life,  
When deep into her bosom  
He plunged that hateful knife.
8. "O William! I'll forgive you,"  
Was her last dying breath,  
Her pulses ceased their motion,  
Her eyes were closed in death.
9. Down by yon weeping willow,  
Where flowers so sweetly bloom,  
There sleeps that fair Florilla,  
So silent in her tomb.<sup>1</sup>

SECOND VERSION <sup>2</sup>

1. One eve as the moon shone brightly  
And zephyrs gentle bloom,  
Unto her cot so lightly,  
Her treacherous lover had flown.
2. "Come, love, come let us wander  
Upon yon fields so gay,  
Come, love, come let us ponder  
Unto our wedding-day."

<sup>1</sup> "Fair Florella," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*. From H. J. C., Concord, N. H., 1908. In version B (from L. N. C., Boston, Mass.) the closing stanza points a moral: —

Come all ye pretty maidens,  
A warning take this day,  
Don't trust your hearts to young men,  
For they will you betray.

<sup>2</sup> This version is an excellent example of the "ballad of situation."

3. "This road seems dark and dreary,  
And I'm afraid to stay,  
Of wandering I am weary,  
Wilt thou retrace thy way?"
4. "Retrace thy way, — no, never!  
Nor to give this world to know,  
So bid farewell forever,  
To parents, friends, and home."
5. "For in these fields I've got you,  
And here you've got to die,  
No power on earth can save you,  
Nor from me can you fly."
6. Down on her knees before him  
She begged him for her life,  
Deep, deep into her bosom  
He plunged that fatal knife.
7. "Oh, Willie, dear, I've loved you  
With a fond and loving heart,  
But, Willie, you've deceived me,  
So now in death we part!"<sup>1</sup>

These examples will suffice. American ballads, even the oldest of them, are still young, and the re-creative process has not been going on as long as is the case with the native balladry of Britain. Moreover, the heroic days of folk-song have vanished: hence the wide difference in literary worth, but not in kind. The process of ballad-making has not changed, nor will it change. Ballads of still more recent date are current in the West, as "Jesse James," "Casey Jones,"<sup>2</sup> and some others. The subjects of our native ballads — simple events in human experience — are the usual ones in folk-song, since people live, grow, love, and die, much as they did when the world was very young.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Fair Florella," D, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*. Melody from H. I. C., West Campton, N. H., Sept. 3, 1908; words ("Fair Aurilla") copied by me, Oct. 5, 1908, from MS. of E. T. (sister of H. I. C.), West Campton, N. H. H. I. C., who recalled only fragments of the ballad, sang the following additional stanza: —

"Dear Willie, I forgive you,"  
(Her last and dying words!)  
She gave one look of pity,  
And closed her eyes in death.

<sup>2</sup> A ballad of a wreck on the Illinois Central Railroad, beginning

"Come all you rounders, for I want you to hear  
The story told of an engineer.  
Casey Jones was the rounder's name,  
A heavy right-wheeler of mighty fame."

*The Railroad Man's Magazine*, May, 1908, p. 764.

<sup>3</sup> "The Burial at Sea" is worthy of passing notice. Ascribed in Fulton and Trueblood's



Many ballads based on early American political history have existed, — Shays' Rebellion was made into a ballad before 1790,<sup>1</sup> — but of these, "Paul Jones," known equally well to British and American folk-singers, is almost the only survivor. No doubt, many ballads have never enjoyed more than a local currency, yet it might at any time be the fate of such a ballad to acquire the wide dispersion of "Springfield Mountain." Why one ballad should live, and another perish, no one can say. The fact of native American balladry remains.

*Choice Readings* (p. 169) to Capt. W. H. Saunders, U. S. N., elsewhere to Rev. E. H. Chapin (*Portland Transcript*, 1894, answer to query 823), it has for fifty years been a favorite of folk-singers in the Eastern States. Broadside copies are numerous. In the West, transformed into "The Lone Prairie," it is widely current in many different versions, yet retaining enough similarities to its prototype to show its origin: e. g.,

*The Burial at Sea*

Oh, bury me not in the deep, deep sea,  
Where the billow's shroud shall roll o'er me,  
Where no light can break through the dark, cold wave,  
Or the sun shine sweetly upon my grave.

C. from O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa. (*Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*).

*The Lone Prairie*

Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie,  
Where the wild coyote will howl o'er me,  
Where the rattlesnakes hiss and the winds blow free,  
Oh, bury me not on the lone prairie! "

(Communicated by Professor Henry M. Belden, Columbia, Mo., as recalled by an engineer who learned it in Kansas.)

A version of "The Lone Prairie" from Texas has been printed in this Journal (vol. xiv, p. 186.)

<sup>1</sup> Charles B. Webster, *Under Colonial Roofs*, p. 11.

## IRISH COME-ALL-YE'S

BY PHILLIPS BARRY

THAT the Irish population of our large cities have had considerable part in the preservation of traditional songs and ballads, is a fact, perhaps known, but which has attracted little attention among folk-lorists. It is true, nevertheless. In the "come-all-ye's" <sup>1</sup> of the Irish folk-singer, one finds endless variety. Not all of them are Irish, by any means. Some are historical ballads of comparatively recent date, as "Brennan on the Moor;" <sup>2</sup> others — for example, "The Test of Love" — are based on themes as old as the world. A few must be classed as "traditional lyrics." <sup>3</sup> The following songs and ballads, noted down during the past two years from the lips of singers in Boston, Mass., and elsewhere, are herewith, as representative specimens of favorite come-all-ye's, offered to readers of this Journal.

I<sup>4</sup>

Dorian?



1. It's false Sir John's a courting gone,  
                   .       .       .       .       .       .  
                   .       .       .       .       .       .
2. "Take off, take off that suit of Holland,  
           That suit of Holland so fine,  
       For it is too rich and too costly,  
           To rot in this salt sea brine!"
3. "It's look you round, my false Sir John,  
           To view the green leaves on the tree," —

<sup>1</sup> Many Irish historical ballads begin with the phrase "Come, all ye," . . . but folk-singers apply the term quite indiscriminately to all classes of traditional song.

<sup>2</sup> William Brennan, hanged for highway robbery in Co. Cork, 1804. See letter of Frank Kidson, quoted by Cecil J. Sharp, in *Folk-Songs of Somerset*, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> "Erin's Green Shore," "Nora McShane," etc. Some songs by Moore and Lover have passed into oral tradition.

<sup>4</sup> "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," H, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., native of Co. Tyrone.

And when he turned him round to view,  
She threw him right into the sea!

4. . . . .

"Of all the promises ever I made,  
I'll double them every one!"<sup>1</sup>

5. ". . . . .

It's seven King's daughters you have drowned here,  
And you the eighth shall be."

6. . . . .

And when she came to her father's gate,  
The clock had just struck one.

7. "It 's hold your tongue, my pretty parrot,  
And do not discover on me,  
And your cage shall be made of the beaten gold,  
Instead of the chestnut-tree!"<sup>2</sup>

8. Then up and speaks her old father,  
In the chamber where he lay,  
"What ails you, what ails you, my pretty parrot,  
You prattle so long before day?"

9. "The cats they have come to devour me,  
And tear me clean away,  
And I was calling to Mary Goldan  
To drive those cats away!"

10. Then he speaks, her father,  
In the chamber where he lay,  
"Oh, did n't I tell you, Mary Goldan,  
You'd rue your going away!"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A Sligo version ("Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight," B, from E. R., Vineland, N. J.) has the following stanza:—

"O give me a hold of your little finger,  
And a fast, fast hold of your thumb,  
There's not a promise that ever I made,  
But I'll roll it in one bun!"

<sup>2</sup> S. C. sings the line also,—

"Instead of the hazel-tree."

<sup>3</sup> "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight" is well known to Irish singers. The various forms of the name, Colvin, Collean, Collenendee, Goldan, Goldin, Polly, etc., are evident corruptions of Irish *cailín*. In another version (E, from M. J. P., Peoria, Illinois, native of Fulton, Missouri) the event is actually located in Ireland,—

"Mount up, mount up, my pretty Colendee,  
Mount up, mount up," said he,

II<sup>1</sup>

Pentatonic.



6. "What will you leave your girl, my own pretty boy?  
What will you leave your girl, my heart's loving joy?"  
"I leave her a barrel of powder, to blow her up high!"<sup>1</sup>  
For I'm sick to the heart, and I want to lie down."<sup>2</sup>

III<sup>3</sup>

Circular.



There was a shep-herd's daugh-ter was herd-ing on yon hill, And



by there came a no-ble knight, who fain would have his will.

CHORUS.



Ta rum ding fa doo, my del-pha maid, Ta rum ding fa doo ma dee.

1. There was a shepherd's daughter was herding on yon hill,  
And by there came a noble knight, who fain would have his will.  
Ta rum ding fa doo, my delpha maid,  
Ta rum ding fa doo, ma dee.<sup>4</sup>

2. He caught her by the middle small, and tossed her on the plain,  
And when he got his will of her, he took her up again.

<sup>1</sup> Or "blaze her up high."

<sup>2</sup> Two stanzas of another version ("Lord Randall," W, from G., an Irish singer living in Brunswick, Maine) are worthy of inclusion here, by way of comparison: —

"What is it you leave to your mother, my handsome fine boy?  
What is it you leave to your mother, my heart's loving joy?"  
"The gates of Heaven open, mother make my bed soon,  
For I'm sick to the heart, and I want to lie down."

"What is it you leave to your wife, my handsome fine boy?  
What is it you leave to your wife, my heart's loving joy?"  
"The gates of Hell open, mother make my bed soon,  
For I'm sick to the heart, and I want to lie down."

A melody to an unrecorded version of this ballad is in the *Complete Petrie Collection of Irish Music*, No. 330. Cf. also P. W. Joyce, *Old Irish Folk-Music*, p. 394. A Gaelic version, taken down from one Rogers of Co. Roscommon, has been published by Douglas Hyde (*Eriu*, ii, 77, An Irish folk-ballad).

<sup>3</sup> "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., as sung by a Scotch laborer in Co. Tyrone, Ireland.

<sup>4</sup> Gaelic:

Táim dian fadh tú, mo dealbhach maed,  
Táim dian fadh tú, mo daoí,

which is, being interpreted,

"I am violent because of you, my handsome maid,"  
"I am violent because of you, my man."

3. "Sometimes they call me Jack," he said, "sometimes they call me John,  
But when I am in the King's court, they call me Sweet William."
4. When she came to the King's court, . . .  
. . . . .
5. "Has he robbed you of your purse of gold, or of your penny fee?"  
. . . . .
6. "He has not robbed me of my purse of gold, nor of my penny fee,  
But he took from me the fairest flower belongs to my body."
7. "It's if he is a married man, it's hanged he shall be,  
And if he is a single man, his body I'll grant thee!"
8. "There's no Sweet William in my court, but one, but two, but three,  
There's one Sweet William, my sister's son, I'm afraid it must be he."
9. He called upon his merry men, by one, by two, by three,  
. . . . .
10. "It's here, take this, my pretty fair maid, and look out for a nurse."  
. . . . .
11. "Oh, hold your tongue, my pretty fair maid, you'll make the case look  
worse,  
If I have given you a British crown, you have it in your purse!"
12. "If I'd been drinking water, instead of drinking wine,  
There's not a fair maid in this land would have entered in my mind."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The ancient British ballad, in the strictest sense of the word, — that is, including only the three hundred and five items in Professor Child's *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, — is far better known to Irish folk-singers than has hitherto been supposed. The *Complete Petrie Collection of Irish Music* contains melodies to "The Twa Sisters" (Child, 10), "Lord Randall" (Child, 12), "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" (Child, 46), "Lord Lovell" (Child, 75), "The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington" (Child, 105), and "Johnie Cock" (Child, 114). P. W. Joyce, in *Old Irish Folk-Music*, gives melodies to "The Elfin Knight" (Child, 2), "Lord Randall" (Child, 12), "Young Beichan" (Child, 53), "The Gypsy Laddie" (Child, 200), "The Jolly Beggar" (Child, 179), "The Golden Vanity" (Child, 286), "Captain Ward" (Child, 287). In my own collection, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, I have taken down from Irish singers versions of "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight" (Child, 4), "Lord Randall" (Child, 12), "Lord Lovell" (Child, 75), "Bonny Barbara Allan" (Child, 84), "The Famous Flower of Serving-Men" (Child, 106), "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter" (Child, 110), "Katharine Jaffray" (Child, 221), "The Jolly Beggar" (Child, 279), and "The Keach in the Creel" (Child, 281). A manuscript collection of Irish airs in the Boston Public Library contains melodies to the following: "Lord Lovell" (Child, 75), "The Maid Freed from Gallows" (Child, 95), and "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" (Child, 46).

IV <sup>1</sup>

Mixolydian.



1. "I once had a sweetheart," said she,  
 "It's seven long years since I did him see,  
 And seven more will I wait on,  
 Till he returns for to marry me!"
2. "If it's seven years since you saw your lover,  
 Perhaps by this time he is dead and gone,  
 But come with me, I'll make you a lady,  
 You shall have servants to wait on you."
3. "If he is living, I love him dearly,  
 If he is dead, I wish him good rest,  
 But no other young man shall ever enjoy me,  
 Till he returns for to marry me!"
4. And when he saw that she was so loyal,  
 He thought it a pity for to see her lost,  
 He says, "Am n't I your loving sweetheart,  
 That has come home for to marry thee?"
5. "If it's you are my loving sweetheart,  
 Your hands and clothing they do not agree!"  
 But seven years make great alterations,  
 And so it was with this gentleman.
6. He put his hand into his pocket,  
 His poor fingers being both long and small,  
 He pulled out a ring between them was broken,  
 And when she saw it, she down did fall.
7. He stooped low for to lift his lover,  
 And unto her he give kisses three,  
 He says, "Am n't I your loving sweetheart,  
 That has come home for to marry thee?" <sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Test of Love," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., native of Co. Tyrone.

<sup>2</sup> The ancient theme of the Returned Lover is one of the oldest, as well as most widespread, of motifs in folk-ballad and folk-epic. As classic examples, the myths of Odysseus, Agamemnon, and Diomedes are familiar to all. Variations of the theme, however, are well-nigh innumerable. An interesting discussion of the subject, with more or less detailed

v<sup>1</sup>

1. Willy Taylor, a nice young sailor,  
Full of love and unity,  
First he went for to get married,  
Next he was pressed on board of sea.  
Fand the deeden an tan nura nido,  
Fand the deeden an tan nura nee.

treatment of the more common variants in modern folk-song, is to be found in *Der Heimkehrende Gatte und sein Weib*, by Willy Splettstösser, Berlin, 1899. The author distinguishes six forms, under which the different variations of the theme may be conveniently grouped: —

1. Woman unfaithful.
2. Lover arrives in time to stop a wedding.
3. Lover proves woman's fidelity by a love-test.
4. Woman stolen, lover goes in search of her.
5. Lover finds woman in great poverty.
6. Lover steals woman, who has been abused by her parents.

In English ballads, besides "The Test of Love," variations of the theme occur in "Hind Horn," "The Kitchie Boy," "Katharine Jaffray," "Lord William," and "The Demon Lover." In the last, the theme is carried into the domain of the supernatural. Inversions of the theme are found in "Young Beichan" and "The Bailiff's Daughter of Islington." Many versions of "The Test of Love" are known to Irish singers; in one version, the incident is located on the *banks of Claudy*, in Donegal. Two stanzas from a German parallel are worthy of citation: —

"Gestern war's drei Wochen über sieben Jahr,  
Da mein feins Liebchen ausgewandert war."  
"Gestern bin ich geritten durch eine Stadt,  
Da dein feins Liebchen hat Hochzeit gehabt."

"Was thust du ihm denn wünschen,  
Das er nicht gehalten seine Tren?"  
"Ich wünsche ihm so viel gute Zeit  
So viel wie Sand am Meere breit."

(*Wunderhorn*, p. 38, ed. Etlinger.)

This variation of the theme, in which the love-test is by a tale of infidelity on the part of the lover, is found also in some English versions (see "Popular Song in Missouri," "The Returned Lover," by Henry M. Belden, in L. Herrig's *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteratur*, vol. cxx, pp. 63 ff.

<sup>1</sup> "William Taylor," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., native of Co. Tyrone.



2. She dressed herself in man's apparel,  
Changed her name to Richard Carr,  
Her long fingers, small and slender,  
All besmeared with pitch and tar.
3. . . . .  
The silver buttons flew off her jacket,  
And the captain saw her milk-white breast.<sup>1</sup>
4. "If you are in search of Willy Taylor,  
I think I know that same young man,  
He has got married to a handsome lady,  
And they both live convenient to the Isle of Man."<sup>2</sup>
5. "Get up early in the morning,  
Walk down by yon silver strand,  
Where you'll get your Willy Taylor,  
And his lady by the hand."
6. She got up early in the morning,  
And walked down by yon silver strand,  
Where she got her Willy Taylor,  
And his lady by the hand.
7. "Oh, false young William, false young William,  
What in the deed's that you have done,  
Them that has you may enjoy you,  
But they won't enjoy you very long."
8. "Get to me my case of pistols,  
A case of pistols at my command!"  
She fired and shot young William Taylor,  
And left his lady on the strand.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Another version (E, from O. F. A. C., Harrisburg, Pa.) has this stanza as follows: —

On deck one day, they raised a skirmish,  
She amongst the rest was one,  
She unbuttoned her coat, threw open her waistcoat,  
And her lily-white breasts were shown.

<sup>2</sup> Another version (E) makes William Taylor to be a Manxman.

<sup>3</sup> Two stanzas from E may be cited in comparison: —

"Oh," cried she, "young William Taylor,  
It is from you that I bear this mark,  
Them that has you shall never enjoy you."  
Then she shot him through the heart.

Big tears were in her eyes a-falling,  
Straight on ship-board she did go,  
The whole ship crew all strove to save her,  
But overboard herself she threw.

The account of the tragedy given in this version is absolutely unique.

9. The captain saw the deed she 'd done,  
And all that was with him saw it too,  
He made her his bride and chief commander,  
Aboard of the ship called "Lovely Ann."

The theme of "William Taylor" is a combination of two motifs. One is an inversion of one form of the Returned Lover (compare also "Young Beichan," into which a similar inversion is introduced); the other is the Woman-disguised-as-Man, a motif also quite widespread in popular tradition, and especially common in later British balladry. The ballad itself was current in eastern Massachusetts as early as 1790, according to the evidence of the following melody from a manuscript of that date:—



It is still a favorite with Irish singers in this country; numerous broad-sides attest its popularity in England.

VI<sup>1</sup>

Mixolydian?

As I walked out on a May morn - ing, On a  
Mash a ri fol de rol, etc.

May morn ing as it hap-pen-ed to be, The pret - ti - est lass that

ev - er I did see, She come link - ing o'er the lea to me.

1. As I walked out on a May morning,  
On a May morning, as it happened to be,  
The prettiest lass that ever I did see,  
She come linking o'er the lea to me.

<sup>1</sup> "Tripping over the Lea," B, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., as sung by a Scotch laborer in Co. Tyrone, Ireland.

Mush a ri fol de rol fol de rol lol lol,  
Mush a ri fol de rol fol de rol lol lol,  
The prettiest lass, etc.

2. I took her by the middle small  
And gently laid her on the ground,  
I scarcely kissed her once or twice,  
When she smiled and said, "Not a day too young!"
3. "Your wedding day may pass aside,  
For I never intended to make you my bride,  
And of all the diversion that ever we had,  
I'm sure you've got your fair divide."
4. "I wish my baby it was born,  
Sitting on its dadda's knee,  
And me laid in the silent dust,  
And the green grass growing over me."

VII<sup>1</sup>

Mixolydian, modulating to Ionian.

Good morn - ing to you, Mol - ly, are you tak - ing a walk? If your  
dad - dy was here, love, we'd sit down and talk; We'd  
sit down and talk, love, all a - long the green lea, And we'd  
drive the lambs o - ver, with love - ly Mol - ly!

1. "Good morning to you Molly, are you taking a walk?  
If your daddy was here, love, we'd sit down and talk.  
We'd sit down and talk, love, all along the green lea,  
And we'd drive the lambs over, with lovely Molly!"
2. "Yonder is my father, now feeding his flock,  
Go ask of him a ewe lamb, that will bring you to stock.

<sup>1</sup> "The Shepherd's Daughter," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from E. R., Vineland, N. J., native of Co. Sligo.

Say that you'll feed her, all along the green lea,  
And you'll drive the lambs over, with lovely Molly."

3. "Good morning to you, old man, are you feeding your flock?  
I've come for a ewe lamb, that will bring me to stock, —  
I will carefully feed her, all along the green lea,  
And we'll drive the lambs over, with lovely Molly."
4. "Go down to yonder valley, and choose out your lamb,  
Go choose out a ewe lamb, the best one you can.  
If you say that you'll feed it, all along the green lea,  
We'll drive the lambs over, with lovely Molly."
5. Over goes Johnny, and takes Molly by the hand,  
And before the old father, those couple do stand,  
"This is the ewe lamb, that I asked from thee,  
And we'll drive the lambs over, with lovely Molly."
6. "Was there ever an old man, so plagued as I am,  
To give my one daughter instead of a lamb?  
But now as it happens, then so let it be,  
And we'll drive the lambs over, with lovely Molly!"

VIII<sup>1</sup>

1. Early early all in the spring,  
When gentle small birds begin to sing,  
Changing their notes from tree to tree,  
As the sun arose over yon green valley.
2. For six long months my love she did prove kind,  
And then six after, she changed her mind,  
Saying "Farewell, darling, I must away,  
You know my parents I must obey!"
3. He held her fast, he would not let her go,  
Saying, "Mary, Mary, my mind you know,  
Fulfil those vows you made to me,  
As the sun arose over yon green valley!"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Early in the Spring," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., native of Co. Tyrone. Except in the last stanza, repeat third and fourth lines as refrain.

<sup>2</sup> The presence of this stanza connects the ballad with the Returned-Lover cycle. A

4. "It was on a book, love, you made me swear,  
If you read these few lines, you'll find it there,  
That I can't marry, nor no one take,  
Nor when you're dead, love none for your sake!"
5. "I'll think no more of her yellow hair,  
Her two black eyes are beyond compare,  
Her cherry cheeks, and her flattering tongue,  
It was it beguiled me when I was young!"
6. Down in yon valley all closed around,  
There's nothing there, but the small birds' sound,  
I sing one verse, and I sing no more,  
Since the girl has left me that I adore!  
I change my mind like the waving wind,  
And I'll dote no more on false womankind!

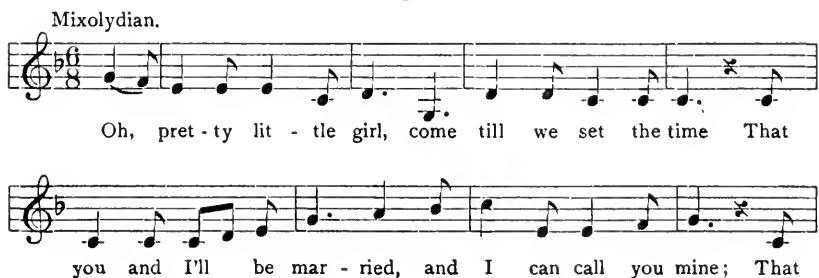
A fragment, sung by S. C. to a melody closely similar, may well be from another version of this ballad:—



Oh, the rose is red, and the lau - rel's green, And  
my love's face it might serve a queen; The drop of hon - ey in the  
morn - ing dew Was not half so sweet as one kiss from you!

IX<sup>1</sup>

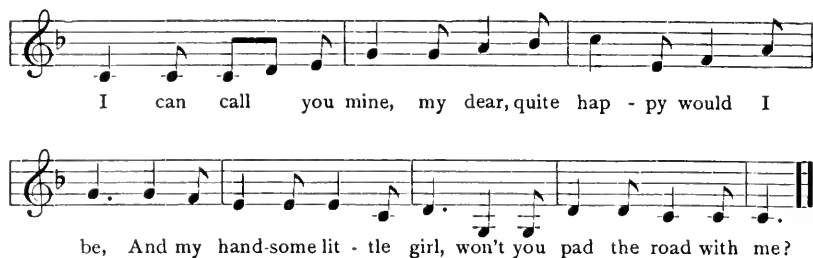
Mixolydian.



Oh, pret - ty lit - tle girl, come till we set the time That  
you and I'll be mar - ried, and I can call you mine; That

version printed by Professor Belden (*l. c.* cf. note 2, p. 379) makes the lover return after seven years' service in the King's navy.

<sup>1</sup> "McLeane the Journeyman," A, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, from S. C., Boston, Mass., native of Co. Tyrone.



1. "Oh, pretty little girl, come till we set the time  
That you and I'll be married, and I can call you mine,  
That I can call you mine, my dear, quite happy would I be,  
And, my handsome little girl, won't you pad the road with me?"
2. "If I's to pad the road with you, then I'd be much to blame,  
Besides, my mother has none but me, and I don't know your name."—  
" . . . the maids they know me well,  
My name's McLeane the Journeyman, which many a maid can tell!"
3. "I'll buy you a beaver bonnet, likewise a muslin gown,  
. . . and servants at your call,  
And I'll buy you a nice little lap-dog, to follow your jaunting-car!"
4. "A fig for you and your lap-dogs, your jaunting-car likewise,  
I'd rather have a young man, with two bright sparkling eyes,  
I'd rather have a young man without a penny at all,  
That would take me in his arms, and roll me from the wall!"

The Irish folk-singer, with his come-all-ye's, enables us to trace from several points of view the processes, inventive and re-creative, by which folk-songs come to be. He makes no distinction between earlier and later balladry; a good song with a good melody needs no further recommendation. Wherefore, if we are to hold to a view that there is a difference in kind between, say, "Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight" and "William Taylor," due to a difference in origin, — that is, the one being the last stage in a long process of growth, extending back to the communal incoherencies of prehistory; the other an artistic product of an age that can read and write, — the problem presents for us only difficulties more serious than those we have solved. The re-creative processes of popular tradition have had the same effect on both. Why make a distinction, when the folk makes none? It is no argument to point contemptuously to the multitude of broadside ballads of the sixteenth century and later, that have perished.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, a further result of

<sup>1</sup> "Our Good Man," in the familiar broadside version, was translated into German by F. W. Meyer in 1789; since then the ballad has passed into oral tradition in Germany,

the re-creative process, which has affected all alike, to the extent of the differentiation of variants, is the so-called "ballad mosaic."<sup>1</sup> Out of the detritus of several ballads a new one is formed, sometimes coherent, yet more often clumsily wrought.

A typical specimen of a ballad mosaic may here be put in evidence:—

SONG ENTITLED MOLLIE BAWN<sup>2</sup>

1. I am a wee lassie whose fortune was low,  
To whom I fell a-courting a young sailor boy,  
He courted me early, by night and by day,  
But now he's gone and left me, he's gone far away,  
But now he's gone and left me, he's gone far away!
2. I'll build a wee boatie, I'll build it on shore,  
If he ever returns to me, I'll crown him once more,  
If he ever returns to me, I'll crown him with joy,  
And I'll kiss the ruby lips of my own sailor boy,  
And I'll kiss the ruby lips of my own sailor boy.
3. As Mollie went a-walking, a shower it came on,  
She went under a green bush, till the shower it was o'er,  
Her apron been around her head, I mistook her for a swan,  
And by my sad misfortune, I shot Mollie Bawn,  
And by my sad misfortune, I shot Mollie Bawn.
4. Oh, Mollie, lovely Mollie, since I have shot you, dear,  
Through the wild woods I'll wander, for the sake of you, dear,  
Through the wild woods I'll wander, by night and by day,  
And I'll never fulfil my rambles, till the moon shines clear day,  
And I'll never fulfil my rambles till the moon shines clear day.<sup>3</sup>

Many come-all-ye's have refrains. Of these refrains, a certain proportion, at least, are Gaelic, as the refrain to "The Knight and the Shepherd's Daughter."<sup>4</sup> It is generally supposed that the refrains of

Scandinavia, and Hungary, showing the usual effects of communal re-creation. See John Meier, *Kunstlieder im Volksmunde*, No. 156.

<sup>1</sup> See "Folk-Song in Missouri, Bedroom Window," by Henry M. Belden, in *Herrig's Archiv*, vol. cxix, p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> "At the Setting of the Sun," C, *Folk-Songs of the North Atlantic States*, MS., forwarded by M. L. F., Portland, Maine.

<sup>3</sup> The theme of this ballad, apart from the first two stanzas, which are from a different source (cf. "The Wagoner Lad," *Ballads and Rhymes from Kentucky*, by G. L. Kittredge, in this Journal, vol. xx, p. 268), is the Supernatural-Lover (bird or fish). It is found also in "The Earl of Mar's Daughter" and "The Great Silkie of Sule Skerry." In both is mention made of killing the supernatural being when in the non-human shape. Another variant is the Irish folk-tale, "The Mermaid."

<sup>4</sup> The familiar "Shule aroon," a Gaelic refrain, is easily made out, —

Siubhal, siubhal siubhal a rún,  
Siubhal go sochair, agus siubhal go cún,

ballads are the oldest part, going back to the incoherencies of the "singing, dancing throng." The presence, however, of Gaelic refrains to English ballads, shows that in these several instances the refrain is a later addition.

Siubhal go den duras, agus eligh liom,  
Is go de tú, mo muirnin slán, —

which is, being interpreted, "Walk, walk, walk, my love, walk quietly and walk boldly, walk to the door and flee with me! Here 's a health to you, my darling!"

The refrains of most of the later ballads are so much corrupted that they cannot be interpreted.



AN ENGLISH CHRISTMAS PLAY <sup>1</sup>

BY ANTOINETTE TAYLOR

THIS Mummer's Play was first brought to light by the study of folk-plays in the class of Miss Jennie M. A. Jones of the Central High School, St. Louis, who appreciated its value and brought it to the attention of others. Miss Helen Dorrell, a member of the class, took down the words from the recitation of her father, who had taken part in the play as a boy in the rural community of Broadway, Worcestershire, England, at least thirty-five years ago. Some of it he could not remember. He is the authority also for the following account of the place and manner of the performance and of the costume of the actors.

The players were boys, ranging in age from fourteen to twenty or twenty-one. They were trained by a much older man, at whose home the rehearsals usually took place. Besides training the boys, this man also took a part himself. Sometimes he was Old Father Christmas, sometimes he was Beelzebub.

The players went from one farmhouse to another, asking permission to give their play. This is what one of the players would say when asking permission to perform: "Would you like to hear the mummers to-night?"

In old English farmhouses there are usually two kitchens, — a front kitchen and a back kitchen. The back kitchen was used for a waiting-room; the front kitchen was the place where the play was given. The kitchen floors were of smooth white stone. Both rooms were heated by means of large open fireplaces, and lighted by large brown candles, usually set in "horn lanterns" fastened to the walls.

The costumes of the players were very crude, intended merely to suggest the characters. Old Father Christmas wore a fur cap and fur gloves, a long red coat, and top boots. He had a wig and beard of long white hair, and the end of his nose was reddened. Beelzebub wore a large black hat, called a dripping-pan, and a long black coat, and in his hand carried a club (usually the club was carried over his shoulder). The Italian Doctor wore a top hat and a swallow-tail coat. The Valiant Soldier wore a blue soldier's suit and soldier's cap. Little Dick Nipp wore a hat with a very wide brim, a short coat, and carried a long stick, on the end of which a pig's bladder was tied. He was the "fool" or fun-maker of the play. St. George wore a small hat with a feather

<sup>1</sup> Contributed as part of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Missouri Folk-Lore Society, March 13, 1909. [Cf. T. F. Ordish, *Folk Lore*, ii, 314 ff., iv, 149 ff.; J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, I, 289 ff.; E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, i, 182 ff., 205 ff., ii, 270 ff.; Arthur Beatty, *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy*, xv, ii, 273 ff. — EDITORS.

in it, a dark red coat, knee-breeches, and low shoes, and carried a sword.

The play was in two parts. After the performance, the players were usually rewarded with hot spiced ale or cider and bread and cheese, and in addition to this a sum of from two to five shillings was collected.

#### PART I

*Enter* FATHER CHRISTMAS

In comes I,  
Old Christmas, Christmas, or Christmas not,  
I hope old Father Christmas will never be forgot.  
Christmas comes but once a year,  
And when it comes it brings good cheer.  
Roast beef, plum pudding, and mince pie,  
There's no old Father Christmas loves better than I.

*Enter* BEELZEBUB

A room, a room, brave gallant boys!  
And give us room to reign,  
For we have come to show our bold activity,  
Here on a merry Christmas time, —  
Activity of youth, activity of age,  
The like was never acted upon any stage.  
If you don't believe what I say,  
Enter in St. George, and clear the way.

*In comes* ST. GEORGE

St. George, that man of courage bold,  
With sword and spear all by my side,  
Hoping to gain the twelve crowns of gold.  
'T was I who slew the fiery dragon,  
And brought him to the slaughter,  
And by those fiery means I hope  
To gain the Queen of Egypt's daughter.  
Seven long years I was kept in a close cave,  
Where I made my sad and grievous mourn.  
I have led the fair Sarepta from the snake,  
Which neither man nor mortal would undertake.  
I brought them all most courageously,  
And still I gain the victory.  
Show *me* the man who dare me!

*Enter the* TURKISH KNIGHT

I am the man who dare fight thee,  
The Turkish Knight,  
Come from my own Turkish land to fight.  
I will fight St. George, that man of courage bold.  
If his blood is hot I will quickly make it cold.

ST. GEORGE *and the* TURKISH KNIGHT *fight with back swords*

TURKISH KNIGHT, *dropping on one knee*

Hold, hold, St. George! Another word  
From thee I have to crave.

Spare me this time, and I will arise  
To be thy Turkish slave.

ST. GEORGE

Arise, arise, thou Turkish Knight!  
Go over to thine own Turkish lands and fight.  
Tell them there the champions grow in England.  
Tell them there the wonders I have done,  
I have slain ten thousand for thy one.

TURKISH KNIGHT

No, rather than tell them that,  
I cut thee, hew thee as small as flies,  
And send thee to Jamaica to make mince pies.

ST. GEORGE

Mince pies I do not like.  
But another battle then, and I will fight.

ST. GEORGE *kills the KNIGHT.* Enter BEELZEBUB

A room! A room!

And let the prudent King of Spain come in!

Enter KING OF SPAIN

In comes the prudent King of Spain!  
All with my glittering sword,  
I have cut and slain St. George.

ST. GEORGE

Thou prudent King of Spain,  
Hast thou come here to fight?

KING OF SPAIN

Yes, bold champion, and I think it is my right,  
And with thee I have come to fight.

ST. GEORGE

Firstly, thou hast challenged me, King,  
Secondly, thou hast challenged me.  
Stand forth! thou figure of a tree,  
And see who gains the victory!

*The KING OF SPAIN is killed.* Enter BEELZEBUB

A room! A room!

And let the valiant soldier in.

Enter SOLDIER

In comes the valiant soldier,  
Cut and Slasher is my name,  
All from the fiery wars of Spain.  
'T was I and seven more  
Who slew eleven score,  
And could have slain twelve thousand more,  
All brave marching men of war.  
Many a battle have I been in,  
And still fight St. George, that noble King.

SOLDIER *killed by ST. GEORGE.* Enter BEELZEBUB

A room! A room! A gallant room!

And let the little Italian Doctor walk in.

Enter ITALIAN DOCTOR

In comes the little Italian Doctor,  
Lately come from Rome, France, and Spain.  
I carry a little vial bottle  
In the waist of my break, with which I can cure.

BEELZEBUB

What canst thou cure?

ITALIAN DOCTOR

What thou canst not cure, old Dad.

BEELZEBUB

Old Dad, what's that?

ITALIAN DOCTOR

Rheumatic gout,  
Pains within, and pains without.  
Bring me an old woman  
Of three score years and ten  
With the knuckle of her little toe broke,  
And I can set it again.

BEELZEBUB

Set it then.

ITALIAN DOCTOR *goes round the slain, who all lie on the floor, and  
says over each, —*

Drop on thy brow,  
Drop on thy heart,  
Arise up, Jack,  
And take thy part.

*All arise and are cured.*

## PART II

SWEET MOLL *walks into the room.*

ST. GEORGE

Sweet Moll, Sweet Moll, where art thou going,  
So early and so soon?  
I have something to thee to say,  
If yet that thou canst stay.

SWEET MOLL

What hast thou got to say?  
Pray tell it to me now,  
For I am spending all my time  
In what I can't tell how.

ST. GEORGE

Sweet Moll, thy parents and mine had well agreed  
That married we should be,  
So pull down thy lofty looks,  
And fix thy love on me.

SWEET MOLL

But I must have a little boy  
Who speaks a peevish tongue;

A pair of silver buckles  
That ladies do have on;  
And I must have some butcher's meat  
Of every sort and kind;  
And in the morn a cup of tea,  
At night, a glass of wine.

ST. GEORGE

Won't bacon serve thy turn, Sweet Moll,  
Some good fat powder puffs?  
And in the morn a cup of milk,  
And that's the farmer's cut.  
Sweet Moll, thou hast no cause  
To talk of silver things,  
For thou wast not brought up in palaces  
Amongst lords, dukes, and kings.  
And the little thou hast learnt  
Thou hast almost forgot;  
And if thou wilt not marry me,  
Thou then canst go to rot!

*Exit SWEET MOLL. Enter LITTLE DICK NIPP*

In comes I, Little Dick Nipp,  
With my big head, and my little wit.  
My head is so big, and my body so small,  
Yet I am the biggest rogue of all.  
My forehead is lined with brass,  
My head is lined with steel,  
My trousers touch my ankle bones,  
Pray, Doctor, come and feel.

DOCTOR

Yes, yes.

ST. GEORGE

A room! A room! A gallant room!  
And let old Beelzebub come in.

*Enter BEELZEBUB*

In comes old Beelzebub,  
On my shoulder I carry my club,  
In my hand my dripping-pan.  
Don't you think I'm a jolly old man?  
A mug of good ale will make us merry and sing.  
And a few of your half-crowns and five-shilling pieces  
In our pockets would be a very fine thing.

*Collection is taken up and dance and carol sung:*

Here's health to her stock,  
Likewise to his flock;  
We'll take this small cup  
And we'll drink it all up,  
And there's enough to fill it again.

[It seems not to be generally known among students of the popular drama that the St. George Christmas Play was a familiar feature of Boston life in the eighteenth century. The following passage from the "Recollections" of Mr. Samuel Breck will be found of interest.

"I forget on what holiday it was that the Anticks, another exploded remnant of colonial manners, used to perambulate the town. They have ceased to do it now, but I remember them as late as 1782. They were a set of the lowest blackguards, who, disguised in filthy clothes and oftentimes with masked faces, went from house to house in large companies; and, *bon gré, mal gré*, obtruding themselves everywhere, particularly into the rooms that were occupied by parties of ladies and gentlemen, would demean themselves with great insolence. I have seen them at my father's, when his assembled friends were at cards, take possession of a table, seat themselves on rich furniture, and proceed to handle the cards, to the great annoyance of the company. The only way to get rid of them was to give them money, and listen patiently to a foolish dialogue between two or more of them. One of them would cry out, 'Ladies and gentlemen sitting by the fire, put your hands in your pockets and give us our desire.' When this was done, and they had received some money, a kind of acting took place. One fellow was knocked down and lay sprawling on the carpet, while another bellowed out,

'See, there he lies,  
But ere he dies  
A doctor must be had.'

He calls for a doctor, who soon appears, and enacts the part so well that the wounded man revives. In this way they would continue for half an hour, and it happened not unfrequently that the house would be filled by another gang when these had departed. There was no refusing admittance. Custom had licensed these vagabonds to enter even by force any place they chose. What should we say to such intruders now? Our manners would not brook such usage a moment."<sup>1</sup>

In 1753 the General Court passed a law against mummers and pageants in the streets;<sup>2</sup> but this, I suppose, applied rather to Pope Day celebrations (on November 5th, the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot) than to the St. George performers.<sup>3</sup> — G. L. KITTREDGE.]

<sup>1</sup> *Recollections of Samuel Breck with Passages from his Note-Books* (1771-1862), edited by H. E. Scudder, Philadelphia, 1877, pp. 35, 36. Mr. Breck was born in Boston in 1771, and died in Philadelphia in 1862. He began to write his *Recollections* in 1830, and this passage is near the beginning. The greater part of the passage was printed in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for 1877 (liv, 826, 827).

<sup>2</sup> 26 Geor. II, chap. 3, passed January 5, 1753 (*Temporary Acts*, ed. 1763, pp. 83, 84; *Province Laws*, III, 647, 648).

<sup>3</sup> On Pope Day see Matthews in the *Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, viii, 90 ff., 104, and Cunningham, in the same *Publications*, xii, 288-295, with the references.

## SOME ANALOGUES OF MAISTRE PIERRE PTHELIN

BY THOMAS EDWARD OLIVER

THE substance of the following story, entitled "Old Rasmus," was related by a Danish-speaking student at a meeting of the Scandinavian Club of the University of Illinois not long ago. As will be seen, the resemblance of this tale and its several analogues to the main features of the Old-French farce of *Maistre Pierre Pathelin* is so marked that it seems quite worth while to call attention to these additional links in the chain of the Pathelin cycle. Moreover, certain features of these Danish and other versions are of sufficient moment to warrant a belief in a wider ramification and a more complex interrelation of the analogues of the Pathelin story than is commonly held. The student who related the story of "Old Rasmus" said that he had read it as far back as 1886 in a Danish popular almanac, although he was unable to remember the title or the date of the almanac in question. The presence of such a tale in a popular publication at so late a date is undoubtedly very interesting, and proves the great vitality of the Pathelin type of tale.

Acting on the scant information furnished by the student, I wrote to several publishers of Danish popular almanacs, one of whom, Justis-raad N. C. Rom of Copenhagen, very kindly sent me with his answer the 1883 edition of his firm's "Folkets Almanak." Here in the first seven pages of Signature 7 (the pages are not otherwise numbered) occurs the story entitled "Gammel Rasmus, Sjaellandsk Aeventyr, ved Jens Kamp," illustrated by six rough woodcuts representing the main features of the tale.<sup>1</sup> This tale was written down from the words of a ferryman named A. Rasmussen, of the island of Bogö, south of Zealand, Denmark. A summary follows:—

Old Rasmus was a farmer living with his wife on the outskirts of a country village. They were very poor, lived in a hovel, and owned but one cow. In the winter they begged for food for the cow and for themselves; in the summer they stole it, acting upon Old Rasmus's favorite maxim, "One must help one's self as one may." An especially severe winter came, rendering it impossible to secure fodder. The cow had recently calved, but poverty and hunger forced Old Rasmus to kill and eat the cow. When this supply of food was exhausted, Old Rasmus went into the village to sell the calf, leaving this animal at home, however. He first went to the leading shoemaker, and with much effort cajoled him into purchasing the calf for its meat and hide for

<sup>1</sup> The text of this story may also be found in Jens Kamp's *Danske Folkeeventyr*, ii (1891), No. 4, p. 53. I am greatly indebted to Dr. Axel Olrik and the Danish Folk-Lore Society for their courtesy in furnishing me with copies of this and other Danish analogues to be mentioned in this article.

eight dollars cash. Rasmus agreed to deliver the calf in a week, when the shoemaker should call for it. Elated at his success, Rasmus tried the same scheme upon the poorer shoemaker, a mere cobbler, securing this time five dollars cash. Rasmus then went home, and soon hunger was again at his door. He and his wife decided, therefore, to kill the calf that very day. A week later, as Rasmus was enjoying his dinner of veal, the two purchasers appeared. Rasmus calmly told them that he had forgotten the agreement, and invited them to sit down and share the last of the meat. Furious at this deception, they threatened Old Rasmus with jail, while Rasmus ate on undisturbed, and even taunted them with their simplicity. The summons to court came; and on his way to the bailiff, Rasmus met a constable, to whom he told his version of the affair. The constable agreed to assist him provided he would promise to pay him three marks. Rasmus readily promised. The constable then counselled him to act like a simpleton before the bailiff, and to begin to whistle "fyt" at every question put to him. Rasmus arrives at court, and is confronted by the two shoemakers. The pompous old bailiff asks those present if the accused is Old Rasmus. The bailiff, receiving an affirmative answer, asks Rasmus if he acknowledges the crime. Rasmus stands there, looking the fool to perfection, and gives no answer. The question is put a second time, but Rasmus only stares at the bailiff's wig. A third time, with rising wrath and insulting epithet, the bailiff puts the question, ending with, "Answer, you ass!" — "Fyt, . . . fyt, . . ." says Old Rasmus. A fourth time comes the question. "Fyt . . . fyt," whistles Rasmus in reply. "He is crazy!" roars the bailiff, beside himself with anger. "You cobblers, you deal with an idiot at your own risk. Away with you for disturbing the dignity of the Court!" and the bailiff strikes lustily with his cane at the bewildered shoemakers, who escape in terror. In the resulting confusion Old Rasmus sneaks into a corner until the coast is clear. He then bolts out of town. On the way he meets the constable, who inquires how things had gone. Rasmus tells him, whereupon the constable demands the three marks promised him. Rasmus gives the same prolonged "fyt . . . fyt," and runs home.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. N. C. Rom, editor of the "Folkets Almanak" in which this story of "Old Rasmus" is printed, says in a recent letter to the present writer, "I must not omit to inform you that the story in question is widely known in Denmark, and is told with many variations, and there is no doubt of its being equally common in Norway and Sweden, as can surely be ascertained."

I have as yet made no personal investigation of the possibility of the occurrence of folk-versions of this tale in the other Scandinavian countries; but the Danish Folk-Lore Society very kindly inquired of the Folk-Lore Societies of Sweden and Norway in my behalf, receiving answer that, as far as these societies now know, there are no analogues of this tale in those lands. The Danish society, however, sent me, in addition to a copy of the "Old Rasmus" story, several other Danish

<sup>1</sup> The student narrator of this story rendered this "fyt . . . fyt" of Old Rasmus by a prolonged whistle.



analogues, which I summarize here before proceeding to a discussion of all the analogues. The first of these is entitled "The Attorney's Counsel."<sup>1</sup>

A man once sold a cow to six butchers in succession, receiving from each two rigsdaler as earnest-money. When the time arrived for them to claim the cow, the man gave her to the first comer. The other purchasers summoned him before the judge. As he went thither in great anxiety, he passed an attorney's house. The attorney inquired the cause of his distress, whereupon the man told him that he was seeking some one who could help him out of his difficulty. The attorney advised him to reply only "Ja pyt" to all questions, and added that the man could pay him on his return. The man followed strictly the attorney's advice, and the judge declared to the plaintiffs that the fellow was crazy and must be freed. On his return home, the man endeavored to pass the attorney's house without entering; but the attorney ran out and invited him in. "Ja pyt," said the man as he hastened on.

A third Danish analogue is in some respects even more interesting. For the sake of convenience I will call it the Jutland version. The summary follows.<sup>2</sup>

An old inhabitant of Sjælland drove to Copenhagen with a load of rye to sell. The rye was not very new, but he finally sold it at a good price to the landlord of an inn. A couple of sharp bucksters saw the money paid, and induced the old man to treat them. They finally got him to drink heavily and to join in a game of cards, where with fair luck at first he finally lost everything. As his drunkenness increased, the sharpers were able to work their will upon him easily. He borrowed money from the host several times, and finally even pawned his horse and cart only to lose all. He was now very drunk indeed, and dared not meet his irate wife at home. The sharpers therefore readily influenced him to go with them where sailors are hired for voyages. On the way they meet a Prussian sea captain who is looking for a sailor. The rascals turn over to him the drunken man, and hide to watch the outcome of their adventure. The captain demands the old man's papers, and, on learning that he has none with him, orders him to go home and fetch them. Somewhat sobered, he starts; but the sharpers, fearing danger to themselves, try to send him on board again. At this juncture an attorney who had noticed the sharpers interfered, and caused them to flee by his threats of exposure. The drunken man tells the attorney of his misfortunes, including his engagement to ship as a sailor. From this last dilemma the attorney promises to free him if he will agree to pay him fifty dollars. This the old man promised, and the attorney then advised him to return to the captain and to make no other answer than "Pyt" to all questions. The old man does this; and the captain, in a fury, strikes him on the head, and then orders him to be beaten

<sup>1</sup> This story was first written down in 1861 by Peder Nielsen, pupil in the Søndinge Volksskule, Fyn, Denmark. It may be found in the MSS. of the *Dansk Folkemindesamling* 16, pp. 155, 156, in the Royal Library of Copenhagen. In 1900 it was published by Evald Tang Kristensen as No. 126 (p. 89) of his *Danske Skjæmtesagn*.

<sup>2</sup> This tale was written down by Evald Tang Kristensen as related by the fisherman Jens Mathias Kristensen in Fjaltring near Lemvig, Jylland (Jutland), Denmark. It is printed in Evald Tang Kristensen's *Fra Bindestue og Kælle*, 1897, ii, No. 17.

with a rope and thrown ashore. The man, now thoroughly sobered, hastens home, and manages to survive the scoldings of his wife. A few days later the attorney is seen approaching to claim his fifty dollars. The old man quickly gets into bed and tells his wife to say that he is sick. The wife acts her part well, showing the attorney the pretended sick husband, and declaring that he is near his end. Despite this, the attorney demands the fifty dollars of the old man, but receives only "Pyt" for an answer, and is obliged to depart empty-handed.

In a collection of Danish folk-tales published in 1900 by Evald Tang Kristensen<sup>1</sup> there are five Danish versions grouped under the general heading "Grisens Salg" ("The Sale of a Pig"), all of which resemble those already given, except in minor details. In the first of these (No. 124 in Kristensen's collection), the story is as follows:—

A man lost in playing skat. Having no money, he took a pig to Aalborg to sell. Meeting a man bound for court, he sold the pig for five dollars, and agreed to deliver the animal at his house. Farther on he sold the pig a second time under the same conditions, and then began to wonder what he should do. His solution of the problem was to go to the inn and sell the pig a third time, on this occasion to the host. The first two purchasers meet after court, and each invites the other to come to his house and partake of roast pig. In neither house, however, do they find the pig, and each is much mystified. Not to be disappointed, however, in their meal, they go to the inn, where, after some delay, they are unwittingly served with the pig which each had bought. In conversation they learn how and by whom they have been deceived, and the host confirms their discovery. They then summon the seller to court. On the way thither the latter goes to an attorney outside the village, and agrees to give him six half-bushels (*skjaepper*) of rye if he will help him. The lawyer advises him to whistle when the Court questions him. This he does, and the chief of police beats him. The lawyer then comes in and expostulates, warning them that the policeman has beaten a well-known crazy man belonging to such and such a village. The frightened plaintiffs then withdraw their suit, and beg the defendant very politely to go home. The lawyer runs after him, and asks when he is to receive his rye; but the man only whistles, even when the lawyer agrees to go fetch the rye himself. The lawyer then takes his turn in beating the man, and goes his way. "Thus did the man receive fifteen dollars and two beatings for his porker, and therewith ended the matter."

Of special interest here is the presence of the lawyer in court, and also the invitation to eat where no food is forthcoming. These elements in the tale show a closer analogy with the French tale than in the Danish versions previously cited.

All of these Kristensen tales are taken directly from the people, and in each case the name of the narrator is given. In this case the narrator is Jens Povlsen of Tvaermose. The same version with less detail,

<sup>1</sup> *Danske Skjaemtesagn, samlede af Folkemunde af Evald Tang Kristensen, Forste Samling*; Aarhus. Forfatterens Forlag 1900. Pp. 87-92, Nos. 124-128.

as related by Markus Hansen of Assing, is printed as No. 28 of Kristensen's collection "*Aeventyr fra Jylland, samlede af Folkemunde. Anden Samling*," which is volume vii of "*Jyske Folkeminder*" (Copenhagen, Karl Schønbergs Boghandel, 1884). Here, on pp. 206-210, is a tale, also entitled "*Grisetalget*," in which a peasant, Peder Ty, sells in Aalborg a month-old suckling pig to the chief clerk of the court and to the procurator. As in the story above, he does not deliver the pig, but sells it a third time to the innkeeper. He receives five daler at each sale. In the same way the disappointed purchasers go to the inn and eat the very pig that they had purchased. When Peder, or Per as he is called in the greater part of the story, goes to a self-made (*selvgjort*) procurator for advice, he is told to say nothing but "*Pyhy*." As in the previous tale, the payment is to be rye, in this case one or two barrels. Differences between the two versions are slight, but noteworthy. In the former the man has lost money through playing skat. In the latter the pig is a suckling and is carried in a bag, much being made of the opening of the bag to show the contents. The chief difference of all is that in the former tale the man is told to whistle, while in the latter the advice is to say "*Pyhy*." Of moment perhaps is the name Peder or Per, reminding us of Pierre Pathelin, although the similarity may be, and probably is, mere chance. The emphasis upon the lawyer being self-made may also suggest Pathelin. In the latter version (that by Markus Hansen) the judge is angry because the dignity of his court has been compromised by bringing in a crazy man. This suggests a connection with Old Rasmus. In the Hansen version the lawyer does not enter the court.

Bolte, in his edition of "*Veterator*," classes this tale, with its "*pyhy*," with that using "*fyt, fyt*," and also with an Italian tale found by Finamore, where we find "*ciffe, cciaffe, gniffe, ngnaffe*." He says of these three tales that the rustic "*grunzt wie ein Schwein*." I cannot, however, share this view, for it seems to me that these sounds represent either a hiss or a whistle. I shall speak of this point again in connection with the tale by Finamore, which will be given later.

In the second of the Kristensen stories of this type (No. 125 in Kristensen's 1900 collection), the tale runs thus:—

A Jutland peasant journeys to Copenhagen with a calf. On the way he sells the calf four times in succession, receiving ten dollars from each purchaser, and delivering the calf to the last one because the sale took place so near his home. He goes back home elated at his success, but the three deceived purchasers suramon him to court. Going to an attorney, he promises him half of his receipts. The attorney advised him to say merely "*Pyt*" to all questions. At court they could do nothing with him, and believed him insane. The lawyer also got his own advice, "*Pyt*," as sole satisfaction.

The third of Kristensen's 1900 collection (No. 126) is precisely the same as the version already given as "The Attorney's Counsel" (see p. 397). There are only a few minor differences in the wording.

The fourth tale in the Kristensen collection (No. 127) is as follows:

A man was on the way to Copenhagen with a goose under his arm. On the road he sold the goose to two persons in succession, receiving five marks from each, and promising to deliver the bird. Once in town, he went to an inn where the host asked and paid the price of the goose, again five marks. With his fifteen marks the man returned to his wife Kristine, who said that he was in danger of a court summons. In a few days this came. He went to an attorney and promised him the fifteen marks for his help. The lawyer counselled him to say only "Pyt" to all questions. This he did, despite threats of imprisonment, saying "Aa pyt" to all questions. The judge, in anger, dismissed the case, and chased him away as a fool. On the street he met the attorney, who asked for his fifteen marks. The man said only "Aa pyt," and ran away.

The resemblance of this version to the first of the Kristensen collection (No. 124) is clear in the final sale to the innkeeper.

The fifth story in Kristensen (No. 128) is a short summary of the first (No. 124), with the addition of names:—

Gunni Kraemmer from Vaarst sold a pig in the town of Aalborg, first to Alderman Wølfert, afterwards to Alderman Mørk, and finally to the innkeeper Brønnaes, on Bispens Street. When he found that he was in difficulty, he went to lawyer Sparre, who suggested to him that he should whistle "fy—yt."

This short summary is peculiar, in that it makes no mention of the outcome of the stratagem, or of the discomfiture of the lawyer.

In all these Danish versions we note the use of a whistle or of some whistling-sound — "fyt," "pyt," "pyhy," or the like — to carry out the deception. Through the courtesy of my friend Christian Friedrich Weiser, now in Berlin, I have secured copies of German analogues, in which a similar method is used. Although these versions are somewhat prolix, yet, inasmuch as they occur in rather rare and inaccessible books, I feel it best to transcribe them here, in order to bring together material which may prove of value for subsequent investigation.

The first of these German analogues is found in Magister Wolfgang Büttner's "Claus Narr," a collection of tales first published in 1572.<sup>1</sup> The whole book consists of sixteen parts, each part containing a smaller or greater number of stories (from fifteen to fifty-nine). The story here quoted is the fifty-eighth of Part VIII, p. S 1 a, and has as title "Pa Pi Pa Pi Pa."

<sup>1</sup> The full title is "Sechs hundert sieben und zwanzig Historien von Claus Narren. Feine schimpfliche wort und Reden, die Erbare Ehrenleut Clausen abgemerckt und nachgesagt haben. Zur Bürgerlichen und Christlichen Lere, wie andere Apologen dienstlich und förderlich. Mit lustigen Reimen gedeutet und erkleret. Anno 1572" [Eisleben]. The name "Büttner" does not appear upon the title-page, but is found in the acrostic in the *oratio auctoris* at the end of the book. Büttner was Pfarrer zu Wolfenstek a/M.

Ein Vorsprach hatte ein Dieb vnterrichtet das er vor dem Gerichte thete wie ein Stumme vnd nirgend zu antwortet, allein sagte zu allem das man jn fragen würde: *pa pi pa pi pa*. Als wolte er jn vom Galgen loss machen vnd 10 Gulden zu lohne haben Der Dieb thete also vor dem Gerichte vnd ward ledig Der Vorsprach fordert zehen Gulden da bleib der Dieb auff diesem Wege wie jhn der Vorsprach geleret hatte vnd sprach auch zu jhm: *pa pi pa pi pa* und mechte sich vom Vorsprachen auch ledig

Also gehts noch wem man thut guts  
 Der söffe gerne unsers Bluts  
 Kan er vns nicht vexieren las  
 So spot er vnser in die Nass  
 Wie dieser Schalck sein Vorsprach lohnt  
 So werden fromme leut verhont  
 Von denen den sie han gedient  
 Wenn es mir nur zu sagen zimpt  
 So wüst ich wol wie man mir danckt  
 Commemoratio benefitz ist ein schand  
 Drumb las ichs bleiben auch vnd denck  
 Nicht mehr an diese Leut da wend  
 Wiltu nicht sein verspot darzu  
 Verlacht kein loser Menschen thue  
 Der wohlthat nicht erkennt noch merckt  
 Kein freundschaft noch ein gutes werck.

The above is the oldest Germanic version of the episode, so far as I have as yet found, to make use of a method of deceit not found in the "Pathelin." In the latter, as is well known, the lawyer counsels the shepherd to say "Bée" in imitation of his sheep. I shall soon refer to and discuss a number of proven direct descendants of the "Pathelin" farce, which continue to use the sheep's cry. I desire first, however, to show, as far as my present material will permit, that the analogues having other methods of deceit than the sheep's cry are very common, and to say that it is difficult to establish any definite chronological relationships among them.

In the *Zeitschrift* "Der Bär" (Berlin, II Jahrgang, 1876, p. 116) is an article by Dr. W. Schwartz entitled "Nachlese zu den Sagen und alten Geschichten der Marck Brandenburg." The third story (p. 117) is headed "Abgepffiffen," and is as follows:—

Ein Bauer hatte ein fettes Schwein liegen, das er zu verkaufen gedachte. Es war in der Herbstzeit wo die Schlächter nach fetten Schweinen umzufragen pflegen. Kommt also ein Schlächter bei ihm heran und fragt, ob er ein fettes Schwein zu verkaufen habe. "Ja," sagt der Bauer. Der Schlächter besieht sichs und fragt nach dem Preise. Nach einigem Hinundherfordern und Bieten werden sie enig, und der Schlächter bezahlt das Schwein mit dem Beding, dass es erst nach einigen Tagen abgeholt würde. Damit geht er fort. Nicht lange darnach kommt ein anderer Schlächter, besieht das Schwein, schliesst mit dem Bauern auch wieder den Handel ab, bezahlt ihm den Preis, lässt es aber auch noch einige Tage liegen. Und so kommen noch drei Schlächter, denen der Bauer gleichfalls das Schwein verkauft, und zwar unter

derselben Bedingung. Die Schlächter waren alle aus einer entfernten Stadt und mussten sich erst Fuhrwerk mitbringen. Als nun der Tag heranrückte, wo die Schlächter kommen sollten, das Schwein abzuholen, da war der Bauer in grosser Angst. Er rief seine Frau und sagte: "Mutter, gib mir Rat, ich habe eine unüberlegte Tat getan, so und so, — wenn die fünf Schlächter kommen und merken, dass ich sie geprellt habe, so schlagen sie mich tot. Und das Geld möchte ich doch nicht gerne wieder raus geben." Das Weib fand bald guten Rat und sagte: "Vater, leg dich ins Bett und stelle dich tot, ich werde dann heulen und jammern und so das Ungewitter von dir abwenden." Als die Schlächter nun ankamen, einer nach dem andern, um ihr bezahltes Schwein in Empfang zu nehmen, und jeder das Schwein haben wollte, weil er es von dem Bauer ehrlich erhandelt, da entspann sich bald Hader und grausamer Zank und zuletzt wollten sie dem Bauer zu Leibe. Der aber lag tot im Bette und war kein Schiedsmann da, der ihnen Recht sprechen, und kein Zeuge, der ihnen ihren ehrlichen Kauf bezeugen konnte; denn die Frau wusste von nichts. Sie mussten sich daher zu einem Vergleich unter einander entschliessen, und nahmen jeder ein Fünftel von dem Schwein und fuhren von dannen. Als sie fort waren, stand der Bauer wieder auf von dem Totenbette und lachte sich ins Fäustchen und trank noch ein Gläschen mehr, weil alles so glücklich abgelaufen war. Aber es kam doch wieder schlimm. Die Schlächter erfuhren bald, dass der Bauer nicht gestorben wäre und erkannten den Betrug, den er mit ihnen gespielt und verklagten ihn deshalb vor Gericht. Wie der Bauer nun die Vorladung von dem Gerichte erhält, da wird ihm doch bang ums Herz, und er frägt wieder die Hausmutter um Rat. Aber die wusste diesmal auch nichts mehr, sondern sagte: "Vater, geh nach der Stadt zu einem Advokaten, ehe Du aufs Gericht kommst, der wird Dir ja wohl einen Rat geben, was Du dort anzuführen hast zu Deiner Verteidigung." Der Bauer tat so. An dem Tage, als er vor Gericht erscheinen sollte, machte er sich schon frühe auf den Weg und erreichte die Stadt früher, so dass er noch einen Rechtsgelehrten aufsuchen konnte, dem er seine Sache vortrug. Dieser rieb sich anfangs die Stirn, fand den Handel ganz verzwickt, und konnte erst gar nicht auf ein Mittel kommen, wie dem Bauer zu helfen wäre. Der Bauer bat inständigst und bot 25 Thaler, wenn er glücklich aus dieser fatalen Sache käme. Endlich hatte der Advokat den Ausweg gefunden und sagte zu dem Bauer: "Merkt auf, wenn Ihr jetzt vor Gericht kommt, so wird man Euch diese und jene Frage vorlegen, darauf habt Ihr nur *Eine* Antwort, die ist: "*Abgepiffen!*" Weiter antwortet Ihr nichts. Und so Ihr, wie ich hoffe, damit glücklich durchkommt, so bringt Ihr mir 25 Thaler!" Der Bauer versprach es fest und ging fort. Wie er nun vor dem Gerichte steht, und die fünf Schlächter ihre Anklage erheben auf Betrug, und der Richter den Bauer fragt, was er dazu sage, so antwortete der Bauer stets: "Abgepiffen!" Der Richter war Anfangs verwundert, kam aber, da der Bauer hartnäckig bei seinem "Abgepiffen" blieb, zu der Überzeugung, dass es mit ihm nicht richtig sei, und sprach den Bauer frei, weil mit einem Menschen, den die Zurechnungsfähigkeit ermangle kein gültiger Handel abgeschlossen werden könne. Und so mussten die Schlächter noch obendrein die Gerichtskosten tragen. Als der Bauer nun von dem Gerichte herunter kam, und an dem Hause des Advokaten vorbei ging, sah dieser zum Fenster hinaus und rief dem Bauer zu: "Nun, Ihr habt den Prozess gewonnen, wie stehts mit den 25 Thalern?" Der Bauer aber blickt hinauf, erwiderte:

"Abgepiffen!" und ging geraden Wegs nach Hause. — Ob es nicht schliesslich doch herausgekommen, dass er sich bloß so gestellt, weiss ich nicht.

Again, through the kindness of my friend Christian Friedrich Weiser of Berlin, I have secured from a rather rare source ("Amusemens François ou Contes à Rire, Trattenimenti italiani ovvero conti di ridere à Venise MDCCLII chez Dominique Pitteri" 2 vols. in 1. Tome Second, p. 56) an analogue showing the closest connection with one of the stories found in E. T. Kristensen's "Danske Skjaemtesagn" (No. 124; see also its analogue, that follows from "Aeventyr fra Jylland," p. 398 of this article). The date of this collection, 1752, is of no value in determining the date of the story; but the use of the expression "*plai*" instead of the Danish whistle may possibly point the way to some of the German versions which use "blee," although the explanation offered of "*plai*" in the story itself is that it is a dialect form of "*que vous plait-il.*"

This book has the Italian and the French on opposite pages, but the French is clearly the original.

Although this version is also very long, I ask leave to transcribe it in full in order to bring together all available material not readily accessible. The story is entitled in the French, which I give here in the original spelling, with all its errors, as follows: —

#### LE COCHON DE LAIT DES DEUX PROCUREURS

Un Païsan des environs d'Angulême, ayant porté à vendre un Cochon de lait un jour de marché, rencontre un Procureur au Présidial, qui lui demande ce qu'il avoit dans son sac. Le Païsan lui dit que c'étoit un Cochon de lait qu'il vouloit vendre. Le Procureur le tire du sac, le trouve gras & dodu, l'achète, le paye, & donne ordre au Païsan de le porter chez lui dans une telle rue vis à vis une telle enseigne & de dire à la femme de l'apprêter pour diner. Le Païsan ayant reçu son argent, se met en devoir de porter le Cochon, & rencontre chemin faisant un autre Procureur compère & ami du premier, qui lui demande si le Cochon étoit à vendre. Le Païsan ayant répondu qu'oui, le Procureur convient pour le prix, et dit au Païsan de le porter chez lui, après lui avoir dit & son nom & la rue, & de dire à sa femme de le faire apprêter pour diner. Le Païsan se promène un bon gros quart d'heure, c'est à dire jusques à ce qu'il jugea que les Procureurs devoient être au Palais. Ensuite il revient au marché, avec son sac & son Cochon. Il n'y fut pas plutôt arrivé que l'hôte de Quatre écus, un des plus fameux Traiteurs de la Ville, qui venoit d'acheter des provisions, le rencontre, & lui demande ce qu'il a à vendre. Un beau & bon Cochon, répondit le Païsan. Quatre Ecus convint enfin du prix, le paye, emporte le Cochon; & ne fut pas plutôt chez lui, qu'il le fit apprêter et mettre à la broche. En sortant de l'Audience, le premier Procureur rencontre son Compère, & lui dit: J'ai acheté ce matin un bon Cochon de lait, que j'ai mandé à ma femme de nous apprêter pour diner, vous viendrez, s'il vous plait, mon Compère, en manger votre part. J'en ai un aussi, répondit le Compère; mais puisque vous voulez que nous mangions ce matin le vôtre, nous mangerons donc

demain le mien. Arrivés au logis, le Procureur trouva sa femme en entrant, & lui demande, si le Cochon étoit cuit. Quel Cochon, dit la femme, je croi que vous vous moquez? Comment, répondit le Procureur? un Païsan ne vous a-t-il pas apporté un Cochon? Je vous assure, dit la femme, que je n'ai vû ni Païsan ni Cochon. On demande à la servante qui n'en savoit pas davantage. Oh! cela étant, Compère, allons donc manger le mien, dit le second Procureur. Allons, dit l'autre: il faut bien manger quelque chose; mais le Cochon ne se trouva pas plus chez celui-ci que chez l'autre. Alors les Procureurs ne doutèrent pas, que le Païsan n'eût été plus fin qu'eux. Heureusement nous sommes en bonne Ville, où nous pouvons trouver à diner, dirent-ils: allons nous en chez Quatre-Ecus. Etant chez Quatre Ecus, ils demandent au Traiteur, s'il avoit quelque chose à leur donner. Messieurs, dit Quatre Ecus, nous avons plus qu'il ne faut quand vous seriez encore dix autres, & si vous voulez vous donner la peine de faire un tour à la cuisine, vous y trouverez de quoi choisir, & pourrez prendre ce qui vous accommodera. Ils vont à la cuisine, trouvent le Cochon de lait à la broche. Ha! parbleu, Compère, dit l'un des Procureurs, encore sommes-nous heureux de trouver ici un Cochon de lait. Celui-ci nous tiendra lieu des nôtres. Ils demandèrent à Quatre-Ecus, si le Cochon étoit retenu; & répondant que non: Qu'on nous le serve donc, dirent les Procureurs. Le Cochon étant mangé, entre la poire et le fromage, les Procureurs demandèrent à compter. Quatre-Ecus, vint lui-même & leur demande, s'ils avaient trouvé le Cochon bon. Excellent, dirent-ils. Il n'est acheté que de ce matin, dit Quatre-Ecus & il vient de bon endroit. De qui l'avez-vous acheté, demandèrent les Procureurs? D'un tel Païsan, dit Quatre-Ecus, en le nommant. Quelle sorte d'homme est cela? C'est un homme fort accommodant, répondit Quatre-Ecus. Et là-dessus, il fit son portrait si au naturel, que les Procureurs persuadés que c'étoit leur homme, lui envoyèrent une assignation pour se voir condamner à leur payer la valeur des Cochons, & à de grandes réparations, pour avoir violé la foi publique. Le pauvre Païsan voyant deux Procureurs à ses troussees, & se croyant perdu sans ressource, porte son assignation à un Avocat, & le prie de le tirer de cette affaire, qu'il raconte à sa manière, faisant l'innocent, comme font d'ordinaire tous les Païsans; & sur tout ceux d'Angoumois & de Poitou auxquels on a bien de la peine à faire dire ouï ou non. L'Avocat, malgré les déguisemens du Païsan, & au travers de ses réponses aux questions qu'il lui fit, voyant bien qu'il avoit fait la friponnerie & vendu son Cochon trois fois, lui dit, que son affaire étoit fort mauvaise, & même fort sale, & qu'il cherchât un autre Avocat. Mons. dit le Païsan en franc patois, en se grattant l'oreille & faisant tourner son chapeau, ne m'abandonnez pas, je vous prie, telles gens me ruineront. Tirez-moi de cette affaire; j'ai encore six Cochons de la même mere, je vous en promets un des plus beaux, si vous me tirez des mains de ces Gripes-tout. Nous avons toujours recours à vous, & si vous m'abandonnez, je suis perdu; mon ami, dit l'Avocat, qui comptoit déjà sur le Cochon promis, je ne vois qu'un moyen pour te tirer d'affaire. O, c'est assez, Mons. dit le Païsan, pourvû qu'il soit bon. Il faut, mon enfant, continua l'Avocat, que tu fasses l'innocent quand tu paroitras à l'Audience, & que tu ne répondes que Plai. C'est un mot du Païs qui signifie que vous plait-il. Je ferai bien cela, Mons. dit le Païsan. Le jour que la cause devoit se plaider, le Païsan ne manqua pas de se trouver à l'Audience. Les Procureurs firent le pauvre Païsan plus noir qu'un charbon, & n'oublièrent rien



de tout ce qui pouvoit faire paroître la friponnerie plus atroce & plus dange-reuse pour la Société, & conclurent enfin suivant leur demande à de grands dédommagemens. L'Avocat parla pour le Païsan, & sans entrer dans aucune discussion du fait, il représenta à la Cour que la présance du per-sonnage parleroit mieux pour lui que tout ce qu'il pourroit alléguer en sa faveur. Que c'étoit un pauvre innocent qui étoit plus digne de la compassion que du ressentiment de ses parties, & qu'il étoit surprenant, qu'on relevât si cruellement une faute, qui ne procédoit que de la pure innocence de celui qui l'avoit commise; & que pour se convaincre de la vérité qu'il avançoit, il supplioit la Cour d'examiner le défendeur. On fait appeller le Païsan qui entre dans le Parquet. Le Juge lui dit, levez la main, mon ami. Promettez-vous devant Dieu de dire la vérité? Plai, Mons. répond le Païsan en se gratant l'oreille & bâlotant son chapeau. Le Juge lui répéta souvent la même chose, & eut toujours Plai pour réponse. Avez-vous vendu, continua le Juge, un Cochon à ces deux Procureurs, qui vous l'ont payé, & l'avez-vous ensuite revendu à Quatre-Ecus? Plai, Mons. dit encore le Païsan. Le Juge per-suadé que cet homme étoit hebété, dit aux Procureurs, que le pauvre homme étoit assez puni, & qu'il s'étonnoit qu'ils se fussent amusés à un innocent, & renvoya les parties hors de Cour & de procès sans dépens. Le Païsan n'entendit pas plutôt ce Jugement, qu'il décampe sans retourner chez son Avocat. Plusieurs jours se passent sans savoir de quoi il étoit devenu, mais enfin le rencontrant un jour en rue, Coquin, lui dit-il, je t'ai tiré d'une méchante affaire: Tu m'avois promis un Cochon de lait & tu m'as filouté. Plai, Monsieur, répondit le Païsan. Scélérat, dit l'Avocat, on ne trompe pas deux fois les gens de Justice, & si jamais tu retombes entre mes mains. Plai, Monsieur, répondit le Païsan. L'Avocat voyant qu'il étoit la dupe, & craignant de s'exposer à la raillerie, si la chose venoit à être sùe, quitte le Païsan, & se retire, bien honteux d'avoir fourni au Païsan dequoi le tromper, après avoir trompé les Procureurs.

The similarity of this tale to several of those already cited is clear. The pig being in the bag points to the Danish version with "pyhy," and in other respects the connection is very close between the versions. The French tale, however, is much more spun out, containing elements that appear scattered through several Danish versions.

Now, while all these stories are much simpler than the farce of "Maistre Pathelin," and lack many of the details and scenes that make the latter so much more humorous, yet the central theme of all is essentially the same. In all we have a man of the law caught by the same trick that he had devised for his client, and caught by the client himself. In two of the Danish versions, and also in the Brandenburg tale, we have, as in "Pathelin," dishonest couples whom poverty leads to deceive. In "Old Rasmus" the rôle of the wife is slight, for she merely consents to the killing of the calf. In the Jutland version and in the Brandenburg analogue the wife aids the husband much as she does in the celebrated delirium scenes in the French farce. In the Jutland version we have an interesting and curious combination of the feigning of sickness with the refusal to answer anything but "pyt." In "Pathelin," however, these

elements are each distinct, and form the basis of the two most ridiculous scenes of the farce. In "Pathelin" the dramatic genius of the unknown author has developed the wife into a most efficient helpmate in dishonesty, — a position that is unique in all the analogues of the "Pathelin" cycle that I have yet found. The only versions that approach the "Pathelin" story in this respect are the Danish Jutland analogue, the Brandenburg tale, and, above all, the episode of "Mak the Thief," in the Towneley Plays, to which last version I shall return presently when I begin the real argument of this paper. In all the analogues the people concerned are chiefly peasants or tradespeople; in "Old Rasmus," two shoemakers are cheated by the same person; while in "Pathelin" the tailor is cheated twice, but by different persons; in the other Danish versions, as well as in "Old Rasmus," the same animal is sold two or more times. Old Rasmus sells a calf twice; the other deceivers sell a calf, a pig, a cow, or a goose, from three to six times. This common feature is shared also by the Brandenburg tale, and by the tale in "Contes à rire." In this feature of repeated sale and deception we have no analogue with "Pathelin," but with an Italian anecdote by Parabosco and other popular versions, to which I shall refer soon in another connection. In all but one of the tales thus far introduced, we have a scene before a judge, in one case before a sea-captain, who in the Jutland version has essentially the same rôle as a judge. In all these popular tales the scene in court is reduced to its simplest elements, whereas in "Pathelin" it is expanded with rare dramatic skill.

It is clear, therefore, that these Danish and other tales, gathered from among the people or found in collections of popular lore, all show many points of contact with most of the features of the "Pathelin" story, and lead us to ask various questions which it may be quite impossible at present to answer with finality. First of all, they lead us to wonder whether similar folk-versions do not exist elsewhere. Judging by my own brief experience in searching for these tales, and the considerable number that have been found, I believe that the tale, in one form or another, is far more widespread than has hitherto been supposed. When most of this still hidden material shall have been discovered, and critically examined, we shall be in a better position to make careful scholarly deductions. I bespeak, therefore, the help of my readers in this search. That the Danish versions are closely related to each other, seems evident. The similar use of a whistled "pyt," "fyt," "pyhy," or the like, would in itself be sufficient evidence of this. It seems clear, also, that the Danish tales and the Brandenburg analogue are closely connected with the tale found in Parabosco, and with other Italian and French popular tales which I shall consider later, and also with the French tale in "Contes à rire," in the common fact of repeated sales of the same object or animal. Which way,

however, does the stream flow? Or shall we take all farther back to a common origin? The chief question is this: What is the connection of these tales with the French farce and with the proven descendants of that farce, written by Reuchlin, Hans Sachs, and others? Are these stories but pale reflections of the more complicated and brilliant French play, or do the basic incidents of the farce, together with these popular analogues, all go back to an ancestry still more remote? May we not be able to carry back to such a remote ancestry many of the closer analogues of Pathelin which we have not yet ventured to free from direct descent from "Pathelin" itself? It will of course be impossible to do so with all, for many of the German and some of the English versions seem directly inspired by the French play. Although I realize fully that all the evidence is not yet in, and that it will be exceedingly difficult to assign definite chronology to the evidence when it is gathered, yet I feel that there are one or two lines of thought which may help us in the consideration of these various questions, and to these I now invite attention.

In all collections of popular tales which I have thus far examined, I have been impressed with the great prevalence of the motif of deceit in one form or another. Only rarely, however, does the form of deceit approach that found in the "Pathelin" cycle, in which a deceiver is caught in his own trap. And yet this form is not rare. In the so-called farce of "Maistre Tubert" of Eustache Deschamps, who died in 1410, a lawyer is outwitted by his client; but the trickery is accomplished by quite other means than those boasted of by the crafty lawyer.<sup>1</sup> Deceit is very prevalent in many of the French farces; but we do not seem to find until after "Pathelin" anything at all resembling that farce. In Richard F. Burton's "Vikram and the Vampire, or Tales of Hindu Devilry" (London, Longmans Green, 1870), we find frequently the outwitting of a person by the same method used by that person. See, among others, the first of these cynical tales, where a woman is outwitted at her own game. Particularly striking is the final story in which King Vikramaditya kills the treacherous jogi while the latter is showing him how to prostrate himself before the goddess Smashana-Kali. It was the jogi's plan to kill the king when he should follow his instructions. This rivalry in deceit and cleverness seems especially common in Oriental tales. In Gaelic and in Norse tales, also, this type of story is common. For instance, in Jeremiah Curtin's "Hero Tales of Ireland" (Boston, 1894), we find it in the tale of "Black Thief and King Conal's Horses" (p. 105). In Dasent's "Popular Tales from the Norse" (New York, 1908), we find the motif of a deceiver caught in his own trap in "Well Done and Ill Paid"

<sup>1</sup> *Anciens Textes Français. Œuvres d'Eustache Deschamps*, vol. 7, pp. 155-174. The outwitting of a lawyer is a frequent theme, it seems. Lope de Vega, in his *Entremés del Letrado (Obras Sueltas)*, tom. xviii (p. 8), depicts the cheating and robbing of a lawyer by a simple peasant. Ticknor (vol. ii, p. 253) notes the resemblance to Pathelin.

(p. 266). Dasent shows in his introduction (p. lxx) how widely scattered some tales of deceit may be. Thus the Norse tale of "Why the Bear is Stumpy-tailed" has its analogue in the African (Kanuri) story of how the hyena became tailless and earless. In J. F. Campbell's "Popular Tales of the West Highlands" (4 vols. London, 1890) we see clever deceit in many tales. Thus vol. i, p. 279, in the fable of the fox and the cock. The cock saves his life by a strategy similar to the one that the fox employed to catch him. See also "The Tale of the Shifty Lad" (vol. i, p. 338; and vol. ii, p. 272; compare also Dasent's tale of "The Master Thief," p. 232 of "Norse Tales"). Instances of this type of story might be multiplied almost indefinitely; but I have indicated enough, I believe, to show that such tales are universal, and that they, in common with much folklore, undoubtedly go back to a remote ancestry. I can therefore see no just reason for excluding from a similar antiquity that particular type of story of deceit which we find in the "Pathelin" cycle. I believe that this type also is a common heritage of the Indo-Germanic peoples.

Another interesting argument from analogy may be taken from the earlier scenes of the farce of "Pathelin," — those in which the draper Guillaume visits the house of Pathelin, where he is completely hoodwinked by Pathelin's feigned sickness and the cleverness of Pathelin's wife. We find, curiously enough, a very close parallel to these scenes in the episode of "Mak the Thief" in the English Towneley Plays (edited by A. W. Pollard, Early English Text Society, 1897, Extra Series No. LXXI). It was J. J. Jusserand ("Théâtre en Angleterre," 1878, p. 93) who first discovered the similarity of the "Mak the Thief" interlude with the "Pathelin" drama; and A. Banzer (in "Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur," vol. x, p. 106) has made an interesting comparison of the two. Despite the evident similarity of the two episodes, at least in their general scope, the differences are so marked as to preclude, it seems to me, any but an indirect connection. In "Mak the Thief" it is a sheep that has been stolen; in "Pathelin" it is cloth. In "Mak the Thief" it is Mak's wife who feigns illness, in "Pathelin" it is Pathelin himself, although it should be noted that in each case it is the husband who concocts the deceit, in the carrying-out of which the wife is a most clever helper. In "Pathelin" we have the feigning of the approach of death, and also the intensely ludicrous running-about in delirium; in "Mak the Thief," the equally clever scheme of pretending that there is a new-born child in the cradle where the stolen sheep is concealed. It should also be noted that in "Mak the Thief" there is no pretence to idiocy, as in the delirium scenes of "Pathelin." To my thinking, this pretence to idiocy and delirium in "Pathelin" forms a connecting-link with the later court scene of the drama, where pretence to idiocy is also the chief element, thus giving a certain greater organic unity to the whole farce. In fact, this element of idiocy and delirium is not found in

any of the analogues of this part of the French farce which I have thus far found; and it seems as if the dramatist had purposely introduced it, in order to attain a greater dramatic unity and also increase the humor of his play. In "Pathelin" the ruse of feigned illness is successful; at least, it is not discovered until the close of the farce, when Pathelin escapes punishment for that particular deceit. In "Mak the Thief" the shepherds finally discover the stolen sheep in the cradle, and administer a severe punishment to Mak by tossing him in a blanket.

The problem of the relationship of "Mak the Thief" and "Pathelin" has not been worked out, so far as I know; and perhaps it can never be satisfactorily settled, owing to the loss of the necessary intervening material, if, indeed, such material was ever written down. It seems certain, however, that the episode of "Mak the Thief" antedates considerably our earliest text of "Pathelin," which Dr. Holbrook places in 1485.<sup>1</sup> It even antedates 1469,<sup>1</sup> the earliest date which Dr. Holbrook assigns to the popularity of "Pathelin." Even if we say with Gaston Paris, "Il est très probable que Villon y fait allusion dès 1461,"<sup>2</sup> we have not gone much farther back. It seems entirely reasonable to believe, that, if "Pathelin" had existed in its complete dramatic form before these dates, we should have some record of so remarkable a production. Banzer (in vol. x, p. 111, of "*Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*") uses the title "Pathelin" to express what had best be indicated, I think, by the term "Ur-Pathelin," and assumes this as the source of the episode of "Mak the Thief." He also declares that this older "Pathelin" is French. I do not think that we can be quite so sure, although the probabilities may favor this view. The question, of course, is this: At what stage in the earlier development of the "Pathelin" legend can we say, "Here is the story essentially as the later dramatist uses it?" It is certainly reasonable to believe that the clever dramatist did not make up his farce out of whole cloth, but that his genius used older material. It is therefore futile, perhaps, to search for a single source of the play. The best that can be done is to search for the elements out of which the dramatist created a perfect whole. Ganderax<sup>3</sup> does not think that such a division into elements is possible, and therefore treats rather sharply Adolphe Fabre,<sup>4</sup> who had suggested a division of the farce into two episodes, — that of the cheating of the tailor by Pathelin, and that of the court scene. Fabre's error lies, perhaps, in his trying to prove too

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, 1906, p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Esquisse historique de la littérature française au moyen âge*, 1907, pp. 284, 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Revue des Deux Mondes*, third period, vol. 46, 1881, pp. 694-704.

<sup>4</sup> Adolphe Fabre, "Les Clercs du Palais," *Recherches historiques sur les Bazoches des Parlements et les Sociétés Dramatiques des Bazochiens et des Enfants sans Souci*, second edition, 1875, Lyons (Scheuring), pp. 276 ff. He adopts the argument of Littré in the latter's review of F. Genin's edition of *Pathelin* (Paris [Chamerot], 1854) in *Revue des Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1855, p. 345.

much from the mention of coinage of different reigns. He would find exact dates for each portion; and even Ganderax and Magnin<sup>1</sup> try to place their complete "Pathelin" as far back as 1380. I think that Fabre is right in his fundamental idea that the farce is made up of the two episodes which he mentions. He calls them comedies and apparently does not mean to indicate that they are of folk origin.<sup>2</sup> I further believe that the episode of "Mak the Thief," and the feigning of illness and delirium by Pathelin, go back to a common ancestor. Whether this ancestor is more like the one or the other, we may never know, and we may never find out even an approximate date. According to Pollard, the editor of the Towneley Plays (p. xxxvii), the language and allusions of the "Mak the Thief" pastoral point to the early years of the fifteenth century, perhaps even to the end of the fourteenth century. Professor Kölbing assigns the only manuscript of these Towneley Plays to the beginning of the fifteenth century.<sup>3</sup> These dates, then, give us at least a half century before the known popularity of the complete "Pathelin" drama in 1469. In this connection it is very interesting to note that, although the scenes in "Pathelin" differ greatly in detail from those in "Mak the Thief," yet the author does give a prominent rôle to a sheep thief, namely, Aignelet, reserving however, for his chief hero Pathelin, the rôle which the sheep thief plays in "Mak the Thief." This fact might lead us to believe that the episode, as found in "Mak the Thief," does really represent the closer approach to the common ancestor which

<sup>1</sup> *Journal des Savants*, 1856, p. 81, note (see also pp. 70-77, and same journal, 1855, pp. 726-730).

<sup>2</sup> Johannes Bolte, in his edition of Alexander Connybertus' *Veterator alias Pathelinus* (1512), Berlin, 1901 (*Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts*, hrsg. von Max Herrman, vol. 15), seems not to have known of Fabre's book when he advances (p. vi) the same division of the *Pathelin* farce into two episodes. Bolte says: "Auch die Umschau nach der Quelle des Stoffes hat zu keinem weiteren Ergebniss geführt, als dass der unbekannte Dichter (oder sein ausländischer Vorgänger) zwei sonst getrennt vorkommende Volksschwänke geschickt mit einander verbunden hat." I am indebted to Bolte for much additional testimony in favor of this theory of a division of the farce of *Pathelin* into two episodes, a theory which I had held before the books of Fabre and Bolte came to my knowledge. Bolte himself later (1903, in his edition of Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein*, p. 371; vol. 229 *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*) says of Wickram's tale No. 36, an analogue of the *Pathelin* type, "Ueber diesen zuerst in der farce von Pathelin, in Reuchlin's Scaenica pro-gymnasmatum (1497) und in dem Luzerner Spiele vom klugen Knecht erscheinenden Schwankstoff, vgl. . . ." referring then to his own edition of *Veterator*, p. vii. Bolte's use of *zuerst* is not quite clear, and seems to neutralize, in part at least, his previously expressed belief in the existence of this *Pathelin* *Schwankstoff* before *Pathelin*. If *zuerst* refers to the literary appearance of this motif, there is no inconsistency.

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift f. Vergl. Litteraturgesch.* vol. xi, 1897, p. 140. Ward, in the *History of English Dramatic Literature* (1899, vol. i, p. 71), believes that the Towneley Plays do not antedate the middle of the fourteenth century. He thinks that different dates may be assigned to the several parts. For instance, the fact that King Herod, in the *Magnus Herodes* play, uses some French expressions in order to emphasize his royal rank, proves that this particular play can hardly be dated later than the fourteenth century.

I am supposing, and that the author of "Pathelin" departed more from his source in the interest of dramatic structure.

Whether or not we have in "Mak the Thief" the oldest version of this type of story may therefore never be known. It is a difficult problem, and must take its place among the many similar problems as yet unsolved by the folk-lorist, who is unable, because of the very nature of his material, to determine exact chronologies. It is, however, of value and moment to show that other material of this type of story does exist. Professor Kölbing (in the "Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Literatur," Neue Folge, vol. xi, pp. 137 fol.; also in the Towneley Plays, Early English Text Society, 1897, pp. xxxi fol.) points out another version of the "Mak the Thief" episode in "Archie Armstrong's Aith," by Rev. John Marriott, which may be found in Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." In this version Archie escapes punishment, which is interesting in its correspondence with "Pathelin," and also with the Danish version of Jutland (see p. 397 of this article). Although Marriott wrote in 1821, Professor Kölbing thinks that he used some oral version of the "Mak the Thief" episode, and did not know of its being in the Towneley Plays, which were not edited until 1836. According to Wülker ("Geschichte der Englischen Litteratur," p. 121) the "Mak the Thief" episode was written in North England, and the thief is a Scot. A note to the poem of Marriott says, "The exploit detailed in this ballad has been preserved, with many others of the same kind, by tradition, and is at this time current in Eskdale." Eskdale is on the Scottish border, and was the home of Archie Armstrong, who was an historical character.

At this point it is necessary to refer again to the Danish Jutland version (see p. 397 of this article), where we have, toward the end of the story, the pretence of sickness in order to avoid punishment, as in "Pathelin" and "Mak the Thief." In the Brandenburg analogue we have the feigning of death (see p. 401 of this paper) for the same purpose. This analogue is almost unique in this pretence of death itself instead of sickness. Pretence of death is found also in a Lithuanian tale of the crafty Tschutis, who to all appearances stabs himself, but in reality only cuts a concealed bladder filled with blood, when he is pursued by the victims of his cheating (see A. Schleicher, "Litauische Märchen," p. 83, Weimar, 1857). There are analogues to this motif of cutting a filled bladder. Later Tschutis pretends death again, and even gets into a coffin. In another Lithuanian tale a broom-maker for a like reason feigns death (Schleicher, p. 41; see Reinhold Köhler, "Kleinere Schriften zur Märchenforschung," hrsg. von Johannes Bolte, Weimar, 1898, pp. 245, 246; see also Wickram's "Rollwagenbüchlein," No. 23, pp. 29-31 of Bolte's edition, vol. 229 [1903] Bibl. des Lit. Ver. in Stuttgart), "von einem abenteuer zu Venedig, der sich stalt, als were er todt, damit er sein hauszins zalt." In this tale, as in that of Tschutis above, the wives

are parties to the deception. Wickram's tale is the source of Hans Sachs' Schwank, "*Der Centelon mit dem todtten Wirth*," 1562 (see Edmond Goetze, "*Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs*," vol. 2, p. 285, No. 284, and note on p. 285). In a note to this tale of Wickram, Bolte (pp. 368, 369, of his edition of the "*Rollwagenbüchlein*") gives many references to analogues dealing with this motif of pretence of death or mortal illness. Of particular interest are Bolte's references to the analogues where a stolen sheep is put in a cradle, as in "*Mak the Thief*." Manifestly, therefore, this tale is very widespread. In one version the sheep is even put into a coffin. In the story of "*Fin Voleur*" (pp. 112 fol. of Paul Sébillot's "*Littérature Orale de la Haute Bretagne*," Paris, 1881), *Fin Voleur* hides in a tun when his lord comes to seek him after each theft. Later (p. 125) *Fin Voleur* "*dit à sa femme de se coucher et de faire la morte*," he then using the bellows in a feigned attempt to revive her. These exploits of *Fin Voleur* have their analogues in Gaelic and Norse tales (see Campbell and Dasent). In vol. i (p. 212) of W. F. Carleton's "*Tales and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*," Second Series (Dublin, 1834), I note another analogue of the feigning of illness. In the tale "*An Irish Oath*," Peter Connell, who keeps an illegal store for the sale of whiskey and tobacco, was so annoyed by the visits of friends and their demands for credit, that he would go to bed and pretend severe illness in order to avoid such importunities. I have no doubt that many more tales with this motif can be found.

I am indebted to Professor Arthur C. L. Brown for the following reference to another analogue of this type. It is found in Jeremiah Curtin's "*Hero Tales of Ireland*" (Boston, 1894), pp. 455, 456, and occurs as an incident of the long tale of "*Fin MacCool, Giants and Small Men*."

The giants are in pursuit of *Fin MacCool* and his forces. *Fin* deceives them by pretending to be his own herder. After testing their assertions that fire cannot burn them, swords cut them, or water drown them, *Fin* says, —

"And now ye may go to *Fin's* house for refreshment."

*Fin* showed them a long road, hurried home himself by a shorter way, and gave command to his Fenians to scatter through Erin and escape. Then turning to his mother, he said, —

"Make three cakes for the giants, put iron griddles in the middle of them, and bake them a little in the ashes. You will give these to the giants to eat. You will say that they are soft, not well baked, that we complain when the bread is not hard. I will lie down in the dark corner in that big box there. Do you bind my head and face with a cloth and say when the giants are eating: '*This poor child is sick; I think his teeth are coming.*'"

The giants come, ask for *Fin MacCool*, are told he is not in, and demand food. *Fin's* mother gives them the cakes, apologizing for their softness. Not to be ashamed, the giants swallow the cakes, griddles and all, and marvel at the strength of the Fenians. After they have thrown the stone which *Fin's* mother tells them is the game of the Fenians, one of the giants notes the box in the corner, and asks what it contains.



"My grandson, and it is sick and peevish he is," said Fin's mother.

"I suppose the child is getting his teeth?" said the giant.

"Indeed then I don't know," said the old woman, "but maybe it is the teeth that are troubling him."

With that the eldest giant walked up to the cradle and put his finger in the child's mouth; but if he did, Fin took two joints off his finger with a bite.

"Oh!" said the giant, "if the child grows like that till he is a man, he will be the greatest champion in the world. To say that a child could take the finger off me, and he in the cradle!"

The giants then leave, and Fin starts in pursuit and finally outwits them.

This Gaelic version has rather a close analogue in a part of the Irish tale of Gilla na Grakin and Fin MacCumhail (see Jeremiah Curtin's "Myths and Folk Lore of Ireland," Boston, 1906, preface 1889, p. 261).

Gilla na Grakin becomes for a year and a day the man of Fin. Conon Maol warns Fin that unless Gilla is killed or banished, he (Gilla) will kill Fin and all the Fenians. Fin therefore sends Gilla upon difficult errands, all of which he performs successfully. One of these is to find out why the Gruagach had but one hair on his head. Gilla finds that it is because of a combat that the Gruagach waged with an old hag. Gilla then kills the hag and returns with the Gruagach to Fin's castle. Conon Maol warns that they are coming to destroy all.

"If they do," said Fin, "it's your own fault."

"Well," said Conon Maol, "I'll lie down here in the cradle, and put a steel cap on my head."

He does so. The Gruagach sits near and relates the exploits of Gilla. While doing this, the Gruagach put his hand behind him and asked, —

"How old is this child in the cradle?"

"Only three years," said Fin's wife.

Then the Gruagach took the steel cap between his thumb and fingers, thinking it was the head of the child, and squeezed till the steel cracked with a loud snap, but the child did n't cry.

"Oh, there's the making of a man in him. If he gets age, he'll be a champion," said the Gruagach.

Next day the Gruagach left Fin's castle and went to his own place and family.

In J. F. Campbell's "Popular Tales of the West Highlands orally collected," vol. iii, p. 198, is another version of the story just related, showing marked resemblances to "Mak the Thief," and proving its presence in Scotland as well as in Ireland.

The Feinn were all in Islay to drive away the Lochlanners, and when they had succeeded, Cuchullin fell in with a fairy sweetheart, who had flocks and herds, and he staid while the rest went north to fight the Lochlanners in Skye. The fairy sweetheart bore a son, and by desire of his father called him Conlaoch. There was a neighbour called Garbh Mac Stairn who was far stronger than Cuchullin, and one day he went to take his fine, light-coloured bull. Cuchullin disguised himself as a herd, met the giant, told him his mistress was ill in bed, and then ran round and got into the bed behind her. The

wife said she had got a baby, and the giant poked his finger into his mouth to see if he would make 'fisean Cuin,' a whelp of Conn, and the hero bit him to the bone. The wife complained of the draft from the door, lamenting her husband's absence, for he would turn the [revolving] house away from the wind. The big man tried but could not, so made off to the cattle.

Numerous other incidents then follow. Campbell declares this tale is "old, Ossianic, mythological, and Celtic; it is common to Scotland and Ireland; to MSS., print, and tradition;" and he adds, "See Carleton's *Irish Stories*, Dublin, 1846, pp. 107, etc."

This Celtic tale is clearly the same as that used by Captain O'Brien in chapter xii of Marryat's "*Peter Simple*," to which my attention was called by my colleague, Professor Guy Stanton Ford. Captain O'Brien is asked by Peter to relate the history of his life, and acquiesces. As a preliminary he says:—

"First and foremost you must know that I am descended from the great O'Brien Borru, who was king in his time, as the great Fingal was before him. Of course you've heard of Fingal?"

"I can't say that I ever did," replied Peter.

O'Brien then relates how the Irish giant Fingal bothered the Scotch giant. The latter crossed the Irish Channel to near Belfast in search of Fingal. Fingal, in fright, ran into his house and called to his wife Shaya.

"'My vourneen,' says he, 'be quick now; there's that big bully of a Scotchman coming up the hill. Kiver me up with the blankets, and if he asks who is in bed, tell him it's the child.'"

"So Fingal lies down on the bed, and his wife has just time to cover him up, when in comes the Scotchman, and, though he stooped low, he broke his head against the portal.

"'Where's that baste Fingal?' says he, rubbing his forehead; 'show him to me that I may give him a bating.'"

"'Whisht, whisht!' cries Shaya, 'you'll wake the babby, and then him that you talk of bating will be the death of you if he comes in.'"

"'Is that the babby?' cried the Scotchman with surprise, looking at the great carcass muffled up in the blankets.

"'Sure it is,' replied Shaya, 'and Fingal's babby too; so don't you wake him, or Fingal will twist your neck in a minute.'"

"'By the cross of St. Andrew,' replied the giant, 'then it's time for me to be off; for if that's his babby, I'll be but a mouthful to the fellow himself. Good-morning to ye!'

"So the Scotch giant ran out of the house, and never stopped to eat or drink until he got back to his own hills, foreby he was nearly drowned in having mistaken his passage across the Channel in his great hurry. Then Fingal got up and laughed, as well he might, at his own 'cuteness; and so ends my story about Fingal."

In these tales analogous to "*Mak the Thief*" and to the first part of "*Pathelin*," the common motif is the feigning of sleep, sickness, or death in order to elude some danger. Now, while this motif in itself is a very

common thing, and is found with frequency in life and in literature,<sup>1</sup> yet the stories given above seem to me to possess actual relationships in structure, content, and treatment, and to belong to a stream of analogues of which "Mak the Thief" and the earlier part of the "Pathelin" farce also form a portion.

I have gone to such length in the matter of "Mak the Thief" episode and its analogues, because, whatever the connection between the English, Gaelic, French, and other versions, we find proof, in the earlier date of "Mak the Thief," that the French dramatist incorporated into his play scenes which he may have found in some earlier written, or, what is more probable, some oral tradition. The Gaelic versions strengthen my belief in the existence of this tale in early lore. My point then is this: If he did this in some of his scenes, why may he not have done so in others? And this brings us back to a further consideration of the "Old Rasmus" story and some of its more immediate analogues. In this consideration one point especially deserves our attention, for it may yet prove to be the key to the proper classification of the analogues of the second portion of the "Pathelin" farce. This is the use of some whistling-sound, represented usually by "fyt" or "pyt." In "Pathelin" the accused shepherd is told to say "Bée," as if long association with his sheep had reduced him to their limited utterances. In giving this advice, Pathelin says,

Dy "bee," "ha! feray je, il est nice  
Il cuide parler à ses bestes."<sup>2</sup>

And Pathelin does actually say later to the judge, "Croyez qu'il [Aignelet] est fol ou testu, ou qu'il cuide estre entre ses bestes" (verses 1305, 1306). In other words, the author of "Pathelin" feels it necessary, or at least expedient, to justify and explain this use of "bée," whereas in no other analogues do we find any similar explanation, no matter what the method used, whether a whistling-sound or some modification of this "bée." To me, therefore, there is a certain artificiality about this "bée," as if the author had deliberately chosen it to heighten the comic effect, and had discarded in its favor whatever he had found in his source. And the substitution is very clever and very successful, for certainly "bée" from a shepherd is more ridiculous than any other

<sup>1</sup> A classic instance of this kind is found in the prologue to Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Part II, where we read that "Old Northumberland lies crafty-sick," when summoned to take part in the Percy Rebellion. Another example is in Ben Jonson's *Volpone or the Fox* (1605). Still other cases are found in Molière. In *La Jalousie du Barbouillé* and in *Le Malade Imaginaire*, death is feigned; compare, for the former, Boccaccio, Seventh Day, fourth story. In *Le Médecin Volant* and in *Le Médecin malgré lui* we have the feigning of sickness, as also in Regnard's *Le Légataire Universel* and in Marivaux, *Le Legs*, scene xiv. Doubtless these instances might be greatly multiplied in all literatures.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 1173, 1174, F. Ed. Schneegan's edition, 1908, Nos. 60, 61 of *Bibliotheca Romanica*.

sound could be. The primary object, of course, is the same in all the analogues; namely, to show that he is an idiot. In this connection it is not without interest to note how far back this trick of the legal fraternity may be traced. If idiocy can be shown, the judge will dismiss the case. The analogues thus far referred to differ only in the method employed.

Following now the well-known and in most cases clearly proven direct descendants of the French "Pathelin" drama, we find "bee" in Alexander Connybertus' "Veterator," the 1512 Latin adaptation of "Pathelin." In Reuchlin's "Henno" (1497), we note "ble." Reuchlin even uses "blee" in "Sergius." In all the German translations or adaptations of "Henno," we find a like word or the same word. In Hans Sachs' adaptation (1531) we have "blee" or "plee;" in Gregor Wagner's translation of Henno (1547) we also have "blee;" in that of Johann Betz (1546), likewise "blee."<sup>1</sup> "Blee" is similarly found in the anecdote in Jörg Wickram's "Rollwagenbüchlein" (1555), "Von einem der ein fürsprech vberlistet vnd hatt jn der fürsprech das selbs geleret."<sup>2</sup> Wickram even uses the word *abblehen*. Georg Rollenhagen, in the twenty-second chapter of Book I, Part II, of his "Froschmeuseler" (1595), has Reineke tell the peasant of an adventure to him in which an advocate advises the peasant to say "bleh" before the judge, and is paid by the same "bleh." Furthermore, Jakob Rosefeldt of Schernek, near Koburg, used the fourth and fifth acts of "Henno" in his Latin comedy "Moschus" (Jena, 1599), adapting a "blee" scene, act ii, scene iv.<sup>3</sup> A. Banzer and also Hugo Holstein (see references above) mention also a further adaptation of Reuchlin's "Henno" by Jakob Klyber of Volkach (1558); but neither of these writers had been able to find the book, and hence cannot say whether or not it follows its original closely, and has a "blee" scene.

<sup>1</sup> See Hugo Holstein, *Johann Reuchlins Komoedien, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Schuldramas* (Halle, 1888); also A. Banzer, *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, vol. x (1888), p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Kurz, *Deutsche Bibliothek*, vol. vii, No. 36 (Leipzig, 1865); also *Deutsche National Litteratur*, vol. 24, p. 192. See the latest and best edition by Johannes Bolte, *Georg Wickrams Werke*, vol. iii (1903), published as vol. 229 of the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*. Here the tale is No. 36, p. 43. Compare No. 35, which contains a similar scene before a judge, but no "blée" and no subsequent deception of the lawyer, who had merely counselled his client to keep silent.

<sup>3</sup> See Johannes Bolte's article "Jakob Rosenfeldts Moschus, eine Parallele zum Kaufmann von Venedig," p. 191, vol. 21 (1886), of *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*. In note 1 to this page, Bolte has a reference to a fragment of a Danish translation of Reuchlin's "Henno." I have examined this fragment, and find that it does not contain a "blee" scene. It can therefore have no value in connection with the Danish popular analogues already cited. The treatment in the Danish fragment is rather free, and it is not easy to decide whether the translation is based on Reuchlin or upon Hans Sachs. The date is about 1520, and the fragment is part of a version that was probably played by the students of a college in Odense. It may be found in Rasmus Nyerup and K. L. Rahbek, *Bidrag til den danske Digtekunsts Historie*, i, pp. 155, 156 (1800); and also in S. Birket Smith, *De tre ældste danske skuespil* (Copenhagen, 1874).

My friend, C. F. Weiser of Berlin, has instituted a search for this book in the larger German libraries, but thus far without success. He is inclined to believe that the play of "Klyber" remained in manuscript. In a Jesuit school drama, "Nemo," played at Fulda in 1682, there is an adaptation of the "Pathelin-Henno" theme; but Bolte, in his edition of "Veterator" (p. viii, note), classes this play among those versions in which the lawyer's counsel is merely to deny all. See also, in this connection, Bolte's article "Niemand und Jemand" (pp. 20, 21, vols. 29-30, of "Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft"). The scenario of the play is in manuscript in the library of the Luisenstädtischen Realgymnasium in Berlin. In the comedy "Der betrogene Betrug" (1690) of Christian Weise, we have a very free adaptation of "Henno." Holstein gives a summary of this play, and, to judge by that, there is no "blee" scene. I have not seen the work myself. In any event, the influence of Reuchlin upon probably all the German versions is clear. None of them have "bee," if they have such a scene at all, but "blee." I have been led to think that this change from "bee" to "blee" may have been influenced by the German for "bleat," *blöken*, or that "blee" was taken from some French version with "plai," such as that found in "Contes à rire."

Turning for a moment to France, we find in the "Testament de Pathelin," a sort of continuation of the farce itself, reference to the "bée" incident in old Pathelin's final confession to Messire Jehan.

*Pathelin* : Pource qu'en Bée

Il me paya subtilement

*Messire Jehan* : Par qui fusse ?

*Pathelin* : Par qui se fut ? Par moye qui l'avoye introduit.

Brueys, in his 1700 adaptation of the Old-French farce, retains the "bée" of his original, and the several translations of Brueys retain the same word. In the French analogue from "Contes à rire" we find "plai," and the lawyer says in explanation, "C'est un mot du pais qui signifie 'que vous plaît-il.'" Here we may have the influence of Reuchlin's or Hans Sachs' "blee," despite the lawyer's explanation; or, indeed, if we could find this form of the tale early enough, the influence might be asserted the other way. In case the latter could be proved, it would tend to free Reuchlin still more from the direct influence of the "Pathelin" farce itself, and support the contention of several scholars, mostly German, that Reuchlin did not use the "Pathelin" farce, but some source common to both, perhaps a lost Italian *commedia dell' arte*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Hermann Grimm, *Essays*, Hannover, 1859, pp. 119-133; J. Parmentier, *Le Henno de Reuchlin et la farce de Pathelin*, Paris et Poitiers, 1884 (cf. *Revue Critique*, 1884, ii, p. 147); Banzer, p. 94, vol. x, *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Litteratur*; Hugo Holstein, *Johann Reuchlins Komödien*, 1888, p. 47; Ludwig Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin; sein Leben und seine Werke*, pp. 82-91, Leipzig, 1871; Alexander von Weilen, reviewing Holstein, in *Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum und deutsche Litteratur*, vol. 17, pp. 48, 49.

In England a relic of this scene is in the anecdotes of the "Shakespeare Jest-Books," edited by W. Carew Hazlitt, where it is found in vol. i, p. 60, of "Mery Tales and Quicke Answers," and in vol. iii, pp. 45, 46, of Pasquil's "Jests and Mother Bunches' Merriments." In each case "bea" is retained, appearing even in the title of the first anecdote, "Of hym that payde his dette with crienge bea." That the version with "bee" is still found, would seem natural, in view of the revived popularity of the Old-French farce, both in the adaptation by Brueys and in the modernized French versions of Ed. Fournier, Gassies Des Brulies, and others. To this literary influence I attribute another Danish analogue told about thirty-five years ago by a school-teacher to the mother-in-law of my friend Dr. Hans Jacob Hoff. In this tale we have "bä," a sheep thief, and other indications of close relationship to the French "Pathelin." The tale was related in Jutland. Similarly I have from another friend, Dr. Thomas W. Lingle, whose ancestry is Pennsylvania Dutch, a tale which he heard about 1882 during his boyhood in Rowan County, North Carolina. Dr. Lingle traces the story to his grandfather, who was born in 1791 in this same county, and thinks that the story came south with the emigration of the Palatinate Germans into this region of North Carolina. The story is still current among the people of Rowan County. In it we have "ba, ba," as the method of deceit.

Although in all the above German and English versions the method of deception is a sheep's cry, yet, curiously enough, the occupation ceases with "Pathelin" itself to be that of a shepherd. The retention of the sheep's cry shows, therefore, the strong influence of the "Pathelin" version among its direct descendants. In "Pathelin" the very name of the shepherd suggests his occupation, this being Aignelet. Pathelin desires apparently even to make a pun on the name when he says (verses 1139, 1140):—

"L'Aignelet? Maint aigneau de let  
Luy as cabassé, à ton maistre."

In "Henno" we have a peasant servant named Dromo, a name taken probably from Terence. Hans Sachs has the same name and the same occupation. In Wagner's play the character remains a servant of the peasant class, but is called Rompelt. In Wickram's anecdote the character has no name or given occupation; the anecdote merely speaks "von einem der," etc. In the Shakespeare "Jest-Books" we find only "a man" in "Mery Tales and Quicke Answers," and "an unthrift" in Pasquil's "Jests." These last two, with their "bea" instead of "blee," approach the French closer, and would seem to have undergone no influence of the German series which we have found so dependent upon Reuchlin's "Henno." The "unthrift" of Pasquil's "Jests" seems also

Even Petit de Julleville says (*Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1886, p. 196), "Il y a fort peu de ressemblance entre les deux pièces."

to point more directly to the French "Pathelin."<sup>1</sup> The fact that no name is given in the Shakespeare "Jest-Books" and in Wickram is probably only due to the absence of any dramatic dialogue. The important point in all the above examples is the retention of the sheep's cry, despite changes in the occupation. Why, then, do we find in "Old Rasmus" and the analogues already quoted the substitution of some whistling-sound? How are we to explain the "abgepfiffen" of the Brandenburg analogue, the "Pa pi pa pi pa" of the tale from Claus Narr, the "plai" of the anecdote from "Contes à rire," and others? To be sure, the characters who use these expressions are not shepherds; but we have just seen that none of the similar characters in the clearly proven descendants of the French "Pathelin" are shepherds, and yet the sheep's cry is retained. Or, to look at the matter in another light, why were the above variations from a sheep's cry, most of them of a whistling-sound, chosen in preference to some other method which might, as in "Pathelin," indicate the occupation of the character in question? Direct connection with the French "Pathelin" seems, therefore, either to have been lost or never to have existed. In the latter case, we must look elsewhere for the more direct relationship of the Danish and other analogues which do not use "bée" or "blée."

Curiously enough, we do find other analogues of the tale, in which a whistle, or a hiss, or something very like either of these, is used. The chronology of these is very difficult to establish; for, although most of these versions occur in collections of anecdotes or in plays, the dates of which we know, yet these dates are not necessarily the dates of the episodes or anecdotes to which we refer. These may be, and probably are, very much older. In the so-called "Lucerne Neujahrsspiel,"<sup>2</sup> or "Der treue Knecht," which Goedeke dates 1560, but which Bächthold, supporting Mone, places at the end of the fifteenth century,<sup>3</sup> we have many features which reveal connection with the "Pathelin-Henno" chain, although in general there is shown far greater independence than in the German series from "Henno" on.<sup>4</sup> In the court scene the accused servant, upon advice of his counsel, says "weiw" to all questions, and in consequence is discharged as a fool. Whatever the pronunciation of this "weiw" may be, it has little semblance to the "blée" of the

<sup>1</sup> Bolte, in his edition of Connybertus' *Veterator* (p. viii, note 1), ventures the opinion that these English analogues may have had their source in Reuchlin's *Henno*. It does not seem probable to me.

<sup>2</sup> Mone, *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*, Karlsruhe, 1846, ii, pp. 367-410; also A. von Keller, *Fastnachtspiele aus dem 15ten Jahr.*, No. 107, pp. 820-850, being vol. 29 of *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1853; see also vol. 30, pp. 1526, 1527.

<sup>3</sup> Goedeke, *Grundriss zur Geschichte der Deutschen Dichtung*, Hannover, 1859, v. i, p. 304, note 87; Bächthold, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Schaumburg, in *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, vol. ix, pp. 27 ff.; see also Hugo Holstein's *Johann Reuchlins Komödien*, 1888, pp. 88 ff.

"Henno" cycle. I cannot share the idea of Holstein ("Johann Reuchlins Komödien," p. 90) that this "weiw" is merely a dialect change from "blée;" but I believe that Schaumburg is nearer the truth when he sees in this substitution the influence of Italian analogues in which a distinct whistling-sound is found.<sup>1</sup> It seems to me that "weiw" is closer to an attempt to whistle than it is to "blée." Schaumburg finds other Italian influences in this play, and bases his explanation of them upon the spread of Italian thought and literature throughout Switzerland in the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The Italian analogues to which Schaumburg refers are two in number. The first occurs in a collection of "Facetie, motti e burle," by Lodovico Domenichi.<sup>3</sup> The second is the intercalation of a similar story in the comedy of "L'Arzigogolo," by Grazzini.<sup>4</sup> In addition to these two analogues mentioned by Schaumburg, there is a third in the eighth novella of the *Giornata Prima* of Girolamo Parabosco's "I Diporti," which was first published in 1552.<sup>5</sup> As far as external chronology goes, this last version is older than the other two, and I will speak of it first. It should, however, be borne in mind that these dates are no final proof of the date of the individual stories or versions contained in these collections or plays.

The Parabosco novella is rather long, and only its closing paragraphs concern us here directly.

A young nobleman, Tomaso de' Tomasi, dissipates in riotous living a large inheritance, and is reduced at last to a very small part of his former great possessions. He determines to seek other climes, and to dispose of his remaining property for as much as he can. He tells his plans to seven or eight persons, enjoining secrecy upon each, and receiving from each earnest-money on the contemplated sale. He then quickly completes the sale with one of these purchasers, and attempts to leave town. He is, however, apprehended and thrown into jail. Here he sends for a friend who is a notary by the name of Faletro, and, declaring that he will never return the money received, suggests that Faletro help him in a scheme that he has planned of playing the idiot and thus escaping punishment. On promise of twenty-five ducats, Faletro agrees, and forthwith counsels him not to overdo his part, and to make no other answer to the judge than insulting and idiotic gestures. Fale-

<sup>1</sup> Alexander von Weilen (in *Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum*, 17, p. 46) shares this view; Johannes Bolte also classes this as a whistle in his edition of *Veterator*, already referred to, p. 399.

<sup>2</sup> "Die Farce Pathelin und ihre Nachahmungen," in *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, vol. ix, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> Venice, appresso Domenico Farri, 1584, pp. 226-228. Schaumburg, note 2 to p. 32, vol. 9 of *Zeitschrift für Französische Sprache und Literatur*, says that there is an earlier edition, 1568. I have only seen the 1584 edition, courteously loaned me, with other literature necessary in the preparation of this article, by the Harvard College Library.

<sup>4</sup> Tomo IV of *Teatro Comico Fiorentino*, Florence, 1750.

<sup>5</sup> There is a 1795 edition of *I Diporti* edited by Gaetano Poggiali. Londra, Presso Riccardo Bancker; the anecdote in question occurs on pp. 126-134.



tro then goes to the judge, where he chances to meet one of the victims of Tomaso. A discussion arises, Faletro claiming that Tomaso is crazy, the other declaring that he is not. The judge then goes with all the victims to the jail, where Tomaso acts well his part as an idiot, and, despite threats of torture, makes no other answer to all questions than "Fischi e fiche." The judge thereupon releases Tomaso, declaring him crazy. Later the notary claims the twenty-five ducats, but Tomaso gives him the very same answer that Faletro had counselled him to give the judge. The notary dares not expose his share in the deception by a complaint, and thus Tomaso wins all through his dishonesty.

In addition to the whistling motif in this tale, we have another important link with many of the Danish versions previously reported, and also with the Brandenburg analogue, that contained in "*Contes à rire*," and others yet to be spoken of. This link consists in the fact that in all of these tales the same things are told twice or more than twice. In "*Old Rasmus*" the calf is sold twice, and the entire price is paid each time. In the Danish "*Attorney's Counsel*" the analogue with Parabosco is even more complete; for there a cow is sold six times, earnest-money is received for each sale, and the sale is actually consummated to one of the purchasers. All this is true also of the other Kristensen tales, of the Brandenburg version, of that in "*Contes à rire*," and several others. It seems, therefore, as if the Parabosco tale had very close relationship with these other versions.<sup>1</sup>

Less close is the connection of the Domenichi anecdote. This also is very verbose, but the following is a brief summary:—

A shepherd's flock has been confiscated for fraud at the customs near Padua. To get it back the shepherd asks counsel of a lawyer, Luca Gallina, who advises his client to play the fool before the judge. The shepherd interprets this advice as meaning that he is to hiss or whistle as sole answer ("fischiare"). This he does not only before the judge, but also to the lawyer when the latter claims his fee.

Of interest here is the fact that, although we have a shepherd, he does not, as in "*Pathelin*," imitate the cry of the sheep, an inverse proof that the occupation does not necessarily influence the method of deception. There is, of course, no reason why a shepherd should not hiss or whistle as well as any other man; and in fact the imitation of the cry of the sheep seems rather an artificial thing, as I have already indicated. We have even Biblical proof of the custom of shepherds to hiss or whistle for their flocks. In Zechariah x, 8, we read, "I will hiss for them, and gather them." The figurative reference in verse 2 is distinctly to a flock of sheep. In the Douay Bible we find the word "whistle" instead of "hiss."

<sup>1</sup> Another analogue of this motif of selling the same thing several times occurs in W. F. Carleton's *Traits and Stories of the Irish Peasantry*, Second Series, vol. i, 2d edition, Dublin, 1834. Phil Purcel, the Irish pig-driver, an apparently simple but really a very shrewd fellow, crosses to England and sells the same pig to over two dozen Englishmen.

To be sure, the resemblance of this Domenichi anecdote to the "Pathelin" story is only general. It even differs in this one particular of the method of deception, substituting a whistle for the cry of the sheep, despite the fact of there being a shepherd in both tales. We have seen how tenaciously the cry of the sheep was retained in the entire series of the "Henno" cycle and in the English versions; in fact, everywhere where we could trace distinct literary influence of Pathelin. The question, therefore, becomes very natural, If these Italian tales are later than "Pathelin," why do they not also, like the German and English versions, repeat the "bée"?

Similarly we find in Grazzini's comedy "L'Arzigogolo," act iv, scene vi, and in a few additional scattered passages, a sort of interlude, which has little or no connection with the plot, and serves rather as an opportunity for horse-play.<sup>1</sup>

A summary of this version follows:—

A "lavoratore," Arzigogolo, has sold a pair of oxen belonging to his mistress, Monna Papera, "a tempo," and secured a written contract of sale duly witnessed. He learns, however, that the purchaser is unable to pay, and desires in consequence to break the contract and thus please his mistress. Ser Alesso, the old man of the play, in love with Monna Papera, counsels him to play the fool before the judge, who will then declare the contract invalid because made with a demented person. Arzigogolo interprets this to mean that he shall answer the judge with "sff-sff." This he does not only before the judge, but also later before Ser Alesso, whom he had promised to pay for this advice.

There are several similarities here to the Parabosco novella and also to other versions like it. We have a sale the conditions of which are not fulfilled. We have also the same method of playing the fool; namely, the whistle or hiss. Here there is but one sale; in the other tales the same things are sold more than once, which surely makes a more humorous situation. In "L'Arzigogolo" there is no payment, and hence no financial loss; in the other versions there have been payments, and hence again a more humorous situation of the sort desired. Here, as in the case of the other Italian analogues, it is entirely reasonable to suppose that the intercalated episode is older than the date of the play. How much older it is impossible to say as yet. Only when we are in possession of all possible material of similar tales will it be safe to draw definite conclusions. Of interest in the "Arzigogolo" tale is the reason for choosing "sff;" — "O, mi pare abbeverare i buoi" (p. 65). Compare Pathelin's explanation of "bée" (p. 415 of this article).

<sup>1</sup> The earliest edition of this play that I have seen is 1750, in Tomo IV of *Teatro Comico Fiorentino*, published at Florence. A later edition is by Fanfani, 1859 (see p. 478). Grazzini died in 1583, and seven of his plays had appeared in 1582, but *L'Arzigogolo* is not one of the seven. The edition of 1750 distinctly declares itself the first of this play. That nearly two hundred years should elapse before the play was printed, is of interest, and perhaps of moment.

Actual folk-versions are not lacking, which, like the several Danish versions, contain either an actual whistling-sound or something very closely resembling this. I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Arthur Beatty for calling my attention to the two following versions:—

In Paul Sébillot's "*Littérature Orale de la Haute Bretagne*" (p. 139, Paris, Maisonneuve, 1881) is a popular tale secured from Elisa Durand of Plévenon in 1879. Here a calf has been sold twice (compare the tale of "Old Rasmus"), and the embarrassed seller goes to the priest for advice. The priest counsels, "Vous ne répondrez rien, mais vous sifflez au nez de celui qui vous questionnera." Later the priest who goes to claim his promised reward, in this case the calf, is repaid with his own counsel. Of note here is the substitution of the priest for a man of the law. In this respect this version resembles a Bengalese version to be mentioned presently.

In Gennaro Finamore's "*Tradizioni Popolari Abruzzesi*" (vol. i, pp. 136, 137, Lanciano, 1882) is an anecdote in the dialect of Casoli in Adriatic Chieti, Italy, entitled "*La Stòrije de lu pazze.*"

A young man takes a fat pig to market and sells it to very many people, receiving each time eight ducats, and agreeing to deliver the pig next day. The day after he does not know what to do in his perplexity, but puts the pig in the stable again and goes to a lawyer for advice. The lawyer consents to advise him provided he promise him half the pig. The young man finally has to agree, whereupon the lawyer counsels him as follows: "When all the people come to you, you will play the fool and start to say, 'What do you want? The pig? The money? What do I know about the pig? What do I know about the money? Ciffe, cciaffe, ciffe 'e cciaffe, gniff 'e ngnaffe,' until they go away." The victims of the young man also go to the lawyer for advice; but the lawyer says, "You are wrong. Did you not know that he was crazy? Go away! Go away!" The next day the lawyer summons the young man, and says, "And the promise? Do you not remember it?" The fellow answered, "Mr. Lawyer, what do you want? The half pig? What do I know of the half pig? Ciffe, cciaffe, ciffe, cciaffe, gniffe, ngnaffe! What belongs to you?" And he went out, and the lawyer remained speechless, lacking the courage to utter a word.

Bolte, in his edition of "*Veterator*" (Introduction, p. vii), refers to this "ciffe, cciaffe," etc., saying that the man "grunzt wie ein Schwein." There is, however, no mention in the original Italian of an attempt to imitate a pig or any other animal. To me the expressions are phonetically closer to a hiss or whistle; and I would connect this tale in this respect, as well as in others, with the Italian analogues already cited, and especially with that of Parabosco. In both, the victims as well as the deceiver go to the same lawyer, who declares to them that the man is crazy. Noteworthy also in this tale is the omission of any judge or court scene. We shall see a similar omission in a Bengalese version presently.

Two other popular Italian analogues are given in an article by Stanis-

las Prato in vol. 9 (1894), pp. 539-540, of the "Revue des Traditions Populaires." They are much alike, differing only in detail.

The first is a tale from Todi in Umbria, and resembles much a story given by Paul Sébillot in "Contes de La Haute Bretagne," vol. i, p. 252, "Le recteur volé." In the Umbrian tale Father Nicholas robs a fellow-monk, Father Scarpetta, of 100 tabuloni earned by the latter in preaching. When the theft is discovered, Father Nicholas is summoned to trial. He goes first to a lawyer, to whom he promises 50 tabuloni. [Note the idea of half the amount, and its similarity to the notion of half a pig, in the preceding tale.] The lawyer counsels him to say to all questions "biffiti" or "baffiti" (meaningless words, says Prato, p. 549). This he does, and repays the lawyer in like manner.

The second Umbrian tale is from Perugia.

Celto sells a pig to three persons in succession, even borrowing a fur coat of the second purchaser. All agree to come and fetch the pig at Celto's house. Celto takes the pig home, kills it, and hides it. The three purchasers meet on their way to Celto's house. Celto, however, denies any transaction, and chases them away. They summon him to justice; but, since Celto persists in his denial, they obtain nothing the first day. Celto then bribes the procureur who is trying the case with the promise of a ham, if he will let him win the case the next day. The procureur counsels him to say "Biffete, buffete" ("mots dépourvus de sens," says Prato, p. 549). Celto does this to all questions, and even accuses the owner of the fur coat of theft when he tries to seize his property. Celto is released as a fool, and later answers, "Biffete, buffete, monsieur le procureur," when the latter claims the promised ham.

In a South Slavic tale, published by Friedrich S. Krauss with the title "Le Paysan" in "L' Annuaire des Traditions Populaires" (Paris, 1888, pp. 10-13), we find another close analogue.

A peasant has sold to three Turks on successive days the same hare; but, instead of delivering it to any of the purchasers, he carried it home, pretending that when the purchasers told him to carry the hare home, they meant to his home. The Turks reclaim their money, and, on refusal of the peasant to repay, they summon him before the Kadi. The peasant goes to a lawyer and promises to pay him for his advice a sledgeful of wood. The lawyer counsels to make no other answer to the Kadi than "Baer." This the peasant does to the letter, and later also to the lawyer when he asks for his wood.

In a note following this tale, Krauss says, —

"Le thème de ce conte est bien connu en France: il figure dans la seconde partie de Maître Pathelin, comédie du XV-e siècle, restée célèbre à juste titre. Selon toute apparence, il a dû passer de France en Dalmatie par l'Italie et de là en Bosnie, à moins que, ce qui est plus vraisemblable, il n'ait été importé par les matelots italiens à Constantinople et par les Turks ensuite chez les Slaves des Balkans."

After the first mention of the word "baer" in this tale is the parenthesis "(en slave: megjed = bée)." Prato, in commenting on this tale

("Revue des Traditions Populaires," vol. 9, 1894, p. 550), says that this approaches closest, of all the analogues that he has found, to the French "Pathelin," because of the similarity of this "baer" to "bée." Bolte, however, in his edition of "Veterator" (p. vii, note 2), classes this tale not with those with the sheep's cry, but with those in which the rustic "lallt," including it with the Bütner version that has "pa pi pa pi pa," and with the Italian versions cited above which have "biffiti, baffiti," or "biffete, buffete." Between these two opinions it is not easy to decide. It is at least noteworthy that there is no mention in the Slavic tale of sheep or a shepherd, and in this particular the tale resembles the versions of the Reuchlin-Hans Sachs series. Professor Leo Wiener has very kindly written to me to this effect: "Megjed" is Servian for "bear" (the animal). As Professor Wiener understands it, granting a migration of the story from France to Servia, "bée" became "baer" ("bär") in some intermediate German version, which, in turn, was rendered into Servian as "megjed." "Of course," says Professor Wiener, "the process might have been reversed." Personally I am still at a loss to know whether the word "megjed" actually occurs in the Servian story or not, since I have not seen the original Servian. In fact, I find it exceedingly difficult to place this story accurately; but if the word used is "baer," and the Servian word "megjed" occurs in this connection, it certainly seems reasonable to think that the story reached Servia through Germany rather than through Italy or Turkey.

Another interesting parallel came to hand recently to confirm my belief in the existence of further material. In the January number of "Modern Language Notes for 1907," p. 12, is an article by David Klein entitled "A Rabbinical Analogue to Pathelin." It is a parable explaining Deuteronomy xxxii, 18: "Of the Rock that begat thee thou art unmindful, and hast forgotten God that formed thee." The parable is as follows:—

Reuben owed Simeon a certain sum of money. And Reuben came to Levi and besought him to give him counsel how to shake off his creditor, for Simeon was pressing him hard. And he gave him counsel that he pretend to be crazy: "When Simeon comes to thee, begin thou to chirp and pipe and to leap about in dances." He did so, and when Simeon saw that he was crazy he desisted from him. Later Reuben came to Levi and asked him for a loan for a few days, which he granted. When the time for payment arrived, Levi came to Reuben to dun him. And Reuben began to chirp to him as he had done to Simeon, as told above. Levi raised his stick on him and struck him many a blow, and said, "Lo, thou wicked man, this counsel I gave thee. Did I then advise thus with respect to me?"

There then follows a commentary on the parable. Mr. Klein speaks of a second commentary which one may hear in the synagogue in connection with this same parable. "It states that God had taught man how

to elude the Devil by unconcernedly whistling and chirping, and man has utilized the instruction to elude Him."

Now, although the above parable is by Jacob of Dubno in Volhynia, Russia, known as the Dubner Maggid, who died in 1804, and although it may have been invented by him, yet it is far more probable, says Mr. Klein, that it goes far back in rabbinical lore, which has preserved much more of the mediæval spirit than is commonly thought. Mr. Klein does not think it probable that the French "Pathelin" could have penetrated the exclusiveness of the Russian ghetto, especially in the form of a play, for only modern Jews have tolerated the secular theatre. In closing his interesting article, Mr. Klein suggests that a search be made for other analogues of the story in Hebrew legend and literature.

I have long had a suspicion that the original tale is of Eastern origin, or that it is at least a common heritage of the Indo-Germanic peoples, as is the case with so much of folk-lore. This suspicion has been increased to a belief through my learning that this type of a story is very Oriental in character, and that such tales are very common in India to-day. Mr. Phil. M. Buck of the Department of English in the McKinley High School, St. Louis, Missouri, called my attention to the prevalence of a story similar to "Pathelin" in Hindustan, and gave me a version which he had heard about twenty years ago in Dwarahat, Kumaon, the province of the hills of northern India, where he passed his boyhood. Mr. Buck says, "If I am not mistaken, it was told me by an old Rajpoot servant who used to amuse me by telling such stories. He was a regular old 'story-teller' by the way, and had a most remarkable stock. . . . As I remember the story, it was an ignorant villager who questioned a wise jogi as to how to get out of a scrape, and who was to pay him liberally when he had escaped. He was told by the devotee to simulate the devotee posture and only answer with a low hum. This he did and escaped, and afterward repaid the old jogi in kind."

Mr. Buck has most kindly searched in all the Hindu story-books known to him, including the Jatokas, but has been as yet unable to find this story in print, although he declares that there are many such stories afloat all over India.

Further evidence of the presence of this tale in India has since come to me through the kindness of Messrs. Tagore, Gangulee, and S. C. Majumdar, Hindu students at the University of Illinois. These gentlemen have shown great interest in this quest, and have received from friends at home confirmation of the prevalence of the tale in Bengal. Among the friends to whom they wrote are two professors of Sanscrit at Bramhacharyashram Institution in Bolepore, conducted by Mr. Rabin-dranath Tagore of Calcutta, the greatest living poet of Bengal and one of the leaders of the new political thought of that country. From one of these professors of Sanscrit, Pundit Bidhushekar Shastri, Mr. Majum-

dar received a version, the circumstances of whose origin are as follows: It was related to Pundit Shastri by Mr. Harisharan Bannerji, assistant professor of Sanscrit, who in turn heard it from his father, who is quite an old man and knows nothing of foreign literature. This father also heard the story when he was quite young from his grandmother. The story, therefore, goes back about four generations, to a time when English had very little influence on Bengal literature, and when the country was not flooded with books and newspapers, as it is to-day. Pundit Shastri believes the story just as authentic as if found in any old book, and free from Occidental influence. This Bengalese story is as follows: <sup>1</sup>—

The father of a poor Brahmin had died. The poor man was compelled to buy on credit all the things required for the *Sradha* ceremony of the deceased, such as groceries, clothes, jewelry, sweetmeats, etc. He promised to everybody to pay immediately after the *Sradha* ceremony. The creditors did not object, seeing that the Brahmin was really in distress, and that it was an occasion of a son's fulfilling his duty toward his parent, in which piety every man ought to help. When the *Sradha* was over, however, bills from all quarters began to pour in; and the Brahmin, in despair, finding no way out of the difficulty, was quite at a loss what to do. The more he thought, the more anxious he became. At this time his family priest made his appearance, and asked him what was the cause of his dejection. He explained it; and the priest, after meditating a little, replied, "Be of good cheer. Here is a solution of your problem. Sit quietly here, and if any one comes to you to ask for money, gaze at him solemnly and steadfastly; do not say anything if you can help it; if you are hard pressed for an answer, say 'Vürüt!'" [which Mr. Majumdar explained as merely an exclamation]. The grocers, sweetmeat-venders, clothiers, and jewellers began to come to him one by one and to ask for their money. The Brahmin gazed at them mysteriously and steadfastly and occasionally exclaimed "Vürüt!" One day a creditor coming in for money and receiving this sole answer "Vürüt!" found the house-priest sitting near by. He turned to the priest, saying, "Reverend sir, what does all this mean? What is he talking about?" The priest shook his head mournfully, and replied, "Alas! son, the Brahmin is no longer himself. The continual thought of your money has made him insane." The creditor was greatly moved by this news, and forthwith said, "Is that so! I never knew it. Anxiety for money made the Brahmin lose his mind! I am in no hurry. Let the poor man recover first. He will repay me afterwards."

Gradually this news spread among his creditors, and they ceased to come to him for money. One day the priest came to him and said, "Now your troubles are all over. All those rogues have gone. No one now comes to claim anything. Pay up your dues to your priest. Do not tarry any longer." There was no answer. The priest kept on repeating this two or three times; and then finally the Brahmin said, as usual, "Vürüt!" The priest said, "Alas! 'Vürüt' to me even!" The Brahmin replied, "Yes, Vürüt!"

<sup>1</sup> My former colleague, Professor Raymond Weeks, has just prepared a phonetic transcription of this tale (see "*Le Maître Phonétique*," *Organe de l'Association Phonétique Internationale*, Mars-Avril, 1909, pp. 66-68).

This anecdote is of especial interest not only because of its locality, but also because here we find the motif of securing things on credit, which motif is characteristic of the first part of "Pathelin" itself, but is not found in other analogues brought forward in this article. It should also be noted that in these Eastern analogues there is entire absence of the imitation of an animal's cry, which seems to occur only in direct descendants of "Pathelin," and to be absent in other analogues more widely scattered.

In conclusion may I repeat that in my opinion more diligent search will bring to light still greater material.<sup>1</sup> This search should be made in

<sup>1</sup> Johannes Bolte, in the Introduction to his edition of *Veterator* (p. viii, notes), gives several references to tales in which the method of deceit is merely to deny all, no exclamation being suggested. Here, too, may be included an analogue told me by my colleague, Professor O. E. Lessing, in which the thievish servant is told to say nothing, and merely to make "eine lange Nase." In this tale Reuchlin seems to have been the inspiration. These versions with no exclamations do not, therefore, concern us directly, but they are important as showing the wide prevalence of the *Pathelin* type of story. Bolte, in the above notes, speaks also of fragments of a Bohemian translation of Reuchlin's *Henno* which is still in its early sixteenth century manuscript (Vienna Royal Library, 10, 214). According to Alexander von Weilen, in *Anzeiger für Deutsches Alterthum*, 17, p. 44, these fragments only contain the equivalent of Reuchlin's *Henno*, verses 47-141. There cannot, therefore, well be any "bée" scene. In a note to p. ix of *Veterator*, Bolte says, "Eine russische Prosabearbeitung des Pathelin befindet sich in der Wolfenbüttler Handschrift 115. 8 Extra. f." I have no access to this manuscript; but, if it follows *Pathelin* at all closely, it probably has "bée." Other material which is at present also inaccessible to me is given in Bolte's edition of Wickram's *Rollwagenbüchlein*, pp. xiii, xiv, 371 (vol. 229 of the *Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, 1903). These references are to translations and adaptations of Wickram's "blee" anecdote (No. 36), and to other literature containing this type of tale. I note with interest that among this material are references to a Pomeranian tale with "pst" (Brunk, Graziger, 1901, p. 21 = *Blätter f. pommersche volkskunde*, 9, 53), and to a Flemish tale where a whistle is counselled (Cornelissen-Vervliet, *Vlaamsche volksvertelsels*, 1900, p. 145).

I am constantly running across the *Pathelin* motif in more or less reduced form. Recently in a comic opera the chief comedian sang a topical song, in one stanza of which a patient was told to go home and imagine that he was cured. In the second stanza the doctor claims his fee, but is quickly told to go home and imagine that he has received it. Professor J. C. Bose of Calcutta told me a tale very much on the same order as the preceding, differing only in that the doctor asks the patient to smell of a medicine and consider himself cured, while the patient offers the doctor a smell of some money as sole payment. Professor Bose confirmed what my Hindu student friends and Mr. Buck had said as to the prevalence of the *Pathelin* type of story in India. In a similar vein is the following doggerel, which I found in a recent Cleveland (Ohio) "Leader:"—

" 'Is your butter fresh? Are your canned goods pure?'  
To the grocery man said we.  
And the grocery man he answered, 'Sure—  
Trust me for that,' said he.

" And he wrapped it up and we went away.—  
'You've forgotten to pay!' cried he.  
But we only laughed in our witty way,  
'Trust me for that,' said we."

The fundamental idea of ingratitude which is present in *Pathelin* and its analogues is seen in many other forms of stories which are only partial analogues to the *Pathelin* type.



Oriental as well as Occidental literatures and folk-lore. I feel confident that this tale in more or less primitive form will be found among other peoples. Until such a search shall have been made, and its results, positive or negative, well established, the true sequence of the "Pathelin" cycle can scarcely be more than guessed. It is my belief, although I fully realize that final proof is still lacking, that the form of the story with the whistle, hiss, chirp, hum, — "Vùrùt," "fyt," "pyt," "biffete," etc.; "pa pi pa pi pa," "plai;" "ciffe," etc., or some word phonetically near either of these, — is the older, out of which the clever author of "Pathelin" in France made the bleating-sound to heighten the humorous effect. Alive to every dramatic possibility and device, as can well be seen by studying the structure of this remarkable farce, the unknown author felt that the result would be better if he made the shepherd bleat like his sheep. The immediate descendants of the French "Pathelin" kept this bleating even after they had changed or failed to emphasize the occupation of the character who uses it. Alongside these immediate relatives and descendants of the French "Pathelin," with this close family resemblance, there lived on still the older form of the story with some more primitive form of deception. It seems likely that in the older form the priest appears rather than the man of law, as is the case with the Bengalese and the Brittany versions already cited. This older type we see cropping out in

In Professor Crane's edition of the exempla of Jacques de Vitry (p. 47, No. cii) is the story of the pilgrim on his way to the shrine of Mont St. Michel. In danger of being swallowed up by the intruding tide, he prays to St. Michael to help him, offering to give his cow and calf as a sacrifice. When the danger passes away in answer to his prayer, the pilgrim says, "Nec vaccam nec vitulum tibi dabo." This tale has many analogues, which Professor Crane gives in his notes, p. 177. It is also found in "An Alphabet of Tales," edited by Mary Macleod Banks, in the *Early English Text Society*, Original Series, vol. 127, p. 521, Tale 782.

Another amusing modern analogue is in vol. 10 of *Modern Eloquence*, edited by T. B. Reed, in the chapter "Bench and Bar" (p. 56), under the title "Double-dealing." Here a lawyer's eloquence had cleared a man charged with offering counterfeit money. The grateful (?) man gave him fifty dollars for his services, and quickly left town. The lawyer, in trying to use this money, was told that it was all counterfeit!

In similar vein is the following from a recent *Philadelphia Times*, given as an authentic police-court event: —

"Lawyer Lipschutz had as a client a long-bearded Russian who was accused of retaining a watch given him to be repaired. It looked rather black for the foreigner, and Lipschutz fairly outdid himself in trying to convince the magistrate that his client was innocent.

"The lawyer dwelt on the Russian's ignorance of American customs, his straightforward story, and enough other details to extend the talk fully fifteen minutes. His client was acquitted.

"In congratulating the freed man the lawyer held out his hand in an absent though rather suggestive manner. The Russian grasped it warmly.

"'Dot was a fine noise you make,' he said. 'T'anks. Goo'-by.'"

My colleague, Dr. Simon Litman, a Russian, has a vague recollection of a story in Russian folk-lore similar to the *Pathelin* type. Here there is a repetition of a certain word, which Dr. Litman does not now recall.

Italy, in Switzerland, in Russia, in the Balkans, in Denmark, in Brandenburg, in Germany, in France, in India.

I cannot think that all these had their origin in the French farce as we know it. It seems to me impossible. I have tried to show that the elements in the first part of the French "Pathelin" have analogues which antedate use in the French farce. I think that if this be true of the first part of the farce, it is likely to be equally true of the second.

Another general argument in favor of the whistling or some similar sound as the older form of the story may perhaps be found in the existence in many languages of a number of popular expressions in which the act of whistling or hissing is a sign of insolence, indifference, or contempt. In English we tell a man to whistle for a thing when we intend that he shall not get it. "To go whistle" is "to go to the deuce," and there may be other dialect uses of this word. Occasionally one sees the insulting practice of whistling defiantly by some one who does not wish to answer or to do some requested thing. In German "einem etwas pfeifen" and "einem etwas blasen" both have the meaning not to do something for a person; as, "Ich will ihm was pfeifen," which Fluegel's German Dictionary translates as "I'll do it for him over the left (shoulder)," i. e. not at all; "I have no intention of doing it for him." "Ein Pfiff" is literally a "whistle or whiff;" but its figurative use is of considerable interest in this connection, namely, "trick, cunning, fetch, knock." Fluegel's Dictionary further gives "pfiffig" as "sly." In Hermann Schrader, "Bilderschmuck der Deutschen Sprache" (Berlin, 1901, pp. 297, 298), one finds the following: "Der versteht den Pfiff," equalling "wer schlaue Kunstgriffe zur Erreichung seines Zweckes anzuwenden weiss;" also "Ich achte das nicht ein Pfiff." Of especial interest is the word "Advocatenpfiffe," which is also in Schrader. This word, and "Der versteht den Pfiffe," would seem to point suggestively to the line of argument of this article. In French, and especially in Old-French, the hiss or whistle is also a most prevalent sign of contempt or mockery. Godefroy's Old French Dictionary shows many instances of its use, especially in the latter meaning (see under *siffler*, in vol. 10, p. 674 [first column], the figurative usages; also in vol. 2, p. 123, the many cases under the words *chifle*, *cifle*, *chufle*, *sifflement*, *sifflet*, and again under *chiflement*, *chifleur*, *chifler*, *chiflerie*, *chiflois*, etc.). In Villate's "Parisismen" (1895), under *siffler*, one finds "Tu peux siffler! flöt ihm nach! (das Erbetene bekommst du nicht)." In Spanish *chiflar* means "to whistle" and also "to mock or jest." In Italian *fischiate* means "hiss" or "whistle;" and *far delle fischiate a uno* has the same elements of contempt that we find expressed by the whistle or hiss in the analogues of which we have spoken.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

THE HERO-TRICKSTER DISCUSSION. — To account for the union of altruism and selfishness, or, at least, undignified waggery, in the character of North American culture-heroes, Brinton assumed that an originally lofty conception of these mythical beings had become debased with the lapse of time. This theory was rejected by Boas on the ground that it does not at all explain why there should be such a uniform tendency to attribute coarse buffoonery or moral delinquencies of the worst sort to an ideal culture-hero. The apparent difficulty, he indicated, vanishes with the misconception that actions which benefit mankind must have proceeded from an altruistic disposition. In reality, the heroes of Indian mythology are very often self-seekers, whose deeds have only incidentally contributed to man's comfort as well as to their own. Quite recently, Wundt, without referring to these earlier views, defends Brinton's thesis of the priority of the serious conceptions, but adds a psychological foundation of his own.<sup>1</sup> According to his mythological nomenclature, culture-tales fall under the category of legends (or their primitive representatives), which are defined as traditions crediting the origin of cultural possessions — and particularly of religious cults — to definite mythological beings (p. 126). That these eminently serious and sacred myths become associated with burlesque episodes clustering about the identical hero, is explained by the psychological law of contrast. The emotional tension produced by the serious plot must be relieved somehow (p. 130). "Je fester das Überlieferte geglaubt wird, um so leichter reizt es dazu an, den Kontrast der Gefühle in dem Wechsel von Ernst und Scherz zu entladen. So ist die Scherzlegende eine treue Parallele zu der bei primitiven Völkern den Zaubertanz ablösenden burlesken Pantomime oder auf späteren Stufen zu den Satyrspielen des griechischen Dramas oder endlich zu den komischen Episoden der mittelalterlichen Passionsspiele" (p. 48). This somewhat Hegelian synthesis of contradictories is far from convincing. It is not clear why the emotional strain must yield to a relaxation by *blending* heroic and ludicrous traits. Indeed, the separation of these characteristics in certain mythologies occurs, and seems inexplicable on Wundt's theory. Rabbit and Ictinike are distinct personages in Omaha mythology; why is the "law of contrast" inoperative in this case? Similarly, why are not the transformers of the Western Canadian Indians tricksters like the Coyote of the Plateau area? Why is it Uthlakanyana, and not Unkulunkulu, the creator and instructor of the Zulu, that figures as the hero of discreditable adventures?

When the data are fairly considered, there is no valid reason for regarding the buffoon as a mythological character of later origin than the more dignified hero. Wundt supposes that single episodes of a comical turn may gradually come to overgrow the original cycle, until the hero of tale or legend becomes an altogether clownish figure (p. 313). But in surveying the field of empirical facts, we are not very frequently presented with such a descending line of evolution. Not only is there no abstract psychological reason against assuming the coexistence of humorous tales at the very earliest stage of narrative

<sup>1</sup> "Völkerpsychologie: Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythos und Sitte." Zweiter Band: *Mythos und Religion*, Dritter Teil. Leipzig, 1909.

fiction, but we find a remarkably wide distribution for the trickster character, labelled here Reineke Fuchs or Jackal, there Coyote, and again bearing a human name, like the Cree Wisa'ketcak, or the Blackfoot Napi. The interesting point is that the serious culture-hero does not exist at all in the mythology of some tribes. The Dakota Unktomi is described by both Riggs and J. O. Dorsey as the incarnation of knavery; more precisely, he might be called an ideal representative of the pure trickster type. Yet there is no character in Dakota myth that could fairly be regarded as a culture-hero, and the hypotheses of his disappearance or degeneration must, of course, be rejected as gratuitous. The question arises, How do the Dakota account for the origin of their culture? Unfortunately, the available myths collected among the Dakota proper are not very numerous; but the character of the Omaha trickster and the Assiniboiné tales recorded by the present writer shed some light on the subject.

The Omaha Ictinike is almost the exact counterpart of the Dakota Unktomi. Nevertheless we do find the origin of certain customs ascribed to his activity. The Assiniboiné I<sup>n</sup>kto<sup>m</sup>i is undoubtedly identical with the Dakota trickster; a great many incidents from the Wisa'ketcak cycle of the Cree have been incorporated into the story of his doings, but in almost all of these he remains essentially the same in character. For all that, it is to him that the Assiniboiné attributes the sending-out of the "earth-diver" birds, the theft of summer for the sake of humanity, instruction in the killing and skinning of buffalo, and the allotment of dances to various animals with orders to pass them on to mankind. Some of these adventures display the transitional character described by Professor Boas. Thus, in the theft of summer, I<sup>n</sup>kto<sup>m</sup>i is *hired* to steal the summer by promise of supernatural powers, and his methods savor of his usual craftiness. In some of the other cases, however, no egotistic motive is apparent.

The solution of the difficulty seems to me to lie partly in the theory of explanatory myths recently advocated in this Journal,<sup>1</sup> and, with special reference to biological explanations, by Wundt.<sup>2</sup> Granting the absence of a figure looming as a distinct culture-bringer and the overshadowing literary importance of the trickster, granting further the tendency to ascribe origins to definitely named and conceived personages, it seems to me the path of least resistance to attribute to the trickster the origin of whatever cultural possessions incite primitive curiosity. This hypothesis seems to account for the sporadic cultural achievements of the Omaha and Assiniboiné trickster. At the same time, it is necessary to remember that another type of character may have an origin explanation attached to his myth, or that an origin myth may simply represent religious conceptions persisting to the present day. Thus in one Assiniboiné tale it is the Poor Boy that devises the buffalo-park, while in another the calling of the buffalo is the gift of a waka<sup>n</sup> female. Among the Blackfoot, the Old Man is to a certain extent a culture-hero; but he stands completely severed from the series of ritualistic myths, most of which seem to have been patterned after a single prototype. We are thus obliged to recognize that culture-origins may be secondarily attributed to various characters, and that the explanation of certain cultural features may assume a specific form (as in the last case cited), which could not be determined *à priori*. Even where the hypothesis here advanced seems applicable, the occurrence of diffusion may oblige us to shift our psychological explanation from the case at

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xxi, pp. 97-148, especially pp. 123-125.

<sup>2</sup> L. c. p. 183.

hand to the unknown original from which our version was ultimately derived. So far as my experience goes, tribes in very intimate contact with each other tend to equate their mythological heroes. Supposing that the Blackfoot first ascribed instructions as to the skinning of buffalo to their trickster, this would of course be an illustration of the present theory; but if the Assiniboine had picked up this item with others and transferred them to *their* trickster because they had come to regard Napi and I<sup>h</sup>kto<sup>m</sup>mi as one, the psychology of this process would be naturally quite different.

In spite of these indispensable provisos, certain useful practical conclusions may be drawn from the foregoing considerations. The trickster may be an older type of character in a given mythology than a properly so-called culture-hero. It will be desirable to determine for every area whether a real culture-hero exists. If not, the next question will be to what extent the problem of the origin of culture has been attacked systematically, whether a stereotyped answer has been developed, or whether the problem has been solved piecemeal by associating definite cultural traits with already preëxisting mythological figures. In this way it will be possible to test to what extent the hypothesis here advanced is applicable.

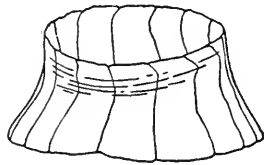
*Robert H. Lowie.*

TRANSMIGRATION IN CALIFORNIA. — Among the Indians of California, belief in transmigration is widespread. Most of the tribes say that the mythological beings whom they call "The First People" became animals or other natural objects before real people were created. The belief that existing people, after death, enter, or are transformed into animals, is less common. At the same time most of the Sierra tribes and some of those in Southern California hold that a large owl (usually the Great Horned Owl) makes a practice of capturing ghosts of the departed. This belief I have encountered from the Noto'koiyo or Northeastern Maidu southward to the Tejon and even to the To'ngvā of San Gabriel.

I was once asked by a Northern Mewuk if I had ever seen the broad belt of bony plates which surrounds the eyeball of the Great Horned Owl (see accompanying figure). On replying that I had, I was assured that these closely imbricating plates are the "finger-nails all jammed tight together of the ghosts caught by the owl."

The Northern Mewuk believe that the ghosts of good Indians turn at once into the Great Horned Owl (Too-koo-le) and remain this bird forever after; but that bad Indians turn into the Barn Owl (Et-tā'-le), the Meadow-Lark (Yu'-kal-loo), the Coyotē (O'-lā-choo), or the Gray Fox (Choo'-moo-yah). Whatever mammal or bird an Indian becomes after death he continues to be forever — there is no change after that.

The Pā-we-nan or Southwestern Maidu say that when a person dies his spirit (*oos*) goes out and may go into any one of a number of animals or things. It may turn into an owl or a coyote, a snake or a lizard; it may become a whirlwind,<sup>1</sup> or it may go into the ground and become earth; sometimes, but rarely, it goes off to a good place.



<sup>1</sup> The Northern Mewuk also say that whirlwinds and dust whirls are ghosts dancing swiftly round and round, and warn people to keep out of their way.

Among the Southern Mewuk the old people say that if a person dies without a hole in the septum of the nose, he will turn into a fish. In this tribe it was formerly the practice of both men and women to perforate the nose for the insertion of a rod of white stone or shell called *kun-no'-wah*.

*C. Hart Merriam.*

## LOCAL MEETINGS

### IOWA BRANCH

The Iowa Branch of the American Folk-Lore Society held a meeting on Nov. 26 and 27 in conjunction with the Iowa Society of the Archaeological Institute of America and the Iowa Anthropological Society, at the State University of Iowa in Iowa City, at which the following papers were read: "A Chapter of Romance in Archaeology," by Dean Alfred M. Haggard, Des Moines; "The Folk-Lore of Plants," by Professor Thomas H. Macbride, Iowa City; "Some Contributions of Anthropology to Sociology," by Professor John L. Gillin, Iowa City; "New Light from Old Lamps," by Rev. J. George, D. D., Atlantic; "Some Phases of Indian Life," by Mr. J. W. Rich, Iowa City; "Some Early Corinthian Vases," by Professor William S. Ebersole, Mount Vernon; "The Religious Customs of the MacDonaldites of Prince Edward Island," by Mr. John F. Reilly, Iowa City; "A Preliminary Report of the State Historical Department of the Excavation of a Mound in Boone County, Iowa," by Mr. E. R. Harlan, Des Moines; "Remarks on the Human Population of the Hawaiian Islands," by Professor Charles C. Nutting, Iowa City; "The Story of the Basilica de Guadalupe," by Mr. Ernest Jules Aguilar, Mexico City, Mex.; "Informal Report on an Alleged Find of Copper Plates in Michigan relating to the Doctrine of Latter-Day Saints," by Mr. Johnson Brigham, Des Moines; "The Precinct of Aglaurus at Athens," by Professor Charles H. Weller, Iowa City; "The Story of the Isle of Man," by Mrs. A. M. Mosher, Cambridge, Mass.

### BOSTON BRANCH

During the past two seasons the Boston Branch held meetings regularly. In 1907-08, papers were read as follows: "Folk-Lore Survivals in Shakespear," by Professor William Neilson of Harvard; "The Oriental Alexander," by Professor George F. Moore of Harvard; "Social Customs and Etiquette of the Chinese," by Mr. Edward B. Drew of the Chinese Imperial Customs Service; "The American Indian Medicine-Man," by Dr. Roland B. Dixon of Harvard; "The Cult of the Bull," by Professor Charles St. C. Wade of Tufts College. At the annual meeting in 1908, officers were elected as follows: President, Professor Frederic W. Putnam; First-Vice-President, Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer; Second Vice-President, Mr. Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr.; Treasurer, Archibald R. Tisdale; Secretary, Helen Leah Reed; Advisory Committee, Miss Anna Clarke, Miss Marie Louise Everett, Mrs. James C. Hopkins, Mrs. Alexander Martin, Mr. R. Gorham Fuller, Professor Lawrence B. Evans. Papers read at the meetings of 1908-09 were: "Picture Writing and the Alphabet," by Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer of Harvard; "Humorous Stories of Nasr Ed-din-Hodja," by Mr. A. H. Lybyer of Harvard; "Myths and Ways of

Ancient Greece," by Dr. Arthur Fairbanks, Director of the Museum of Fine Arts; "Irish Folk-Lore," Mr. Denis A. McCarthy. At the annual meeting in 1909, speeches were made by Professors Putnam, Kittredge, Toy, Fay, and music was rendered by Dr. Clarence J. Blake. The following officers were elected: President, Professor Frederic W. Putnam; First Vice-President, Dr. William Curtis Farabee; Second Vice-President, Helen Leah Reed; Secretary, Mrs. Alexander Martin; Treasurer, Mr. Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr.; Advisory Committee: Miss Abbie Farwell Brown, Miss Anna Clarke, Miss Marie Louise Everett, Mrs. J. C. Hopkins, Professor Lawrence B. Evans, Dr. Alfred M. Tozzer.

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## BOOK REVIEW

SOURCE BOOK FOR SOCIAL ORIGINS. Ethnological materials, psychological standpoint, classified and annotated bibliographies for the interpretation of savage society, by WILLIAM I. THOMAS. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press; London, T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. xvi, 932 pp. [\$4.77 postpaid.]

In this solid-looking volume, Professor Thomas has rendered the historical and sociological student, and also the general public, a distinct service. He has reprinted here some fifty papers covering almost the whole field of savage life, each written by a recognized authority on his special field. In many cases the original papers are more or less inaccessible to the beginner, or student who is not fortunate enough to have access to a large library; and the bringing of all these together into one volume, carefully arranged and classified, is certain to stimulate interest in the whole field of anthropology and sociology. In addition to the original articles thus reprinted, there is a most useful series of bibliographies, arranged both by subjects and also by geographical divisions. These in themselves are of great help to the student, as they contain mainly references to articles in journals and learned society publications which the beginner otherwise might find it difficult to discover. Each of the seven sections, moreover, into which the volume is divided, is provided with a brief discussion by the compiler of the papers included in that section.

In an introduction, Professor Thomas calls attention to the growing realization that historians and economists, as well as sociologists, need to know something about savage life, and that without this knowledge it is almost impossible properly to appreciate and grasp the development of peoples or institutions. He points out, further, that it is a fallacy to suppose that a whole class of phenomena, such as religion, can be explained as arising from a single cause, and also insists that we must not expect to find everywhere the same sequence of stages in development, or the same phenomenon everywhere due to the same cause. He lays much stress on the influence of environment.

The first section comprises eight papers dealing with the relation of society to geographic and economic environment. The scope of the volume may be seen from the titles of the following sections: "Mental Life and Education;" "Invention and Technology;" "Sex and Marriage;" "Art, Ornament, and Decoration;" "Magic, Religion, and Myth;" "Social Organization, Morals, and State." Of course, the success of such a volume depends mainly on the wisdom of the compiler in selecting the materials, and in such selection hardly any two students would entirely agree. In the present instance the choice of

papers seems, on the whole, a most useful one, although, unfortunately, all sources other than English have been excluded. Without exception the papers are by English or American writers; and no single paper by any of the well-known German or French students is included, although they are not infrequently included in the bibliographies. Apart from any question as to the relative merits of particular papers on a given subject, it is unfortunate to give the impression that only English-speaking writers have produced papers on these subjects worthy of being reproduced. A volume of the sort which Professor Thomas has brought out would naturally include translations of some articles written in languages other than English; indeed, these would have been a great boon to beginners and the general public; for many cannot otherwise read the papers in question.

The bibliographies are, as already stated, very convenient, and seem full enough for the purposes of the volume. It is always easy, of course, to criticise such selected lists; but one wonders now and then, in running over them, why certain rather unimportant titles were included, and other far more important ones omitted. To take a single example, Roth's two excellent but short papers on tattooing are included; and Joest's, Marquardt's, and Robley's far more comprehensive works are omitted. Other instances of the same sort could easily be pointed out.

Whether or not one feels that in every case the selection of a particular paper to illustrate a particular subject is a wise one, a volume of this sort cannot fail to stimulate the reader to further investigation. For the teacher, it will lighten the task of providing suitable reading for his classes, for it will in many instances do away with the difficulty of securing duplicate copies of scientific journals, which are often very hard to get.

*Roland B. Dixon.*



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